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IN SIX VOLUMES
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THE
LYSISTRATA OF ARISTOPHANES

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

THE
LYSISTRATA OF ARISTOPHANES

ACTED AT ATHENS IN THE YEAR B.C. 411

THE GREEK TEXT REVISED

WITH A TRANSLATION INTO CORRESPONDING METRES
INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

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INTRODUCTION

It is much to be regretted that the phallus-element should be so conspicuous in the present Play; for, in other respects, there are few dramas—ancient or modern—which contain more noble sentiments or more poetic beauty than the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes.

And in truth this very coarseness, so repulsive to ourselves, so amusing to an Athenian audience, was introduced, it is impossible to doubt, for the express purpose of counterbalancing the extreme gravity and earnestness of the Play. The debate between *Lysistrata* and the Chief Magistrate, her lecture to both Spartans and Athenians on their misdoings, and even the beautiful lyrics with which the drama concludes might, unless framed in the most ludicrous and farcical setting, have well been resented as too serious for Comedy, as dealing with matters *μελζοῖσα ἡ 'πὶ τραγῳδοῖς*. But none could object on this score to wise counsels and political censures delivered by a woman in *Lysistrata's* position; and the more practical her advice to the combatants becomes, the coarser the buffoonery with which we find it surrounded. That a Poet, from the boards of an Athenian theatre, should, for example, recommend the Athenians, for the sake of Peace, to surrender Pylus, would hardly have been tolerated unless the recommendation had been dressed up in the broadest and most fantastical costume. The sorrows of Athenian mothers for their sons, of Athenian maidens for their lovers, who had gone to the battle-fields from which they never returned, would have been a topic far too moving and pathetic for Comedy, had it not been made a part of the quarrel between the insurgent Women and the outraged Magistrate. And amidst the wildest buffoonery, there is always perceptible an undertone of sadness, and of genuine anxiety about the terrible position in which at that moment Athens found herself placed.

For the Play was written in the year 412 B.C. at the very darkest period of the Peloponnesian War, the darkest, that is to say, before the ultimate disaster of Aegospotami, and the consequent Fall of Athens. It was produced at the commencement of the year 411 B.C., but whether at the Lenaea or at the Great Dionysia, and with what success, the scanty record which has come down to us contains nothing to show. At the time when Aristophanes commenced it, he must have felt grave doubt whether it would ever be exhibited in an Athenian theatre.

It was in the autumn of the year 413 that the news of the overwhelming catastrophe in Sicily reached the Athenian people. It was so totally unexpected that at first they refused to believe it. They were still dreaming of an ever-brightening future—anticipating daily the surrender of Syracuse, to be followed by the immediate extension of their power over the entire island, and, later, by the inclusion of the whole Hellenic race within the triumphant Athenian Empire—when the fatal blow fell. The flower of their fleets and armies, the most splendid armaments that had ever left an Hellenic harbour, had been, not merely defeated, but utterly annihilated: and their foremost citizens, their political and military leaders, had perished in the general ruin. They had few, and those their least serviceable, triremes remaining, and little money wherewith to equip new ones. Their allies, even those which were most important and had been esteemed the most faithful, were everywhere falling away, each wishing, as in the days of Brasidas, to be the first to revolt; so that Sparta was even embarrassed by the applications which reached her from every part of the crumbling empire. The victorious triremes of Syracuse were speeding over the sea; the whole Peloponnesian Confederacy was stirred to new life and activity; the States which had hitherto been neutral were now turning against them; their foes were gathering in on every side to be present at the downfall, now judged to be imminent, of the Tyrant City. The future was wrapped in the darkest gloom; there was no gleam of hope in any quarter of the horizon. They could no longer put faith in the promise of

their favourite oracle that Athens, after long toil and pain, should yet soar for ever and ever as an Eagle in the clouds of heaven; the Eagle's wing was broken, and the hunters were close upon her. Thucydides, in the first chapter of his Eighth Book, paints with a few vigorous strokes the alarm and utter hopelessness which prevailed in the city: nevertheless, he says, they determined that they would not give in (*ἐδόκει χρῆναι μὴ ἐνδιδόναι*), but would do all in their power, collecting timber and money from whatever source they could, to build a new navy in the place of the fleets they had lost. Amongst the various measures which they adopted to meet the emergency, the most important, or at all events the most interesting to a reader of the *Lysistrata*, was the creation of a Board of Ten *Probuli*, a sort of Committee of Public Safety.

This seems to have been a genuine effort on the part of the democracy to protect itself against its own hasty impulses. The office of *Πρόβουλοι*, though new to the Athenian constitution, was common in Dorian states, and is regarded by Aristotle as a distinctively oligarchical institution, and as being, wherever it existed, superior to all other magistracies and offices in the State. "There are three supreme magistracies," he says in one place, "*νομοφύλακες, πρόβουλοι, βουλή*; and of these the *νομοφύλακες* are an aristocratic institution, the *πρόβουλοι* an oligarchie, and the *βουλή* democratic¹." And again speaking of *ἡ τῶν προβούλων ἀρχή* he says "*αὕτη οὐ δημοκρατικὴ, βουλή δὲ δημοτικόν*. For there must be some power whose business it is to devise measures to be laid before the *Demus*; and this power, if few in number, is oligarchic; but *πρόβουλοι* are of necessity few in number, and so they are oligarchic. And where *πρόβουλοι* and a *βουλή* coexist in the same State, the *πρόβουλοι* are set over the *βουλή*; for the *βουλευτῆς* is democratic, but the *πρόβουλοι* oligarchic²." And

¹ *Τριῶν δ' οὕτων ἀρχῶν καθ' ἃς αἰροῦνται τινες ἀρχὰς τὰς κυρίους, νομοφυλάκων, προβούλων, βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν νομοφύλακες ἀριστοκρατικόν, ὀλιγαρχικόν δ' οἱ πρόβουλοι, βουλή δὲ δημοτικόν.* — *Politics*, vi. 5. 13.

² *Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴδιαί τινές εἰσιν, οἷον ἡ τῶν προβούλων· αὕτη γὰρ οὐ δημοκρατικὴ, βουλή δὲ δημοτικόν. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τι τοιοῦτον ᾧ ἐπιμελές ἔσται τοῦ δήμου προβουλεύειν, ὅπως ἀσχολῶν ἔσται· τοῦτο δ', ἐὰν ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ᾤσιν, ὀλιγαρχικόν· τοὺς δὲ προβούλους ὀλίγους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστ' ὀλιγαρχικόν· ἀλλ' ὅπου ἄμφω αὐταὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ, οἱ*

elsewhere, speaking of what he describes as the supreme magistracy in the State, ἡ μάλιστα κυρία πάντων ἀρχή, he says that the power which convenes the assemblies is sometimes called πρόβουλοι, διὰ τὸ προβουλεύειν, but in a democracy it is called βουλή¹. And in yet another passage where he is considering the share which under the various constitutions the Demus has, or ought to have, in the government, he says, "In oligarchies it is expedient either to co-opt some persons out of the Demus, or else to establish a magistracy (ἀρχεῖον) such as those which exist in some states under the name of Πρόβουλοι or Νομοφύλακες, and for the Demus to deliberate and decide upon matters laid before them by that magistracy; for so the Demus will have a share in the decisions, but will be unable to upset anything in the constitution²."

In all these passages Aristotle is not describing the position of the Πρόβουλοι in any particular State; he is considering the meaning which the Hellenic people in general attached to the name and office of Πρόβουλοι. And it seems impossible to doubt that the Board of Πρόβουλοι established by the Athenians in their hour of danger were Πρόβουλοι in the ordinary acceptance of the word.³ And with this the presentation

πρόβουλοι καθεστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ βουλευτὴς δημοτικόν, ὁ δὲ πρόβουλος ὀλιγαρχικόν.—Id. iv. 12. 8.

¹ Παρὰ πάσας δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἡ μάλιστα κυρία πάντων ἐστίν· ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ πολλάκις ἔχει τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν εἰσφορὰν, ἥ προκάθηται τοῦ πλήθους, ὅπου κύριός ἐστιν ὁ δῆμος· δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ συνάγον τὸ κύριον τῆς πολιτείας. καλεῖται δὲ ἔνθα μὲν πρόβουλοι διὰ τὸ προβουλεύειν. ὅπου δὲ πλήθός ἐστι, βουλὴ μᾶλλον.—Id. vi. 5. 10.

² Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις [συμφέρεi] ἡ προσαιρεῖσθαι [so Susemihl and W. L. Newman for προαιρεῖσθαι] τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, ἥ κατασκευάσαντας ἀρχεῖον οἶον ἐν ἐνίαις πολιτείαις ἐστὶν οὓς καλοῦσι προβούλους καὶ νομοφύλακας, καὶ περὶ τούτων χρηματίζειν περὶ ὧν ἂν οἱ τοὶ προβουλεύσωσιν· οὕτω γὰρ μετέξει ὁ δῆμος τοῦ βουλευέσθαι, καὶ λύειν οὐδὲν δυνήσεται τῶν περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν.—Id. iv. 11. 9.

³ In the Polity of Athens (chap. 29) Aristotle mentions the δέκα πρόβουλοι now appointed, but says nothing as to their duties. Thucydides (viii. 1) describes them as an ἀρχὴν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν οἵτινες περὶ τῶν παρόντων, ὥς ἂν καιρὸς ᾗ, προβουλεύουσιν. Mr. Grote, naturally indignant at the notion that a democracy in its hour of peril should attempt to save itself by adopting an oligarchic institution, flings all the authorities overboard. "The passages in Aristotle's Politics, wherein the word Πρόβουλοι occurs, will not authorize any inference with respect to this Board in the special case of Athens." "I cannot think it

of the *Πρόβουλος* in the present Comedy is in complete accord. He is attended by, and issues his orders to, the Scythian archers whom elsewhere—in the *Acharnians*, the *Knights*, and the *Thesmophoriazusae*—we find attending upon, and obeying the orders of, the *βουλή*; it is he who comes, not as an agent for others but in his own right, to the Acropolis, to obtain the means of rebuilding the fleet; to him, and not to Council or Ecclesia, Lysistrata develops her scheme of reform; and when the negotiations for Peace commence, he leaves the stage for the purpose of *telling*, not *asking*, the *βουλή* to send plenipotentiaries to treat with those who have arrived from Sparta. We have already in the *Acharnians* seen the *Πρόβουλοι* of Megara, as the supreme authority, taking counsel as to the best course to be pursued by the State.

Of these Probuli we know the names of two¹; Sophocles, probably but not certainly the Poet, and Hagnon the colonizer of Amphipolis and the father of Theramenes. The others were doubtless also citizens in whose integrity and capacity the greatest reliance was placed; and so far as the conduct of the war was concerned they thoroughly justified their selection. Never perhaps since the great days of the Persian Wars does Athens so entirely claim our sympathy and admiration as when, under the guidance of these Probuli, she set herself, without ships, without money, and without hope, to prepare for what both she and her enemies considered her last struggle not merely for Empire but for her own existence. The terrible calamity which had befallen the city had sobered all classes; the voice of the demagogue was hushed; and the people were content to adopt with docility the measures devised for them by their wisest heads.

admissible to draw inferences as to the functions of this Board of Probuli now constituted from the proceedings of the Probulus in Aristophanis *Lysistrata*." He gives no reason for either of these surprising propositions.

¹ As to Sophocles, see Aristotle's *Rhetoric* iii. 18. As to Hagnon, see *Lysias* against Eratosthenes, 66 (p. 126), where he is described merely as *ὁ πατήρ τοῦ Θηραμένους*. The notion that Theramenes was the *adopted*, and not the real, son of Hagnon, seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of the joke in *Frogs* 970, where see the Commentary.

The first and most pressing necessity was the creation and equipment of a competent navy. This would of course require a very large expenditure, and how were they to obtain the money? Fortunately at the very outset of the war a sum of 1,000 talents had been set apart out of the money in the Acropolis as a reserve to be used only in the event of an actual attack upon the city by a hostile fleet; and for any person who proposed, or put to the vote, a resolution for diverting it to any other purpose, the penalty decreed was death¹. That reserve had never been touched; the need for it had never arisen. Nor had the specified event occurred even now. But since the disaster in Sicily, Athens had been expecting to see the triumphant Syracusan triremes bearing down upon Peiraeus²; and she had nothing to oppose to them comparable with those magnificent fleets which they had already, in fair fight, defeated and destroyed. And when the most powerful of her subject allies—Chios with its 60 triremes, Lesbos, Euboea, and others—were going over to the enemy, it was practically certain that she would before long be attacked by sea as well as by land, unless she could forthwith extemporize a new navy capable of holding its own. So then, no doubt by the advice of the Probuli, two resolutions were passed; one, revoking the death-penalty, the other authorizing the immediate employment of the thousand talents for ship-building purposes.

The money having been thus provided, the next step was to provide a sufficient supply of timber. This was always a difficulty with the Athenians, for Attica itself could supply little for building triremes, and in particular for making the oars which had to be extremely strong and, especially for the upper tiers of rowers, of very great length also. Almost all the timber they required they were obliged to import; most of it came from Macedonia³. One of the benefits which they hoped to

¹ Thuc. ii. 24, viii. 15.

² Τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας πολεμίους εὐθὺς σφίσιν ἐνόμιζον τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ πλευσεῖσθαι.—Thuc. viii. 1.

³ Ἐχοντες μὲν γε Μακεδονίαν, said Iason of Pherae to Polydamas of Pharsalus, ἔνθεν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ξύλα ἄγονται, πολὺ δὴπου πλέονας ἐκείνων ἱκανοὶ ἐσόμεθα ναῦς ποιήσασθαι.—Xenophon, Hellenics, vi. 1. 4.

Compare Andocides, de Reditu suo 11 (p. 21) presently quoted in the text:

obtain from their anticipated conquest of Sicily and South Italy¹ was a plentiful supply of timber for building triremes; and in later times a potentate could have no surer passport to the gratitude of the Athenian people than by making them a gift of timber² for that purpose. In the present crisis Thucydides suggests, rather than states, the difficulty by saying in the first instance that the Athenians resolved to create a navy³, *procuring timber and money from whatever quarter they could*; and afterwards, that they did in fact proceed with their ship-building⁴ *having procured timber*. And doubtless there were many still friendly to Athens who would be willing, if they could, to supply her necessities; and others would do the same as a commercial speculation. We have in the speech of Andocides *de Reditu suo* an interesting little notice about a cargo of ship-timber brought from Macedonia for the use of the Athenian navy, certainly a very few months, possibly a very few weeks, after the production of the *Lysistrata*. Andocides is endeavouring to show that even during the period of his enforced absence from Athens, he was doing what he could to benefit the State. And he tells us that King Archelaus, the son and successor of Perdiccas, being his hereditary friend, gave him leave to cut down and export as much timber as he liked for oar-spars. Accordingly he at once brought a cargo of oar-spars, *κωπέας*, to the armament at Samos, and though he might have sold them, he says, at the rate of five drachmas apiece, he declined to receive anything beyond what they had cost himself. And, magnifying his own merits, he

[Demosthenes], against Timotheus 1192, 1194-6; Theophrastus, *Characters*, chap. 23 *Περὶ ἀλαζονείας*.

¹ "After we had subdued Sicily and South Italy," said Alcibiades, explaining to the Lacedaemonians the motives which induced Athens to undertake the Sicilian expedition, "we should have built many additional triremes *ἐχούσης τῆς Ἰταλίας ξύλα ἀφθονά*."—Thuc. vi. 90.

² Plutarch, "Demetrius," chap. x. Demetrius promised the Athenians as much ship-timber as would build a hundred triremes, *ξύλων ναυπηγησίων πλῆθος εἰς ἑκατὸν τριῆρεις*.

³ *Ἐδῶκει παρασκευάζεσθαι ναυτικόν, ὅθεν ἂν δύνωνται ξύλα ξυμπορισμένους καὶ χρήματα*.—viii. 1.

⁴ *Παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν ναυπηγίαν, ξύλα ξυμπορισάμενοι*.—viii. 4.

declares that but for the supplies he brought the question would have been, not whether the armament could save Athens, but whether it could itself be saved. The date of the transaction is fixed by the statement that the Four Hundred were then in power. Andocides, expecting nothing but praise and gratitude for the important service he had rendered, passed on from Samos to Athens, and found to his dismay that the relations between the armament at Samos and the Four Hundred at Athens were so hostile, that he was at once arrested and brought before the Council on a charge of having supplied corn and oar-spars¹ to "the enemy," and, according to his own account, narrowly escaped with his life. And he bewails his singular ill-fortune in being imprisoned (1) when the democracy was in power, for having *wronged* the Demos [in the affair of the mutilation of the Hermae], and (2) when the oligarchy was in power, for having *befriended* the Demos.

The foregoing little narrative illustrates in a striking manner the scene in the *Lysistrata*, where the *Πρόβουλος* is hastening to the treasury in the Acropolis, now replenished by the thousand talents, to obtain money for the immediate purchase of—what? *κωπέας*, the very articles which at this moment Andocides, knowing how sorely they were needed, was preparing to bring from Macedonia across the Aegaeon to the Athenian navy.

Nothing could have been more judicious, or in its results more effective, than the measures carried into execution under the auspices of the Probuli for the immediate protection of Athens. But it is impossible for a Board to excite the enthusiasm or inspire the confidence which might be willingly accorded to an individual leader of tried capacity and integrity. And we can well believe, without the testimony of *Lysistrata* (lines 523, 524), that the citizens would soon be found inquiring in the streets whether there was no MAN in the land who would guide them

¹ The charge was made by Peisander, the Stormy Petrel of the oligarchic revolution. Andocides describes how he was brought before the Council, *εὐθὺς δὲ παραστάς μοι Πείσανδρος* "ἄνδρες," ἔφη, "βουλευται, ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐνδεικνύω ὑμῖν σίτον τε εἰς τοὺς πολέμους εἰσαγαγόντα καὶ κωπέας.—De Reditu 14. The Four Hundred were in power for some four months, May to August 411. See *Polity of Athens*, chap 33.

into the way of safety. Enough may have been done to stave off the peril of an immediate collapse of the Athenian defence; but not enough to justify the slightest hope that Athens would survive the termination of the war. Almost at the very time when the *Lysistrata* was being exhibited, Peisander, finding his oligarchical proposals strongly opposed, asked his opponents, one by one, whether apart from his proposals they had any hope that the City could be saved¹; and they, one and all, replied that they had no hope. Nor was it till much later in the year 411 that the people ventured to entertain even a hope that they might yet be able to emerge in safety from the War. For months the two main fleets—that of the Athenians on the one hand, and that of the Peloponnesians, Sicilians, and their own disaffected allies on the other—had been manœuvring amongst the islands off the coast of Asia Minor, unwilling to risk everything on the hazard of a decisive engagement. But at length a general battle took place in the narrow waters of the Hellespont, and the Athenians, under the command of Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus, found themselves, apparently somewhat to their own surprise, the victors of a fleet more numerous than their own. Thucydides tells us that when the news of this unhoped for good fortune arrived at Athens the people were greatly encouraged, and thought that with energy and perseverance they might yet be able to surmount their difficulties². Moreover they had then found a *MAN* in whose capacity, at all events, they could place the utmost reliance; one who, had his character been equal to his genius, would have stood in the very foremost rank of Hellenic statesmen. Alcibiades, who in 412 had been the leading spirit of the Spartan counsels, had now again thrown in his lot with Athens, and had already done her a service than which, as Thucydides says, no man ever rendered her a greater, and which no man but he would have been able to render her at the existing crisis. For at once,

¹ *Εἴ τινα ἐλπίδα ἔχει σωτηρίας τῇ πόλει.*—Thuc. viii. 53.

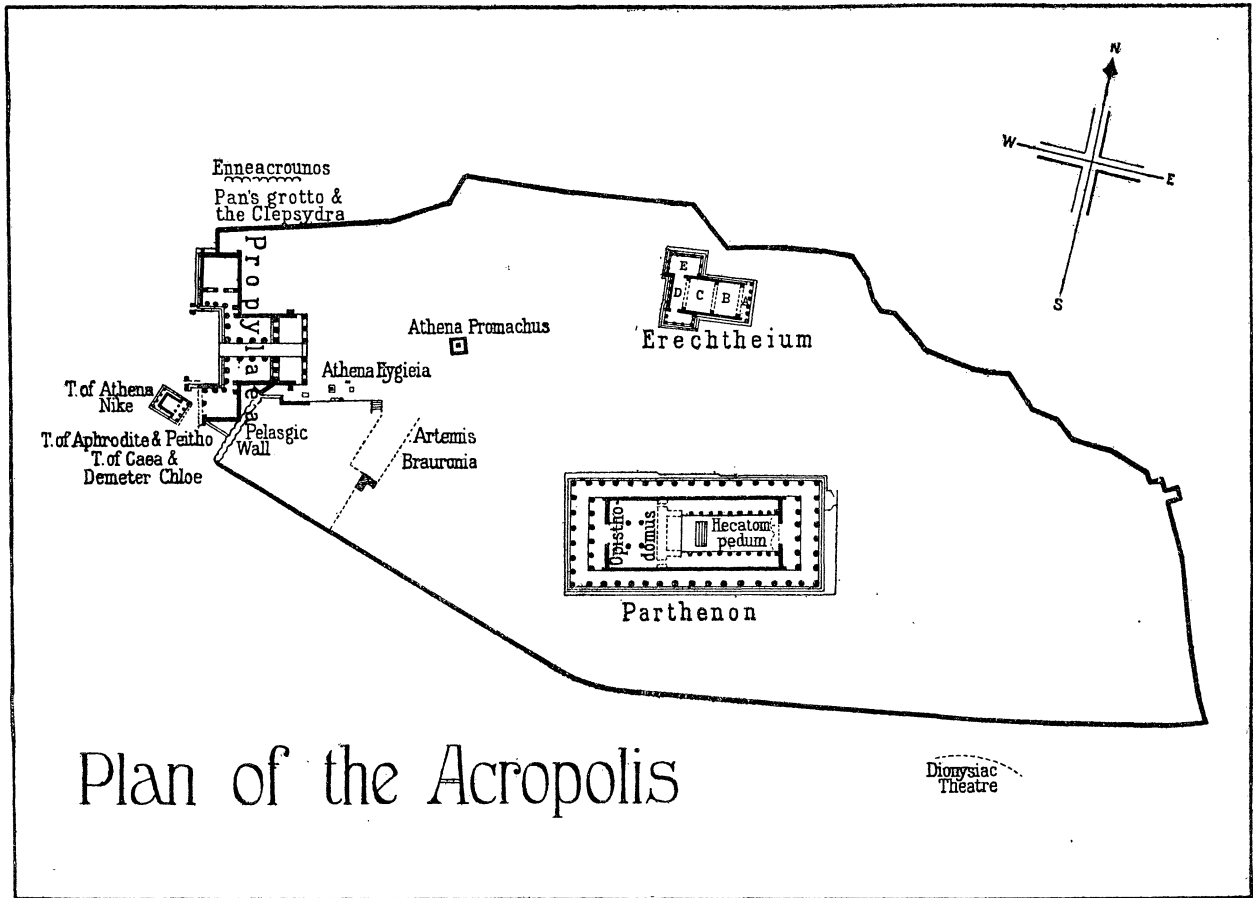
² *Ἀπέστειλαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τριήρη ἄγγελον τῆς νίκης. οἱ δὲ, ἀφικομένης τῆς νεώς, καὶ ἀνελπιστον τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἀκούσαντες, . . . πολὺ ἐπερρώσθησαν, καὶ ἐνόμισαν σφίσιν ἔτι δυνατὰ εἶναι τὰ πράγματα, ἣν προθύμως ἀντιλαμβάνονται, περιγενέσθαι.*—Thuc. viii. 106.

on his arrival at Samos, he showed his superiority to the ordinary faction-leaders and demagogues who were the curse of Athens, by preventing the outbreak, then imminent, of a fratricidal war between the armament at Samos and the Government at Athens, and so paving the way for that happy compromise which produced what Thucydides considers to have been the best constitution that Athens had ever, in his lifetime, enjoyed. But all this took place long afterwards. At the time when the present Comedy was composed and exhibited the prospect before the Athenians was one of unrelieved gloom. It was in a period of hopeless despondency that Lysistrata developed her original scheme for a general pacification of the warring Hellenic states.

“The Lysistrata of Aristophanes, in some of its scenes,” says the late Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln, is the best topographical guide-book to the Athenian Acropolis.” (Athens and Attica, chap. xiv ad fin.) For the whole action of the Comedy is concerned with the Acropolis. The scene is, throughout, the open space before its entrance; and its seizure by the Women, and the manner in which they hold it against the Men, constitute the central events around which are grouped all the various incidents of the Play. And it may perhaps assist unlearned readers (for whom alone the following remarks are intended) to realize and appreciate the setting of the Comedy, if we devote a few pages to the illustration of the locality in which the action of the Play is supposed to be carried on.

The Acropolis itself, the original Athens, is an isolated rock, rising to a height of about 500 feet above the level of the sea. In its natural state its summit would doubtless have been rugged and irregular, but it was levelled by the Pelasgians, the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of the land; and, as levelled, became an elevated plateau about 1,000 feet long and 450 feet broad at its widest part. Its contour is shown on the accompanying Plan. This plateau they surrounded with a wall¹ (τὸ Πελασγικὸν) which lasted,

¹ Suidas in two places, s.v. ἄπεδα and s.v. ἡπέδιζον, quotes from Cleidemus (or Cleitodemus), one of the earliest writers on the antiquities of Athens, the sentence καὶ ἡπέδιζον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, περιέβαλλον δὲ ἐννεάπυλον τὸ Πελασγικόν.



apparently unaltered, till the time of the Persian invasion. But then, during the double occupation of Athens, first under Xerxes himself and afterwards under Mardonius, not only was the great Temple of Athene, the Erechtheum, set on fire, but all the other buildings of the Acropolis, including the wall, were thrown down, and consumed in one general conflagration¹. The portion of the Wall which was most completely demolished was that on the southern side of the plateau; and this, some fourteen years later, was rebuilt by Cimon with the money arising from the spoil obtained in his expedition to the Eurymedon². The rest of the wall seems to have been merely restored out of its old materials and the ruins of the other edifices destroyed by the Persians. The southern wall is therefore commonly called the "Cimonian," and the rest the "Pelasgian." But even the restoration by Hellenic hands of the "Pelasgian" wall must have radically changed its character; and modern antiquaries are unable to detect any traces of pre-Hellenic work except in the little strip on the western side of the Acropolis, immediately to the south of the Propylaea.

The entire Acropolis was holy ground³; and in the present Play it is styled "a holy Temple," "a holy sanctuary," *ιερός ναός*, *ιερόν τέμενος* (lines 483, 775); and with greater particularity "Athene's mansion," "the acropolis of the Goddess" (lines 241, 345). For numerous as were the Temples and statues which adorned its summit, they were all dominated by the triple presentment⁴ of Athene as the *Πολιάς*, the *Παρθένος*,

¹ Of the first occupation Herodotus says (viii. 53) *τὸ ἱερόν συλίσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*. Cf. Id. 55. In his narrative of the second he expressly mentions the *walls*. *ἐμπρήσας τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ, εἰ κού τι ὀρθόν ἦν τῶν τευχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρώων, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας*.—Id. ix. 13.

² *Πραθέντων δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λαφύρων, εἷς τε τὰ πᾶλλα χρήμασιν ὁ δῆμος ἐρρώσθη, καὶ τῇ ἀκροπόλει τὸ νότιον τείχος κατεσκεύασεν ἀπ' ἐκείνης εὐπορήσας τῆς στρατείας*.—Plutarch, Cimon, chap. 13.

Τῇ δὲ ἀκροπόλει, πλὴν ὅσον Κίμων ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτῆς ὁ Μιλτιάδου, περιβαλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν λέγεται τοῦ τείχους Πελασγούς.—Pausanias i. 28. 3.

³ *Ὁλης οὔσης ἱερᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ταυτησί*.—Demosthenes, de F. L. 309 (p. 428).

⁴ *Τρία ἀγάλματα ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνῶν ἐν διαφόροις τόποις· ἐν μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενόμενον ἐξ ἐλαίας, ὅπερ ἐκαλεῖτο Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς, διὰ τὸ αὐτῆς εἶναι τὴν πάλιν. ἕτερον*

and the *Πρόμαχος*. The *Πολιάς* dwelt in the *Erechtheium*; the *Παρθένος* in the *Parthenon*; the *Πρόμαχος* was merely a colossal statue in the open, without any Temple attached to it.

The *Erechtheium* was the most ancient Temple in Athens, it had been in existence for many centuries before the Persian invasion, and was the *ἱερὸν* which, Herodotus tells us, was pillaged and fired

by the invaders. It is mentioned by Homer under the THE
ERECOTHEIUM. name of the *δόμος Ἐρεχθῆος*¹, and it is thither that

Athene betakes herself on leaving *Scheria* (*Corcyra*), where, in the guise of a maiden bearing a pitcher, she has been showing *Odysseus* the way to the palace of King *Alcinous*. Both *Erechtheus* and the Temple are mentioned also in the *Catalogue of the Ships*, but that passage, which is

δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ μόνου, ὅπερ ἐποίησαν νικήσαντες οἱ ἐν Μαραθῶνι· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τοῦτο Προμάχου Ἀθηνῶς. τρίτον ἐποίησαντο ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, ὡς πλουσιώτεροι γενομένοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι νίκης, ὅσφ καὶ μείζων ἡ νίκη· καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο τοῦτο Παρθένου Ἀθηνῶς.—Scholiast on Demosthenes against Androtion, p. 597.

Τρία ἦσαν ἀγάλματα ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνῶς· ἐν μὲν τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ διοπετές· ἕτερον τὸ χαλκοῦν δ' ἔθεσαν μετὰ τὸ Περσικόν· τρίτον τὸ Φειδίον τὸ ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος κατεσκευασμένον.—Scholiast on Aristeides, *Panath.* 187, 20 (vol. iii. 320, ed. Dindorf). And another Scholiast on the same passage says ἦσαν τῆς Ἀθηνῶς ἐν ἀκροπόλει τρία ἀγάλματα· τὸ μὲν ἐν χαλκοῦν, ὃ μετὰ τὰ Περσικὰ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐποίησαν· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, παριστῶντα ἄμφω τέχνην ὑπερφυῆ. κατεσκεύασε δὲ τὸ μὲν Φειδίας, τὸ δὲ χαλκοῦν Πραξιτέλης. [This is a mistake. Praxiteles lived a century later.] Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τέχνης ταῦτα. ἴστατο δὲ πρὸ τούτων ἕτερον διοπετές· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Τροίᾳ φασὶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τοῦτ' ἐπετωκέναι. λαβόντος δὲ Διομήδους, ἀρπάσας ἀπὸ τούτου Δημοφῶν Ἀθήναζε ἦγαγεν, ὡς Λυσίας ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Σωκράτους πρὸς Πολυκράτην λόγῳ φησί.

But though there were three ἀγάλματα, only two of them were lodged in Temples, whence the Scholiast on *Knights* 1169 says δύο εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως Ἀθηνῶς ναοὶ, ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος καὶ ἡ χρυσελεφαντίνη ἣν ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν σκύλων κατεσκεύασαν, Φειδίον πλάσαντος.

¹

Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας· ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον· λίπε δὲ Σχερίην ἐρατεινήν·
ἵκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρύαγυιαν Ἀθήνην,
δύνε δ' Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον.—*Odyssey* vii. 78-81.

From the place, or any of the places, where Homer is supposed to have dwelt *Marathon* would be on the direct road to Athens; but the poet forgot that the goddess, flying from the west, would reach Athens *before* she reached *Marathon*.

given in the note below¹, is almost certainly an interpolation. The Temple was burnt a second time in the year of the battle of Arginusae², but on neither occasion was it totally destroyed, nor does there seem ever to have been any real break in its existence or use³ as a Temple. It is impossible here to enter into the discussion as to the date at which it finally assumed the fair Ionic form so familiar to us all; but whether partly in ruins, or restored, or rebuilt, it was always the "ancient" Temple, ὁ παλαιὸς νεὸς, ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ νεὸς ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα, the original primeval seat of Athene's worship. And the image which it enshrined, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα, a simple olive-wood statue, was supposed to be no mere product of human art, but to have fallen down from Heaven (Pausanias i. 26. 7). It was indeed identified with the famous Palladium of Troy which, the story went, was carried from the captured city by the hero Diomed. His ships, on the return voyage, were driven by night on the coast of Attica; and the troops, not knowing whither they had arrived, and believing the country to be hostile, betook themselves to ravage and plunder. Demophon the King of Athens, the King who figures in the *Heracleidae* of Euripides, not knowing who the plunderers were, at once attacked them, and in the course of the conflict the Palladium was seized and carried off to Athens (Pausanias i. 28. 9). And it may be that the custom of bringing the splendidly embroidered

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, ἐκτίμενον πολίεθρον,
 δῆμον Ἑρεχθίδος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
 θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος Ἄρουρα,
 καὶ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνῃσ' εἶσεν, ἐφ' ἐνὶ πτόνι νηῶ·
 ἐνθάδε μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἀρνείοις ἱλάονται
 κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων, περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν.—*Iliad* ii. 546–51.

² Ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηναῖς νεὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρίσθη.—*Xen. Hell.* i. vi. 1. C. O. Müller, in his learned treatise on "Minervae Poliadis sacra et aedem in arce Athenarum" (Göttingen, 1820), thinks that these words are an interpolation because at that time "templum vix absolutum, nedum *vetus* esse poterat" (p. 19). But this objection is perhaps sufficiently answered by the observations in the text. And cf. Boeckh, *Corpus Ins. Graec.*, No. 160.

³ Cf. Herodotus viii. 55. A building composed of stone or marble and clamped with iron or lead is not easily destroyed by fire.

Πέπλος to this wooden statue at the feast of the Great Panathenaea was a reminiscence of the Trojan usage which Homer describes in the Sixth Book of the Iliad. There Hector exhorts his mother to go with the ancient women of Troy, and lay on the knees of Athene her most prized and beautiful πέπλος. I quote the sequel from Mr. Way's version.

"Then hasted his mother, and gave command to the maids in her hall,
And they fared up and down through the city the ancient women to call.
But the Queen passed on, and now in her scented bower she stands;
There lay the broidery-glorious robes (πέπλοι) the work of the hands
Of Sidonian women, brought far over the waters wide. . . .
And from these for Athene she taketh a lovely-woven pall;
Brightest its broideries shone, and its folds swept widest of all;
And it gleamed and it flashed as a star; mid her treasures the deepest it lay.
Then with the throng of the ancient women she hied her away.

So they came to the castled crag, and Athene's stately fane;
And Theano the fair-cheeked opened the door for the suppliant train. . . .
And they lifted their hands to Athene, and woeful-wild they shrieked;
And the priceless mantle (πέπλον) she took, Theano the beautiful-cheeked;
On the knees of Athene she laid it, the Maid of the glorious hair,
And she cried to the daughter of Zeus most high with vow and prayer."

Pausanias (i. 26. 7) will not commit himself to any decided opinion as to whether the wooden statue did, or did not, actually fall down from Heaven; but he tells us that whereas all Athens, and indeed all Attica, was Athene's soil, yet of all her innumerable sanctuaries and representations, the wooden image in the Acropolis was accounted of all men the most sacred, τὸ ἁγιώτατον πάντων. Hellenic architects could build more majestic temples; Hellenic sculptors could conceive and execute far grander representations of the national Goddess; but they could not invest their creations with the religious awe which hung around the simple wooden figure of the Erechtheium, the mysterious Palladium of the Athenian people. Hence it was commonly called merely τὸ παλαιὸν βρέτας, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα, or even τὸ ἄγιον βρέτας. In this very Play (line 262) the Chorus of Men exclaim against the Women for having seized the Acropolis and taken possession of τὸ ἄγιον βρέτας, as if there were no other sacred statue in the entire Acropolis. In the Eumenides

(line 80) Apollo, advising Orestes how to be purged from the guilt of matricide, says *Go to the City of Pallas, and there take thy seat, embracing the ancient statue*, ἵζου παλαιὸν ἄγκαθεν λαβὼν βρέτας. He does not think it necessary to say whose statue; he does not even use the definite article. There is in the British Museum a lengthy inscription brought by Chandler from Athens recording the state of the works at the Erechtheum in the archonship of Diocles B.C. 409–408, some three years before the second conflagration; and in this inscription the Temple is called, not the Erechtheum, but ὁ νεὼς ὁ ἐν πόλει, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα. The inscription is given, with a Latin translation and copious annotations, in Müller's treatise mentioned in the note on page xxii, and by Boeckh in the Corpus Ins. Graec., No. 160; and, with an English translation, in Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities*. Before this sacrosanct image a golden lamp was always burning day and night, a lamp so fashioned that it contained exactly sufficient oil to last an entire year, and accordingly required to be replenished only once a year; whence in Strabo ix. 1. 16 the Temple is called ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὼς ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἄσβεστος λύχνος. And it was somewhere in the precincts of the Temple that the little Mystery-Maidens, ἀρηφόροι, mentioned in line 641 of this Play, or at all events the two of them who assisted the priestesses in embroidering the Panathenaic πέπλος, were lodged during their term of office. Here too was the abode of the sacred serpent, whose opportune disappearance when the Persians were approaching the City gave such efficient assistance to the plans of Themistocles. It may indeed be said with truth that all the sacred traditions and ritual observances of Athene clustered around the Erechtheum. They had no doubt done so long before the Parthenon was built. And as we know that the National Treasury was in the Acropolis, in Athene's Temple, παρὰ τῇ σιῶ as Lampito says in line 174 of this Comedy, it would *a priori* seem probable that it was placed under the protection of the Goddess in her most sacred and venerated sanctuary. But before considering this subject, it is necessary to make a few observations upon the structure and internal arrangement of the Erechtheum.

The particulars of the Erechtheum were first made known by Stuart and Revett in the second volume of their great work on the Antiquities of Athens. They described it as a conglomeration of three buildings, not all on the same level; and they called these three buildings (wrongly, as I think) "the Temples of Erechtheus, Minerva Polias, and Pandrosus," taking the section marked B in the accompanying Plan to be the Temple of Erechtheus; that marked C to be the Temple of the Polias; and the small section to the south of D to be the Temple of Pandrosus. In this small section the roof was supported by the female figures known as Caryatides, one of which is now in the British Museum. C. O. Müller, however, in the treatise to which reference has already been made, considers the section marked D to have been itself the Temple of Pandrosus. Mr. Fergusson, in a paper read before the Royal Institute of British architects on the 14th of February, 1876, and published in the "Sessional Papers, 1875, 1876, No. 8" of that Institute, would relegate the Temple of Pandrosus to a further building, of which all traces are now lost, but which he imagines to have extended to the west of the existing ruins; and other writers have sought to provide for it in other quarters. In fact, the Erechtheum has acquired quite a literature of its own, mainly concerned with the attempt to locate three Temples in a building apparently designed for two only. It seems to me that all this ingenuity is misplaced; and that the Erechtheum never in fact comprised more than two complete Temples, one of Poseidon-Erechtheus, and the other of Athene-Pandrosus.

The original Erechtheum belongs to prehistoric times and was appropriated to the worship of two Autochthonic deities, Erechtheus (*Ἐρεχθῆος τοῦ γηγενέος*, Hdt. viii. 55; *τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος Ἄρουρα*, Iliad ii. 548, cited in a preceding note) and Pandrosus. Erechtheus was the primeval Earth-shaker¹, the power whose might could divide the ground, and open or dry up fountains; Pandrosus represented the all-bedewing, all-

¹ *Ἐρεχθεύς· παρὰ τὸ ἐρέχθω, τὸ κινῶ· δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ οἱ σεισμοί.*—Tzetzes on Lycophron 431. We are here of course considering Erechtheus and Pandrosus merely as objects of worship, and not in their human character.

refreshing influence attributed to the lunar radiance. But as the Hellenic race, or culture, superseded the indigenous people, or culture, of Attica, it was natural that the Hellenic deities should supersede the deities of the older religion. The building itself was allowed to retain the name of Erechtheus, but his worship, if continued at all, was continued under the title of Poseidon, the Hellenic Earth-shaker, ἐνοσίχθων, ἐννοσίγαιος; whilst the Virgin Goddess, Athene, the prime object of worship in the new order of things, naturally took the place which Pandrosus held under the older system. And thence I imagine it was that Athene¹, in addition to her ordinary attributes, became sometimes identified with the Moon, and that some Athenian coins displayed a lunar emblem² in conjunction with the olive-branch and owl of Pallas.

In this way, as it seems to me, Poseidon superseded Erechtheus as the supreme deity in one section, and Athene superseded Pandrosus as the supreme deity in the other. In each section however altars were erected, and worship offered to other powers, as to Hephaestus and Butes³ in Poseidon's Temple and to Zeus Herceius⁴ in Athene's. It would seem too that though Erechtheus became altogether merged in his supplanter Poseidon, yet the dethroned Pandrosus still retained a chapel or compartment, close to Athene's shrine, in the Temple of the Polias. This is

¹ "Aristoteles . . . Minervam esse Lunam probabilibus argumentis explicat, et litterata auctoritate defendit."—Arnobius adv. Nation. iii. 31, 33. Τριτομηνίς· Δουκουργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἱερείας τὴν τρίτην τοῦ μηνὸς τριτομηνίδα καλεῖ· δοκεῖ δὲ γενέσθαι τότε ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. Ἰστρος δὲ καὶ Τριτογένειαν αὐτὴν φησι διὰ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι, τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ Σελήμῃ νομιζομένην.—Harpocration. Cf. Müller's Treatise, p. 5.

² Tetradrachmis ante Periclem cuspis ad noctuam et oleae ramum lunulam addere religiosum habebant.—Müller, p. 5.

³ Pausanias i. 26. 6. The building itself was sometimes called τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Ἡφαίστου τε ἱερὸν, and legends were invented to account for the conjunction of these two deities.

⁴ Κύων εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεῶν εἰσελθοῦσα, καὶ δῦσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσειον, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβάσα τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ κατέκειτο.—Philochorus apud Dionys. Hal. p. 636. The word δῦσα does not warrant the inference which Mr. Fergusson (p. 146) would draw from it that the Pandroseium was on a lower level than the Temple of the Polias. It means simply *having disappeared within, having penetrated into*, and involves no idea of descent.

shown by the incident quoted from Philochorus in the preceding note, and also from the statement of Pausanias that the shrine of Pandrosus¹ was contiguous to the shrine of Athene.

But the mere substitution of Poseidon and Athene for Erechtheus and Pandrosus was not enough to satisfy the loyal aspirations of Athenian religion. The name Erechtheium is itself sufficient to show that, in the original arrangement of the Temple, Erechtheus was considered a superior power to the female Pandrosus; but it was not to be tolerated that the national Goddess should hold in the national Temple a secondary place even to the great Poseidon. The transfer of the primacy from Poseidon to Athene is symbolized in the old legend as the result of an actual dispute between the two Powers with reference to the priority of their respective occupations of the platform of the Acropolis². Poseidon had really come there first, and smote the ground with his trident, so that the salt waters gushed forth; but he did not take the precaution of securing a witness to his act. Athene, when she planted her olive, called Cecrops to witness that she did so; and on the strength of his evidence she was adjudged by the assembled Gods to be the Patroness

¹ Τῷ ναφ̄ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχής ἐστι.—Pausanias i. 27. 3. It is hardly necessary to say that there might be several ναοὶ in one Temple. As to συνεχής cf. Hdt. iv. 22 where, after mentioning the Thyssagetæ, the historian says that the Iurcæ are συνεχέες τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖσι τόποισι κατοικημένοι.

² Κέκροψ αὐτόχθων, συμφυὲς ἔχων σῶμα ἀνδρὸς καὶ δράκοντος, τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος. ἐπὶ τούτῳ, φασίν, ἔδοξε τοῖς θεοῖς πόλεις καταλαβέσθαι, ἐν αἷς ἔμελλον ἔχειν τιμὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστος. ἦκεν οὖν πρῶτος Ποσειδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ πλήξας τῇ τριαίνῃ κατὰ μέσσην τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπέφηνε θάλασσαν, ἣν νῦν Ἐρεχθίδα καλοῦσι. μετὰ δὲ τούτον ἦκεν Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ποιησαμένη τῆς καταλήψεως Κέκροπα μάρτυρα, ἐφύτευσεν ἑλαίαν ἣ νῦν ἐν τῇ Πανδροσεΐῳ δέικνται. γενομένης δὲ ἔριδος ἀμφοῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας, Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα διαλύσας, Ζεὺς κριτὰς ἔδωκεν, οὐχ, ὡς εἰπὼν τινες, Κέκροπα καὶ Κραναὸν, οὐδὲ Ἐρυσίχθονα, θεοὺς δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα. καὶ τούτων δικαζόντων ἡ χώρα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐκρίθη, Κέκροπος μαρτυρήσαντος ὅτι πρώτη τὴν ἑλαίαν ἐφύτευσεν. Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν οὖν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς τὴν πόλιν ἐκάλεσεν Ἀθήνας.—Apollodorus III. xiv. 1. This legend, which shows the legal importance of evidence, is referred to by Herodotus viii. 55 ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Ἐρεχθίδος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς, ἐν τῇ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσᾳ ἔνι τὰ λόγος παρ' Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην, ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας, μαρτύρια θέσθαι. So Aristides says φανέντων δὲ τῶν συμβόλων ἐκατέρωθεν, τοῦ τε βοθίου καὶ τοῦ θαλλοῦ, νικᾷ μὲν Ἀθηνᾶ.—Panath. 106, 15 (vol. i, p. 169, ed. Dindorf).

and Guardian of the City. The legend was evidently suggested by the fact that a pool of salt water existed in, or in connexion with, one of the two Temples, whilst an olive-tree grew in, or in connexion¹ with, the other. Thenceforward, Athene reigned as the undisputed Mistress of the City, the Πολιὰς, the Πολιοῦχος, the "Praeses arcis et urbis."

Long after the commencement of the Christian era, the olive, the pool of salt water, and the mark of Poseidon's trident were shown to Pausanias within the precincts of the Erechtheum.

Such, in my opinion, is the most probable account of the development of the Erechtheian worship. Poseidon superseded Erechtheus in the one Temple; Athene superseded Pandrosus in the other; and though Poseidon had the earlier claim to the primacy, it ultimately fell to Athene. And the architectural puzzle of arranging three Temples in a building only designed for two does not really exist. There never were more than two distinct Temples, though there were many shrines, in the one Erechtheum. In corroboration of the foregoing view I would point out the following circumstances.

1. Poseidon was known at Athens by the name of Erechtheus, and Athene by that of Pandrosus, from the deities whom they respectively superseded².

¹ That the olive-tree was in a court, corridor, or other place open to the sky is to be inferred not merely from the nature of the case, but also from the statement of Philochorus quoted in a preceding note that it overhung the altar of Ζεὺς Ἐρκείος, for that altar was always in the open. See Odyssey xxii. 334, with the note of Eustathius; Athenaeus v. 15; and Harpocration, Photius and Suidas, s. vv. Ἐρκείος Ζεύς.

² Ἐρεχθεύς· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις.—Hesychius, s. v. διατάξατο τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος Ἐρεχθέως.—Lives of the X Orators (Lycurgus 30). And the name is so found in inscriptions. Then as to Pandrosus, the Scholiast on line 439 of this Play says ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ Πάνδρσος καλεῖται. In the fifth scholium, given by Athenaeus xv. 50, the meaning is too uncertain to admit of any argument being founded upon it. It consists of three hendecasyllabic lines:—

ἐνικήσαμεν, ὥς ἐβουλόμεσθα,
καὶ νίκην ἔδοσαν θεοί, φέροντες
παρὰ Πανδρόσου ὡς φίλην Ἀθηνᾶν.

I do not know whether νίκην can be used for νικητήριον. If it can, the poet may be

2. The pool of salt water which Poseidon called forth from the rock would of course be in his Temple, but being called the *θάλασσα Ἐρεχθῆς* it was also no doubt in the Temple of Erechtheus. The olive-tree which Athene planted must needs have been in her Temple, yet Philochorus and Apollodorus say that it was in the Pandroseium.

3. Athene Polias and Poseidon (or Erechtheus) are constantly spoken of as the two co-tenants of the Temple without any mention of Pandrosus as a sharer in their dignity. Thus in Plutarch's *Symposiacs* (ix. 6) one guest says to another "Don't be intractable like Aias, but go rather with Poseidon. He was worsted by Athene, but he shares with her the Temple; and an altar of Lethe is set up therein." Herodotus (v. 82) tells us that the Athenians gave the Epidaurians one of their sacred olive-trees, on condition that the Epidaurians should every year bring a sacrifice to Athene Polias and Erechtheus. And Aristeides (*Panath.* 107, 7, vol. i. 170, ed. Dind.) says that Erechtheus is the *πάρεδρος* of Athene.

From the Erechtheium, one of the most elegant specimens of the Ionic order of architecture, we pass to the Parthenon, one of the most perfect specimens of the Doric. The architect of the Parthenon was Ictinus, as we are told by both Pausanias (viii. 41. 5) and Strabo (ix. 1. 16). Plutarch indeed (Pericles 13) couples Ictinus and Callicrates as the joint architects; but in a matter of this kind his authority is unequal to that of either Pausanias or Strabo; and even if Callicrates assisted in some part of the work, we may be sure that the plan sprang from a single mind, and that the mind of Ictinus. The chief glory of the interior was the statue of Athene itself, wrought by Pheidias in gold and ivory; gold being employed for the dress and the armour, and ivory for so much of the person as was left uncovered.

THE
PARTHENON.

ascribing the victories over the Persians to Athene, and suggesting that the Gods brought to her as the prize of victory a branch from the sacred olive-tree in the Pandroseium. Demosthenes, de F. L. 309 (p. 428), says that the Athenians dedicated the colossal statue to Athene as an *ἀριστέιον τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμου*.

In the course of certain excavations made in the Acropolis during the years 1835 and 1836, the foundations of some older buildings on the site of the Parthenon were incidentally brought to light. These older buildings do not seem to have been of the same character as, or to have corresponded in any way with, the building erected by Ictinus, but antiquaries at once jumped to the conclusion that they represented an earlier Parthenon which had been destroyed by the Persians. That conclusion seems to me quite untenable. The Acropolis was the original "Athens," and must have been completely covered with public and private buildings from Royal Palaces down to the humblest abodes. And this state of things continued until the Persians practically cleared the plateau (*ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν* is the language, already quoted, of Herodotus), and gave the Athenians an opportunity of transforming the crowded fortress into a noble storehouse of Art and Religion. When the Parthenon was erected by Ictinus, it *could* only be erected on the site of earlier buildings. And it is extremely improbable that whilst the Acropolis continued to be the most thickly populated region of Athens there should have been space for, or need of, a second great Temple of Athene. It was only in "the spacious times" of Pericles, after the plateau of the Acropolis had been given him as a blank slate on which to inscribe whatever he would, that Temples and other great works were designed, not for any merely utilitarian purpose, but with the object of enhancing the splendour of Athens as the Mistress of a Mighty Empire. And this is in accordance with all the indications to be found in ancient literature. It is plain that Herodotus knew of but one Temple in the Acropolis; *τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν* he says in a passage quoted above. And although the Homeric story about Athene retiring to the *δόμον Ἐρεχθῆος* does not necessarily exclude the existence of other Temples in the Acropolis, yet the poet would hardly have described her as having her home in a Temple of which she was merely a part-owner, had he been aware that she possessed in the same little enclosure another Temple entirely dedicated to herself. The originator of the theory of a "pre-Persian" Parthenon appears to have been

Professor Ludwig Ross, who thought that he found confirmation of it in the explanation which Hesychius gives of the word Ἐκατόμπεδος, namely νεὼς ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει Παρθένῳ (vulgo παρθένοις) κατασκευασθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, μείζων τοῦ ἐμπρησθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ποσὶ πεντήκοντα. But by "the Temple burnt by the Persians" he means the Temple famous in history as having been burnt by the Persians, that is to say the earlier Erechtheium; he is not alluding to any unknown Parthenon. Leake (Topography of Athens i. 556) observes that "if we apply the remark of Hesychius to the Erechtheium it is manifestly erroneous, no dimension of the Erechtheium being fifty feet." It would not be surprising if the measurement given by Hesychius is really erroneous; but Leake forgets that while he himself is speaking of the existing Erechtheium, Hesychius is speaking of the earlier Erechtheium which was burnt by the Persians. And Mr. Fergusson, it will be remembered, considers that the Erechtheium originally extended for some distance to the west of the existing ruins. But without going further into these questions we may rest assured that the Doric Temple so well known to all of us was the first and only Parthenon ever erected on the Acropolis of Athens.

The statue of the Polias was of olive-wood: the statue of the Parthenos was of ivory and gold: the Promachus was a colossal image of bronze, standing in full armour with a spear erect in its hand. Its height is, I believe, nowhere mentioned, but THE
PROMACHUS. it was so gigantic that the crest of the helmet and the tip of the spear overtopped everything on the Acropolis, and were visible to the approaching mariner soon after he had rounded the promontory of Sunium¹; just as in England the top of a cathedral spire may be

¹ Ταύτης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἡ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμὴ καὶ ὁ λόφος τοῦ κράνους ἀπὸ Σουνίου προσπλέουσιν ἔστιν ἥδη σύνοπτα.—Pausanias i. 28. 2. The meaning of the passage, which seems perfectly clear, is strangely misunderstood by Col. Leake (Topography of Athens i. 350 and 631). He thinks that Pausanias is referring to a spot whence *the Acropolis itself and its buildings* could be plainly seen, and is calling attention to the circumstance that, even so, nothing was visible of the Promachus excepting the crest and the spear-point. To account for this circumstance Col. Leake suggests that the rest of the statue must have been hidden by the

a conspicuous object at the distance of very many miles, although the city itself from the midst of which it arises may be quite invisible except in its immediate vicinity. The statue itself was, Pausanias tells us, the work of Pheidias¹, who made another for the Plataeans, of different material but of almost equal dimensions. The date at which the statue was erected on the Acropolis is unknown, but it must have been, one would suppose, in the days of Cimon or Pericles. The Scholiast on Demosthenes, cited in the note on page xx *supra*, seems to imply that it was done before the battle of Salamis; but in that case it could not have been the work of Pheidias, nor could it by any possibility have survived the Persian occupation of Athens. And the statement of Demosthenes himself² that the Athenians dedicated the great bronze statue as an ἀριστεῖον τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πόλεμον rather points, and I think rightly, to the period when ὁ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πόλεμος had been substantially concluded. But the language of an orator must not be

Parthenon; and he actually from these utterly erroneous data attempts to fix the exact situation and height of the Promachus. And as the Acropolis, he tells us, first comes into sight to the west of Cape Zoster, he takes Pausanias to mean that the crest and the spear-point become visible to the mariner only after he has coasted along more than half the distance from Cape Sunium to Peiraeus. The language will not admit of this interpretation. Pausanias means that the crest and the spear-point—and no other part of the Acropolis or its buildings—became visible to mariners *shortly after* they have passed Cape Sunium. If not speaking from his own knowledge, he may have been misled by false information. Or it may be, as Dodwell (Tour i. 541) suggests, that these lofty tips may have been visible to sailors very soon after passing Sunium, if they were not keeping to the coast, but standing some miles out at sea.

¹ Δύο μὲν Ἀθηναίους εἰσὶ δεκάται πολεμήσασιν ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Μήδων τῶν ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἀποβάντων, τέχνη Φειδίου.—Pausanias i. 28. 2. The other δεκάτη does not concern us. Πλαταιεῦσι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπικλήσιν Ἀρείας ἐστὶν ἱερόν· ὥκοδομήθη δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων, ἃ τῆς μάχης σφίσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἀπένευμαν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα ξόανόν ἐστιν ἐπίχρυσον, πρόσωπον δὲ οἱ καὶ χεῖρες ἄκραι καὶ πόδες λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιου εἰσὶ· μέγεθος μὲν οὐ πολὺ δὴ τι ἀποδέει τῆς ἐν ἀκροπόλει χαλκῆς, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ Μαραθῶνι ἀπαρχὴν ἀγῶνος ἀνέθηκαν. Φειδίας δὲ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσιν ἦν ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιήσας.—Id. ix. 4. 1.

² Τὴν χαλκὴν τὴν μεγάλην Ἀθηνᾶν, ἣν ἀριστεῖον ἢ πόλις τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμου, δόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ χρήματα ταῦτ', ἀνέθηκεν.—Demosthenes, de F. L. 309 (p. 428).

taken too literally, and there is no doubt that the great statue had special reference to the primal victory which Athene gave to her people on "the pleasant mead of Marathon." The very appellation *Πρόμαχος* was probably selected as a reminiscence of that memorable September evening when

Ἑλλήνων ΠΡΟΜΑΧΟΥΝΤΕΣ Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι
χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν¹.

The attitude and general appearance of the martial figure, as it stood facing the Propylaea from its central position on the Acropolis, are clearly shown in coins delineated on the first plate in Leake's Topography of Athens. And more than eight centuries afterwards the vision of Athene Promachus patrolling the walls of Athens is said to have struck such fear into the fearless heart of Alaric that it deterred him from delivering an assault on the city which was guarded by her protecting care².

The reader must not forget that there were innumerable other works of religious art, shrines, and statues (some of Athene herself) on the Acropolis which, as unnecessary for our present purpose, are unnoticed in the Plan. But he will find there, between the Propylaea and the Parthenon, a Temple dedicated to Artemis Brauronia; Pausanias i. 23. 9. The great quinquennial festival of the Brauronia, mentioned in line 645 of the present Comedy, was celebrated in the seaside town of Brauron (Hdt. vi. 138, Peace 874, 876), and it was there, I imagine, that some specially selected Athenian maiden would walk in the sacred procession, dressed up in yellow robes

¹ These lines, supposed to have been written by Simonides, are quoted by the orator Lysurgus in his speech against Leocrates, 111 (p. 163), and by other writers.

² Ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλάρικος πανστρατιᾷ τῇ πόλει, τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἑώρα περιωστοῦσαν τὴν Πρόμαχον Ἀθηνᾶν, ὥς ἔστιν αὐτὴν ὁρᾶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, ὥπλισμένην, καὶ οἶον τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ἐνίστασθαι μέλλουσαν.—Zosimus v. 6. As to Zosimus see Bentley's "Remarks upon a late discourse of Freethinking," § 42. The "poor superstitious creature" is not content with enlisting Athene Promachus in the defence of her own city: he brings in the apparition of Achilles as well.

to imitate a bear, ἄρκτος. But the Temple-service in which all Athenian girls were expected to participate at a tender age and "to play the bear," ἀρκτεύειν, was doubtless performed in this Temple on the Acropolis; it would not have been practicable to send such young children so far from their Athenian homes.

It may perhaps be permissible to add, though the fact has no relevancy to the present Comedy, that almost adjacent, apparently, to the Temple of Artemis Brauronia stood a bronze representation of the Wooden Horse within which the Achaean leaders were taken into the city of Troy. In this great bronze horse Menestheus, Teucer, and two sons of Theseus were shown peeping out from the inside (Pausanias i. 23. 10). The Scholiast on Birds 1128 supposes that Aristophanes may there be referring to this great bronze horse; a suggestion which seems to me quite inadmissible.

Before leaving the Acropolis, it is necessary to revert to a subject already mentioned, viz. the locality of the National Treasury of Athens.

THE
NATIONAL
TREASURY. We know that it was "beside Athene" παρὰ τῇ σιῶ, as Lampito here (line 174) expresses it; and again, that it was "the inner chamber of her Temple" ὁ ὀπισθοδόμος τῆς θεοῦ, as Chremylus tells us in Plutus 1193. But which Temple? that of the Πολιάς or that of the Παρθένος? All *a priori* ideas would be in favour of the former, which possessed a traditional sanctity to which the Parthenon could never lay claim. And the only ancient authority on the subject, the Scholiast on the Plutus, expressly says that the treasure was kept in the inner chamber of the Temple of the Πολιάς¹. But modern antiquaries, examining the remains of the two Temples, declare that there is no such inner chamber to be found in the Erechtheium, as there is in the Parthenon. And overborne by their authority I have reluctantly in the Commentary on the Plutus, as well as in the present

¹ Ὅπισω τοῦ νεῶ τῆς καλουμένης Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς διπλοῦς τοίχος ἔχων θύραν ὅπου ἦν θησαυροφυλάκιον.—Scholiast on Plutus 1193. The description is not very intelligible.

Play, adopted their conclusion that the National Treasury was kept in the Parthenon. But I am "a man convinced against my will"; and I should like to know whether the experts may not have failed to find an inner chamber in the Erechtheium, from the supposed necessity (which in my judgement does not exist) of finding a third chamber for the exclusive use of Pandrosus. It must be remembered that, when the Treasury of the Allies was transferred from Delos to Athens, the Parthenon was not in existence. It is said that a recently discovered papyrus shows that the transfer was made in the archonship of Euthydemus, 450-449 B. C., and that the Parthenon was not even commenced until the archonship of Timarchides, three years later (Classical Review, xviii, p. 92). Where then was the treasure lodged until the Parthenon was completed? And there could have been no treasure in the *δπισθόδομος* of the Parthenon when the Athenians made it a guestchamber for Demetrius Poliorcetes (Plutarch, Demetrius 23). It seems to me that *everything* points to the *δπισθόδομος* of the Erechtheium, and not the *δπισθόδομος* of the Parthenon, as having been the National Treasury; and that it is the plain duty of archaeologists to find a place for it in the ruins of the older Temple. Notwithstanding what is said in the earlier part of this Introduction, it would not altogether surprise me if Compartment B were discovered to be the *δπισθόδομος* of the Erechtheium, and the seat of the National Treasury. The Treasury was in the charge of ten *ταμίαι*, chosen by lot, one from each tribe¹.

The sides of the Acropolis-rock were everywhere steep and precipitous except at the western end², where a sloping road, no doubt partly natural and partly artificial, led up to the plateau at the summit. The slope was about 168 feet wide and was sufficiently easy for the ascent of carriages. At or about the time when Ictinus was completing the splendid pile of the Parthenon, another great

THE
PROPYLAEA.

¹ Aristotle's Polity of Athens, chap. 47.

² 'Ες δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔστιν εἴσοδος μία· ἑτέραν δὲ οὐ παρέχεται πᾶσα ἀπότομος οὖσα καὶ τεῖχος ἔχουσα ἑχυρόν. τὰ δὲ Προπύλαια λίθου λευκοῦ τὴν ὀροφὴν ἔχει, καὶ κόσμῳ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν λίθων μέχρι γὰρ καὶ ἐμοῦ προείχε.—Pausanias i. 22. 4.

Athenian architect, Mnesicles by name, was engaged in erecting above this slope a portal of no less majesty and grace than the work of Ictinus ; so that, in truth, the Parthenon and the Propylaea were recognized as two of the chief architectural glories of ancient Athens. The actual gates were five in number ; the central gate being the largest, both in height and width ; that on each side of it being smaller ; and that at each end smaller still. But the gates themselves formed but a subordinate part of the entire fabric of the Propylaea, which was a building 168 feet long, divisible into three sections, a large wing on each side, and between them, a little thrown back, the central or gateway section about 58 feet long and 72 feet deep. As you approached the Acropolis you saw before you a colonnade of six Doric columns, the central gap between the third and fourth columns leading to the central gate. Passing through this gap you saw before you at a distance of about 43 feet the central gate, while on each side of you arose three Ionic columns, dividing the space between the Doric columns and the gates into what have been called three aisles, the middle aisle leading only to the central gate, and each of the side aisles leading to the two side gates. When you had passed the gates you still had some 21 feet to traverse before you emerged through another and precisely similar Doric colonnade into the interior of the Acropolis. The entire building, wings and all, was of white marble : and, in particular, the enormous blocks, over 22 feet in length, which formed the roof or ceiling supported by the columns, have attracted the admiration of both ancient and modern observers. The work was commenced in the archonship of Euthymenes, 437–436 B. C., and took five years to execute¹. It was therefore only just completed at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.

One, coming from the Lower City to the foot of the slope leading up

¹ Περὶ δὲ τῶν Προπυλαίων τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, ὡς ἐπὶ Εὐθυμένους ἀρχοντος οἰκοδομεῖν ἤρξαντο Ἀθηναῖοι, Μνησικλέους ἀρχιτεκτονούντος, ἄλλοι τε ἱστορήκασιν καὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ. Ἡλιδώρος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν ἀκροπόλεως μεθ' ἕτερα καὶ ταῦτά φησιν. Ἐν ἔτεσι μὲν πέντε παντελῶς ἐξεποιήθη, τάλαντα δὲ ἀνηλώθη δισχίλια δώδεκα· πέντε δὲ πύλας ἐποίησαν, δι' ὧν εἰς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν εἰσίσαιεν.—Harpocration, s. v. Προπύλαια.

to the Propylaea, would see on his right three Temples, all recognized in the present Play. High up, on a sort of bastion of the Cimonian Wall, stood a little Temple of white marble, dedicated to Ἀθῆνα Νίκη, otherwise the Wingless Victory¹. So all-pervading, to the Athenian mind, was the divine influence of the National Goddess, that her name was frequently prefixed to what was really an abstract idea, to show that *that* also was divine. If the reader will look at the Plan he will see between the Propylaea and the Temple of Artemis Brauronia the shrine of Athene Ὑγίεια (Pausanias i. 23. 5). And elsewhere we hear of Athene Πρόνοια, Athene Πειθῶ, and even Athene Σάλπιγξ. Not that Athene herself was "Victory," or "Health," or "Forethought" or "Persuasion," or a "War-trumpet"; but all these things were attributes or appurtenances of the Goddess. And so the name Athene Νίκη, as regards Athene, differed little from Athene νικηφόρος, though as regards Νίκη, it elevated a mere abstraction into a personal divinity. The architect of the Temple was Callicrates², of whom we have already heard as a claimant for the honour of having assisted Ictinus in the erection of the Parthenon. The Temple of Victory was erected on a spot from which the sea was plainly visible, a spot memorable in historic legend as that from which Aegeus watched the ship of his son Theseus crossing the Saronic gulf on its return from the encounter with the Cretan Minotaur, and whence he threw himself in despair when he saw black sails displayed on its masts instead of the white ones which Theseus had promised, (but had forgotten,) to hoist if he returned safe and victorious over his enemy. There was to be no mistake about the Victory now. The little white Temple was a conspicuous object from many quarters. It was erected several years before the

THREE TEMPLES :
(1)
OF VICTORY ;

¹ Τῶν δὲ Προπυλαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ Νίκης ἐστὶν ἀπτέρου ναός. Ἐντεῦθεν ἡ θάλασσα ἐστὶ σῦνοπος καὶ ταύτῃ ῥίψας Αἰγέως ἑαυτὸν, ὥς λέγουσιν, ἐτελεύτησεν.—Pausanias i. 22. 4 and 5. Pausanias proceeds to tell the story of Theseus.

² "An inscription of about the year 450, which was found in 1897, orders that a Temple to Athene Nike should be built by the architect Callicrates."—Lethaby's Greek Buildings, p. 154.

commencement of the Propylaea, and seems to have rendered necessary a modification of the latter building. For the southern wing of the Propylaea is, apparently, thrown back in order that it may not interfere with this little Temple of Victory. The Temple was still entire when Sir George Wheler visited Athens in the year 1676, and was then used by the Turks as a powder-magazine¹. But the Turks afterwards pulled it down, and worked the materials into a military battery. However during the last century its remains were disinterred from the battery, and the Temple has since been re-erected². Of the two other Temples with which we are now concerned the sites cannot be so certainly

(II)

OF APHRODITE
AND PEITHO;

(III)

OF Γῆ κουροτρόφος
AND DEMETER
CHLOE.

ascertained. They are the last two objects noticed by Pausanias in his walk from the Dionysiac Theatre to the Propylaea³. He mentions five in all; (1) the tomb of Calos (otherwise Talos) who was flung by Daedalus from the top of the Acropolis, and was doubtless buried where he fell, at the foot of the rock; (2) the Temple of Asclepius in which Pausanias tells us there was a spring of water, and which is sufficiently identified by a disused well "about fourteen paces from the western wall of the theatre, and fifty from the rock"; see Dyer's Ancient Athens, pp. 344-6, and especially the passage cited from the life of Proclus; (3) a shrine of Themis with a tumulus in memory of Hippolytus before it. And then come the two Temples with which we are concerned, viz. (4) the Temple of Aphrodite Pandemus and Peitho. The worship of these two deities was established by Theseus, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐς μίαν ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων πόλιν, Aphrodite Pandemus signifying the love which had united all the demes into one city, and Peitho the persuasion by which that union was effected; the original images of these divinities had ceased to exist before the time of Pausanias, but others by no mean artists had been substituted in their stead. And (5) the Temple of Γῆ κουροτρόφος and Δημήτηρ Χλόη which, there seems no

¹ Wheler's Journey, p. 358.² Dyer's Ancient Athens, pp. 372, 373.³ Pausanias i. 21. 6 to 22. 3.

sufficient reason for doubting, is the *ἱερὸν τῆς Γῆς* described by Thucydides as being in the neighbourhood of the Acropolis, on the southerly side. From the place which it occupies in the narrative of Pausanias, as well as from the requirements of the scene in the *Lysistrata*, it seems to me that it must have been just at the foot of the "flat slope" leading to the Propylaea. Colonel Leake, who places it in the wall upon which the Temple of Victory stood, seems to have misconceived the route which Pausanias followed in his walk from the Theatre to the Propylaea.

The three Temples we have been considering in the preceding paragraph are all on the south or south-west of the Propylaea; the brackish intermittent spring known as the Clepsydra, and the adjacent grotto assigned to Pan—as an acknowledgement of the services which he rendered to the Athenians in connexion with the battle of Marathon—were also in close

THE
CLEPSYDRA
AND
PAN'S
GROTTO.

proximity to the Propylaea, but on the other side; the spring issuing from, and the grotto hollowed in, the northern side of the rock which formed the Acropolis. These were natural objects, and are perhaps sufficiently described in the Commentary on this Play. The great water supply called Enneacrounos is not mentioned by name in the Comedy, but is, I doubt not, the unnamed *κρήνη* at which the Chorus of Women had been filling their pitchers (line 328). Originally a mere spring, called from its bright and sparkling water Callirrhoe, it was enclosed by Peisistratus, and made a vast reservoir into

ENNEACROUNOS.

which water was brought by pipes from many other quarters. To this reservoir was given the name Enneacrounos. Its locality is a matter of discussion into which I hope that I may be excused from entering. Suffice it to say that while there are many strong arguments for placing it near the Temple of Olympian Zeus by the side of the River Ilissus, there are also many strong, and on the whole I think stronger, arguments for placing it in the valley between the Acropolis and the Areopagus, in the direction indicated on the Plan.

The only objects remaining to be mentioned in this connexion are the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. There were statues of Harmo-

dius and Aristogeiton originally erected soon after the expulsion of the Peisistratidae in 510 B. C. ; but the original statues were appropriated by Xerxes during his occupation of Athens about thirty years later, and were by him carried away to Susa, a tribute certainly to their attractive character. However almost the first thing the Athenians did when the cloud of the Persian invasion was dispersed was to erect new statues of the tyrannicides, probably duplicates of the originals. It appears by the Marmor Oxoniense (line 70) that these new statues were ordered in the year 477 ; and the statues standing in the time of Aristophanes were of course these duplicates. But a century later Alexander the Great, taking possession of Susa, found the original statues there, and with singular generosity ordered them to be restored to Athens, an order carried into effect after his death. "And there they still stand," says Arrian (*Expositio Alexandri* iii. 16), "in the Cerameicus, just where we ascend to the Acropolis," ἢ ἀνιμεν ἐς πόλιν ; that is, near the foot of the slope which leads to the Propylaea. Arrian is speaking of the recovered originals, but we may be sure that they were restored to their original situation, whether they displaced the later memorial or stood by its side ; Pausanias i. 8. 5. That this was the situation in which the substituted statues were standing in the time of Aristophanes may be inferred with some confidence from lines 632-4 of the present Comedy.

I must repeat what I said at the commencement of this topographical sketch, that it is intended merely for the use of *unlearned* readers who may, I hope, find even this very superficial account of the localities, amidst which the action of the *Lysistrata* is supposed to be carried on, of some little assistance in enabling them to appreciate the progress of the plot.

At the commencement of the Play, *Lysistrata*, a young and beautiful *Athénienne*, is discovered standing alone in front of the Propylaea. She has summoned an assembly of young married women, not only from Athens itself, but also from the hostile states composing the Peloponnesian Confederacy, to meet her at this spot, for the purpose of discussing an important project the nature of which she has not at present disclosed.

And after some delay they come flocking in, the Athenians first, and then the Spartan Lampito with deputies from Boeotia and Corinth, both at war with, and the bitterest enemies of, the Athenians. For the old Attic Comedy paid no heed to impossibilities; the audience would not inquire how Lysistrata could have sent her summons through hostile lands, or how the women so summoned could have made their way past walls and sentries into the very heart of Athens. It was enough that here they were, eager to know why Lysistrata had summoned them. So now she reveals her scheme, proposing that they shall all refuse to consort with their husbands until the latter make peace, and put a final end to this fratricidal war. At first some of the women are inclined to demur; but Lampito ranges herself on the side of Lysistrata—as indeed there was always a secret sympathy between Sparta and Athens—and presently all the others are persuaded to concur. Lampito herself however expresses a doubt whether the Athenian democracy will make and maintain peace in real earnest, whilst there is so much money (the thousand talents just set free for the purposes of the war) stored up in Athene's Temple, that is, in the National Treasury, *supra*, p. xxxiv; but Lysistrata assures her that they have taken thought for that; and that while the younger women are discussing matters in this Assembly, the older women have been told off to seize the Acropolis where the money is kept. These elder women, or twelve of them, afterwards form the Chorus, or Semichorus, of women.

It is perhaps natural that Commentators should have taken less trouble about the Lysistrata than about the more widely read Comedies of Aristophanes. Yet it seems almost incredible that they should as a rule have overlooked the broad distinction, which pervades the Play, between the *old* women in the orchestra and the *young* women on the stage. Indeed the latest editor, Professor Van Leeuwen, in his search after novelties, dignifies with the titles Γραῦς Α, Γραῦς Β, Γραῦς Γ (*First, Second, and Third Hags*) Lysistrata's comrades whose youth and beauty are the very qualities relied upon for bringing about a termination of the War. Nor does Lysistrata herself fare much better. Notwithstanding the

encomiums passed upon her personal attractiveness, notwithstanding the fact that Calonice, herself a young woman, addresses her as "child," almost all recent editors depart from the MSS., depart from the Scholiast, depart from common sense, for the sole purpose of styling her "most mannish of GRANDMOTHERS."

This however is a digression. Lysistrata's assurances satisfy Lampito ; and the whole assembly—and of course there are very many present besides the few speakers—enter into a solemn League and covenant to carry out Lysistrata's scheme. The oath which they take is prefaced by an appeal to *δέσποινα Πειθῶ*, the Goddess of Persuasion, whose temple, or rather the Temple which she shared with Aphrodite Pandemus (*supra*, p. xxxviii), was probably full in view. Meanwhile a distant shout advertises them of the capture of the Acropolis ; the Assembly breaks up ; Lampito departs for Sparta to commence a similar agitation there ; and the others retire through the Propylaea, leaving the stage empty.

Now then is the time for the Chorus to enter into the Orchestra. In Comedy the Chorus consists of twenty-four persons ; and as a rule they all enter together, singing their Parodos or entrance-song. But both in this Play and in the Ecclesiazusae they enter in two separate divisions or Semichoruses, each consisting of twelve persons. In the Ecclesiazusae one Semichorus represents the Women of the City, the other the Women of the Country. Here one Semichorus consists of twelve old men, the other of twelve old women. In both Plays the two Semichoruses ultimately coalesce, and form one ordinary Chorus of twenty-four persons. Here the Chorus of Men (if it is permissible to apply that name to a Semichorus) enter first, with slow and laborious steps, carrying large logs of wood and pots containing fire. They are vowing vengeance against these detestable women who have had the audacity to seize the Acropolis and possess themselves of the Holy Image, meaning the olive-wood statue in the Erechtheium ; see *supra*, p. xxiii. And they threaten to set fire to the gates of the Propylaea, which therefore must have been made of wood, and to burn all the women in one common conflagration. And finally they pray *δέσποινα Νίκη*, whose Temple was straight before them

(supra, p. xxxvii), to give them the victory over these female desperadoes. They obviously think that the Women will await the attack, cowering behind the Propylaea. But in this they speedily find themselves mistaken. Whilst they are busying themselves with their preparations for the assault other voices are heard in the distance, singing another and a far livelier entrance-song, and presently the Chorus of Women come pouring down into the orchestra, so that the two Choruses meet face to face. The women have been filling their pitchers at the Enneacrounos (supra, p. xxxix), and having heard that the Men are bringing fire against the Acropolis they come with their water to quench it. They have seized Athene's dwelling-place—so they call the Acropolis—for the purpose of saving Hellas from War and Madness, and they pray the Goddess, in her triple character of *Πολιάς*, *Παρθένος*, and *Πρόμαχος*, to aid them in their design. The leader of the Men is the Coryphaeus of the full Chorus, the leader of the Women is an ancient dame bearing the name of Stratyllis. An altercation at once ensues between the two Choruses, which ends by the Men endeavouring to set fire to the hair of the Women, and the Women, in reply, deluging their opponents with water from their pitchers. The tumult is at its height when it is suddenly arrested by the entrance of a great officer of state, attended by four Scythian archers. This important personage is one of the Ten *Πρόβουλοι* whose position and duties have been considered in the earlier part of this Introduction. It is not probable that Aristophanes is intending to caricature any particular member of the Board; a *Πρόβουλος* is introduced here, just as a *Πρύτανης* is introduced in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, merely because the presence of some high executive official is necessary for the proper development of the plot. It is in the execution of the special duty for which the *Πρόβουλοι* were appointed that he is making his way to the National Treasury in the Acropolis, to draw thence the funds required for the rebuilding of the fleet. But this is the very thing which the Women are determined shall not be done; and a long debate ensues between Lysistrata and the Magistrate, in which the latter gets thoroughly worsted. In the course of this

debate Lysistrata takes occasion to develop her views—that is, the views of Aristophanes—as to the reforms required in the internal politics of Athens. And it is worthy of note that, as in the other Comedies so here, there is not the slightest trace of political partisanship; the reforms suggested are such as would commend themselves to every loyal citizen, viz. the removal of abuses, the suppression of party caucuses, the blending together of all classes in harmony and goodwill. The debate is full of interest, but it does not concern our present purpose which is merely to elucidate the various topographical allusions contained in the Comedy.

The debate between Lysistrata and the Magistrate having come to an end, both parties retire from the stage; Lysistrata and her friends passing through the Propylaea into the Acropolis, and the Πρόβουλος going off to complain to his fellow Πρόβουλοι of the outrageous behaviour of the Women. The stage therefore is again empty, and the rival Choruses in the Orchestra resume their interrupted altercation. Four speeches are made, all in a pleasant mixture of cretico-paeonics and trochaics, and each ending in a scuffle between the Men and the Women. The first and third speeches are delivered by the Men, the second and fourth by the Women; the reply of the Women being in each case antistrophical to the preceding speech of the Men. The latter begin by an elaborate indictment, in which they incidentally show that they belong (as indeed almost all old Athenians of the poorer classes did) to the dicastic order, not merely by complaining that the seizure of the National Treasury by the Women has stopped their *μισθόν*, meaning the daily dicastic three obols, but also by denouncing their opponents as CONSPIRATORS seeking to establish a TYRANNY, those words so dear to the dicastic ear. But if the Women become Tyrants, they, the old Men, will become Tyrannicides. They will wrap their swords in myrtle, and take their stand—thus, ὧδε—beside Aristogeiton (supra, p. xl), and deliver a blow, as he upon Hipparchus, so they upon the cheeks of the old Women, suiting the action to the word. The speaker is the Coryphaeus, and the woman threatened is Stratyllis; but doubtless, as *he* strikes *her*, each of the other eleven old Men delivers a similar

blow upon the cheek of one of the other eleven old Women. For the whole Chorus speak by the mouth of their Coryphaeus, and act as he acts. When Stratyllis deluges the Coryphaeus with water (line 381), we must understand that the other women of the Chorus are performing the same operation upon the other men. When the Coryphaeus raises his foot to kick Stratyllis (line 799), we must understand that the other men are raising theirs to do the like to the other women. When Stratyllis is extracting the gnat from the eye of the Coryphaeus (line 1030), we must picture the other women performing the same kind office for the other men. This is a principle we must always bear in mind; and it seems to me that Van Leeuwen's innovation of prefixing the name *Κορυφαῖος* to the lines which the learned Professor supposes him to speak, so dissociating him, as it were, from his Chorus, and making him almost an independent actor, is disastrous to the right understanding of Greek Comedy.

We cannot of course tell whether the objects to which the various speakers allude, such as the statue of Aristogeiton, were actually represented in the scenery of the stage. Nor is it material; for they were all so extremely familiar to an Athenian audience that every spectator would readily supply them out of his own imagination.

After the conclusion of these four speeches an interval of five days is supposed to elapse. And when we are again admitted to see what is going on, we find that the separation of the sexes has become intolerable to both of them. The Men are preparing to give in and make peace, and Lysistrata's scheme is on the point of succeeding, if only she can keep the Women from giving in first. But this is a very difficult task. We find them, indeed we *see* them, endeavouring to escape from the Acropolis by every loophole, and under the most ridiculous pretences. But in this place it is only necessary to mention one, whom Lysistrata found, she tells us, clearing out a little aperture in the wall with intent to descend by Pan's grotto (supra, p. xxxix). The issue of her attempt is not recorded, but I apprehend that it had little chance of success after Lysistrata's glance had fallen upon her. And, finally, all the women are, by their leader's energy and resource, brought back to their duty, and

agree to await the overtures of their antagonists, which indeed are not long in arriving. Almost immediately *Lysistrata*, standing on the wall, espies a man hastening towards them *παρὰ τὸ τῆς Χλόης*, by the Temple of *Γῆ κουροτρόφος* and Demeter Chloe (*supra*, p. xxxviii). He turns out to be the husband of Myrrhina who has a prolonged and tantalizing interview with him, in the course of which both Pan's grotto and the Clepsydra (*supra*, p. xxxix) are mentioned, and finally eludes his fondest hopes by suddenly disappearing through the gates of the Propylaea. But the end is now full in view. Lampito has persuaded the Spartan women to act in precisely the same manner as the Athenian women are acting. Spartan plenipotentiaries arrive to treat for peace, and are met by Athenian plenipotentiaries appointed for the same purpose. *Lysistrata* harangues both parties, and by judicious management brings them to an agreement on all points. Peace is made, and to celebrate the event the ambassadors are invited by the women to a friendly banquet, which apparently takes place in the Acropolis, the *θυρωρὸς* who appears on the stage being, I imagine, the *θυρωρὸς* who took charge of the gates of the Propylaea; see Dyer's *Ancient Athens*, p. 355. And at the termination of the banquet the guests reappear in a very festive mood; and the drama comes to a close amidst songs, and dances, and general rejoicings.

My version of the *Lysistrata* was published, without text or commentary, in the year 1878. I am not aware of any other poetical translation in our language.

A piece called "*Lysistrata*, a modern paraphrase from the Greek of Aristophanes," was produced last autumn by Miss Gertrude Kingston at the Little Theatre. I had the pleasure of seeing it on October 22, 1910. It was admirably put on the stage, and admirably acted; and the Play itself was an extremely clever adaptation, by Mr. Laurence Housman, of the Aristophanic Comedy; but it did not profess to be, and was not in any sense, an actual *translation* of the Greek.

EASTWOOD, STRAWBERRY HILL,
August, 1911.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΕΙΣ¹.

I.

Λυσιστράτη τις Ἀθήνησι τῶν πολιτίδων καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτίων γυναικῶν σύλλογον ἐποίησατο, διαλλαγὰς μηχανωμένη τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ὁμόσαι δὲ ἀναπείσασα μὴ πρότερον τοῖς ἀνδράσι συνουσιάζειν² πρὶν ἂν πολεμοῦντες ἀλλήλοις³ παύσωνται, τὰς μὲν ἔξωθεν ἀποπέμπει, τὰς καταλείπουσας ὁμήρους⁴, αὐτὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰς⁵ κατειληφύϊας τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων⁶ ἀπαντᾷ. συνδραμόντων

¹ Both these Arguments are found in R. H. and I. They did not appear in any printed edition before that of Kuster, who introduced them from I. Then Brunck revised them from H., and Invernizzi added the readings of R. In my text they are given, except where otherwise mentioned, as they stand in R.

² συνουσιάζειν MSS. vulgo. συνουσιάζειν Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. But the writer of the Argument is quite likely to have used the present.

³ ἀλλήλοις Brunck, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. ἀλλήλων MSS. Invernizzi, Hall and Geldart. κατ' ἀλλήλων Rutherford.

⁴ τὰς μὲν ἔξωθεν ἀποπέμπει, τὰς καταλείπουσας ὁμήρους. I have substituted these words for the corrupt τὰς μὲν ἔξωπίους ἔμπριλὰς καταλείπουσα ὀπίσω of the MSS. and vulgo. οἱ ἔξωθεν is constantly employed in the sense of *outsiders, people*

from other lands; the MS. ἐμπρι both in its letters and in its situation sufficiently corresponds with the ἐμπει in ἀποπέμπει; the τὰς which follows ἀποπέμπει would be better away, but is required to represent the λὰς which follows ἐμπρι, while the καταλείπουσας ὁμήρους is a mere echo of the ὁμήρους κατὰλιφ' of line 244. Other suggestions are τὰς μὲν ἔξω ἀπιούσας εἰς πατρίδας καταλείπουσα ὀπίσω.—*Dübner*. τὰς μὲν ἔξω, πλὴν ὁπόσας ὁμήρους καταλείπουσι, πέμπει ὀπίσω.—*Rutherford*. τὰς μὲν ἔξαποστέλλει, ὁμήρους καταλιπούσας ὀπίσω.—*Hall and Geldart*. τὰς μὲν ἔξωθεν παρούσας ὁμήρους τινὰς καταλιπούσας, ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω.—*Van Leeuwen*.

⁵ πρὸς τὰς. In R. these words are written twice, πρὸς τὰς πρὸς τὰς.

⁶ οἰκείων, *her own party*, Calonice, Myrrhina, and the rest, as contrasted with τὰς ἔξωθεν.

δὲ πρεσβυτῶν πολιτῶν μετὰ λαμπάδων καὶ πυρὸς πρὸς τὰς πύλας, αὐτῇ¹ ἀναστολὴν ποιεῖται ἐξελθοῦσα. καὶ, Προβούλου τινὸς μετ' ὀλίγον παραβιάσασθαι μετὰ τοξοτῶν ὁρμήσαντος, εἴτα δὲ ἀποκρουσθέντος, καὶ διαπυνθανομένου τί βουλόμεναι ταῦτα δεδράκασιν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτόν φασιν² ὅτι ἐγκρατεῖς γενόμεναι τοῦ ἀργυρίου μὴ ἐπιτρέψουσι³ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπὸ τούτου πολεμεῖν, δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι πολλὸν ἄμεινον ταμιεύσονται καὶ τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον τάχιστα καταπαύσουσιν⁴. οὗτος μὲν οὖν, καταπλεγείς τὸ θράσος⁵, ὥς τοὺς συμπροβούλους οἶχεται, ταῦτα μὴ παύσας· οἱ δὲ γέροντες, ὑπομένοντες, ταῖς γυναιξὶ λοιδοροῦνται. μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῶν τινες αὐτομολοῦσαι μάλα γελοίως δι' ἀκρασίαν ὥς τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀλίσκονται, ἐγκαρτεροῦσι δὲ, Λυσιστράτης ἱκετευούσης. Κινησίας τις τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀκρατῶς ἔχων τῆς γυναικὸς, παραγίνεται· ἡ δὲ χαριτογλωττοῦσα⁶ αὐτὸν ἐπαγγέλλεται μὲν, τὰ περὶ τῶν διαλλαγῶν δὲ

¹ αὐτῇ ἀναστολὴν ποιεῖται, *she stays* (or *repulses*) *them*. τὴν ἀναστολὴν ποιεῖται MSS. vulgo. But the article is impossible and I have replaced it by αὐτή. However I think that the passage is corrupt.

² φασιν MSS. vulgo. φησιν Wilamowitz, Van Leeuwen. And of course the speaker was Lysistrata alone. But she is speaking as the representative of the women, and the writers of these Greek Arguments are never very accurate in their statements of fact. We have just seen Lysistrata described as coming out *before*, instead of *after*, the entrance of the Πρόβουλος. Nor was it she, but the Chorus of Women who stayed the onslaught of the old men.

³ ἐπιτρέψουσι Brunck and all subsequent editors except Hall and Geldart. ἐπιτρέπουσι MSS. Kuster, and Hall and Geldart.

⁴ καταπαύουσιν all printed editions. καταπαύωσιν R. H.

⁵ καταπλεγείς τὸ θράσος, *amazed* (in our

vulgar idiom, *struck all of a heap*) *at their audacity*. So Kuster reads, presumably from I., though it may be Kuster's own conjecture; and this is followed by Blaydes and Van Leeuwen. καταπλεγείς τοῦ θράσους R. H., but in R. the *v* has been struck out both in τοῦ and in θράσους; I cannot tell from the photogravure whether by an early or by a late hand. καταπλεγείς τοῦ θράσους Brunck and all subsequent editors except as aforesaid, and except Invernizzi and Hall and Geldart, Invernizzi reading καταπληγείς τοῦ θράσους, and Hall and Geldart καταπληγείς τὸ θράσος.

⁶ χαριτογλωττοῦσα, *whedding*; *saying pleasant things which she did not mean*. Cf. Prometheus 302. I have substituted this participle (though I wish that I could have substituted χαριτοστομοῦσα) for χυτροστομοῦσα, the corrupt reading of the MSS. and of all editors except Blaydes and Van Leeuwen. Brunck suggested (but did not himself read)

σπουδάξει. ἀφικνούνται δὲ καὶ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ σπονδῶν κήρυκες, ἐμφανίζοντες ἅμα περὶ τὰς σφετέρας¹ γυναικάς. συνταχθέντες δὲ σφίσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι² πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορας ἀποστέλλουσιν. οἱ δὲ³ γέροντες, εἰς ταῦτόν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀποκαταστάντες, ἕνα χορὸν ἐκ τῆς διχορίας συστέλλουσι⁴. καὶ Λυσιστράτη τοὺς παραγενομένους πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος πρέσβεις καὶ [τοὺς οἴκοθεν]⁵ ὀργῶντας διαλλάττεσθαι προσέλκει, καὶ ἐκατέρους ἀναμνήσασα τῆς⁶ παλαιᾶς εἰς ἀλλήλους

κερτομοῦσα, which seems in the highest degree unsuitable, but is read by Blaydes and Van Leeuwen. Bothe, in his first edition, suggested *καιροτηροῦσα αὐτῷ*, but did not repeat the suggestion in his second. Bergk proposed *ψευδοστομοῦσα συνεῖναι αὐτῷ*, and Rutherford *ἐχυροφρονοῦσα αὐτῷ*, but the former conjecture departs too widely from the MSS., and the latter does not give an apt meaning. For *ἐπαγγέλλεται* Van Leeuwen reads *ἐπεγγελά*.

¹ ἅμα περὶ τὰς σφετέρας γυναικάς. So I think we should read. ἅμα καὶ τὰς προτέρας γυναικάς MSS. and all editors except Blaydes and Van Leeuwen. Dubner proposed ἅμα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς γυναικάς. *σφετέρας* is the excellent conjecture of Blaydes, adopted by Van Leeuwen, and again proposed by Rutherford sixteen years after Blaydes had introduced it into his text. But both Blaydes and Van Leeuwen merely substitute *σφετέρας* for *προτέρας* reading ἅμα καὶ τὰς σφετέρας γυναικάς, Blaydes proposing to substitute *ζητοῦντες*, and Van Leeuwen substituting *ἀπαιτίζοντες*, for *ἐμφανίζοντες*. Adopting without hesitation Blaydes's conjecture of *σφετέρας*, I have also changed καὶ into *περί*.

² οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. These words, absent in the MSS., were proposed by Kuster, brought into the text by Brunck, and

adopted by all editors except Invernizzi and Van Leeuwen.

³ οἱ δὲ Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. οἱ μὲν MSS. vulgo.

⁴ συστέλλουσι. ἀποστέλλουσι MSS. vulgo; but the word is quite inappropriate, and is obviously a mere reproduction of the verb which closes the preceding sentence. Bergk proposed *ἀποτελοῦσι*, which is brought into the text by Meineke and Van Leeuwen. But Hall and Geldart say "forte συστέλλουσι, cf. 1042." And of course that is the very word required, besides being, as the learned editors observe, taken, as so many words in these Greek Arguments are taken, from the text of the Comedy itself. I cannot entertain any doubt as to the accuracy of this admirable conjecture.

⁵ In R. the words *πρέσβεις* and *ὀργῶντας* are separated only by καὶ, but in H. a lacuna is left between them. No one, I believe, has attempted to fill the lacuna, or even considered the sentence incomplete; but it seems to me that some such words as those which I have inserted in brackets are absolutely required by the sense.

⁶ τῆς . . εὐνοίας. These two words are not found in the MSS. Kuster inserted τῆς, and has been followed, I think, by every editor except Hall and Geldart.

γενομένης εὐνοίας διαλλάττει ἐν φανερώ, καὶ ξενίσασα κοινῇ παραδίδωσι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐκάστοις ἄγεσθαι.

Ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἀρχοντος, τοῦ¹ μετὰ Κλεόκριτον ἀρξάντος. εἰσηγεται δὲ διὰ Καλλιστράτου.

Ἐκλήθη Λυσιστράτη παρὰ τὸ λῦσαι τὸν στρατόν.

II.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ².

Λυσιστράτη καλέσασα τὰς πολίτιδας
 ὑπέθετο φεύγειν μηδὲ μίγνυσθ' ἄρρεσιν,
 ὅπως, γενομένης νῦν στάσεως ἐμφυλίου,
 τὸν πρὸς Λάκωνας πόλεμον αἴρῳσιν λόγῳ,
 μένωσί τ' οἴκοι πάντες. ὥς δὲ συνέθετο,
 τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν διεκράτουν,
 τινὲς δ' ἀπεχώρουν. αἱ τ' ἀπὸ Σπάρτης πάλιν
 ταῦτ' ἐβουλεύοντο. κῆρυξ ἔρχεται
 λέγων περὶ τούτων. τῆς δ' ὁμονοίας γενομένης
 σπονδὰς θέμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ γῆς ὥρισαν³.

He also proposed to insert after γενομένης (for which R. has γενομένης) either εὐνοίας or φιλίας; and εὐνοίας is, I believe, read by every editor except Van Leeuwen who prefers φιλίας.

¹ There were several eponymous archons who bore the name of Callias, and to distinguish them, the one from the other, it was customary to add the name of the preceding Archon. Thus, the Frogs was produced in the archonship of the "Callias who succeeded Antigenes" τοῦ μετὰ Ἀντιγένη; the Lysistrata, six years earlier, in the archonship of "the Callias who succeeded Cleocritus" τοῦ μετὰ Κλεόκριτον. This earlier Callias was archon from (about)

midsummer 413 to (about) midsummer 412; so that the Lysistrata must have been produced in the early months of the year 412.

² This Second Argument is given in R. as prose, and without the name of Aristophanes the Grammarian. It speaks well for the accuracy of the transcriber that, though he seems to have had no idea that he was writing verse, not a word is out of place. As to its attribution to Aristophanes the Grammarian see the note on the Second Argument of the Acharnians.

³ ἐκ γῆς ὥρισαν. So I think we should read. Cf. μ' ἀπὸ γῆς ὥρισεν. Eur. Hec. 940. ἐξέρρησαν MSS. and all printed

In the time of Florent Chretien, the tutor of Henry the Fourth of France, no Argument to the Lysistrata had been published. And that accomplished scholar prefixed to his edition of the Play the following acrostics, in Greek and Latin.

Λ λίαν Λακώνων ἡδ' Ἀθηναίων πόλεις
 Υ ὑφ' ὅλμον Ἄρεος δηθάκις τετριμμένας
 Σ σὺν ταῖς γυναιξὶν Ἑλλάδος Λυσιστράτη
 Ι ἰδοῦσα κ' οἰκτεῖρασα συμβαλεῖται.
 Σ συνώμοσαν δ' αἰεὶ γ' ἀταυρώτους μενεῖν,
 Τ τοὺς τ' ἀνδρας ἔξιν ἐκποδῶν ἐστυκότας,
 Ρ ῥίψασπισ εἰ μὴ πᾶσιν εἰρήνη φανῇ.
 Α Ἀκρόπολιν οὕτως εἶλον, ἡδὲ χρήματα
 Τ τὰ πάντα, καὶ γέροντας ἐχθροὺς ἔπλυναν.
 Η ἥσθη δ' ἄρ' εὐφρων Κύπρις ἐν διαλλαγαῖς.

L ongo duello Graeciae quum lumina
 U rbes Athenae et Sparta se colliderent,
 S ecessionem foeminis Lusistrata
 I ndicit ut de publico deliberent.
 S parso inde libant atque coniurant mero
 T andem, femur se nemini applicassere
 R edire Graeci ni velint in gratiam.
 A rx occupatur atque Thesaurus. Senes
 T umultuantes cum Probulo nil agunt.
 A t cum Lacone Pax fit, et redit Venus.

These acrostics are given by Portus, and in the editions known as Scaliger's and Faber's. Portus added a short Greek Argument in prose, apparently of his own composition.

editions, except Enger, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen. Brunck suggested ἐξώρισαν, and (in order to rectify the metre) the substitution of τιθέμενοι for θέμενοι. And so Enger reads. Blaydes too adopts ἐξώρισαν, but retains θέμενοι, so making

the metre of the line defective. Bothe approved of ἐξώρισαν, but for τιθέμενοι would read γε θέμενοι. Bergk proposed ἐξεργάβδισαν, and Rutherford ἐξεώρτασαν, *feasted away the war*, which is adopted by Van Leeuwen.

CORRIGENDUM IN "THE KNIGHTS"

Page 217. In the scheme, given in Appendix 386, of the two choral odes, 303-311, and 382-388, the final syllable has unaccountably slipped out. The concluding foot was intended to be a cretic ($- \cup \cup$) not a trochee ($- \cup$).

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ.
ΚΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ.
ΜΥΡΡΙΝΗ.
ΛΑΜΠΙΤΩ.
ΧΟΡΟΣ ΓΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ.
ΧΟΡΟΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΑΤΩΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ.
ΣΤΡΑΤΥΛΛΙΣ.
ΠΡΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ.
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΣ ΤΙΝΕΣ.
ΚΙΝΗΣΙΑΣ.
ΠΑΙΣ.
ΚΗΡΥΞ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ.
ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ.
ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ.
ΑΓΟΡΑΙΟΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ.
ΘΥΡΩΡΟΣ.
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ.
ΛΑΚΩΝ.
ΤΟΞΟΤΑΙ.

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

ΛΥ. Ἄλλ' εἴ τις εἰς Βακχεῖον αὐτὰς ἐκάλεσεν,
ἧ'ς Πανὸς, ἧ' πὶ Κωλιάδ', ἧ'ς Γενετυλλίδος.

In the background we see the Propylaea, the splendid portals of the Athenian Acropolis. Before them, on the slope by which they are reached from the Lower City, Lysistrata, a young and beautiful woman, is standing alone. Like Praxagora in the Ecclesiazusae, she has summoned her friends to meet her at the dawn of day; the dawn has arrived, but her friends have not made their appearance. After exhibiting various signs of anxiety and impatience, she suddenly breaks out into words, the abruptness with which she commences bearing witness to the indignation which she feels. *Why, had they been invited, she exclaims, to the worship of a God of Wine or Love,—the chief objects of devotion, according to Aristophanes, to the Athenian women—they would have arrived in crowds before this.*

Of Bacchus and his orgies, and of the part which women (*αἱ Βάχαι*) played in them, and of the timbrels which he and Rhea invented (*τύμπανα, Πέας τε μητρὸς ἐμάθ' ἐρήματα* Eur. Bacchae 59) and which formed the invariable accompaniment of his worship (Id. 124, 125, 156, &c., Herc. Fur. 888, Cyclops 65, 205, Catullus lxiv. 262), it is unnecessary here to

speak. *I should be ashamed, says Hera to Zeus, in Lucian's eighteenth Dialogue of the Gods, to have a son like Bacchus who dresses effeminately and goes about with mad women, dancing to the sound of timbrels, and pipes, and cymbals, ὑπὸ τυμπάνοις, καὶ αὐλοῖς, καὶ κυμβάλοις χορεύων.* The expression *εἰς Βακχεῖον* might mean either to the shrine, or to the revelry of Bacchus; but the words which follow, *ἧ'ς Πανὸς*, seem decisive in favour of the former interpretation.—Amidst the various personages who figured in the orgies of Bacchus, none occupied a more conspicuous position than Pan, himself of all beings the most ἐρωτικός. In Lucian's Bis Accusatus, 9, he is described as being τῶν Διονύσου θεραπόντων ὁ Βακχικότατος. And in the twenty-second Dialogue of the Gods he himself boasts that Dionysus has made him the leader of the Bacchic choir, and can do nothing without him.—The names Κωλιάς and Γενετυλλίς are sometimes applied to Aphrodite herself, but sometimes (and always when in the plural, as in Thesm. 130) to the subordinate love-deities who formed her train. They are constantly mentioned together, as the patrons and representatives of pampered and luxu-

οὐδ' ἂν διελθεῖν ἦν ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν τυμπάνων.

νῦν δ' οὐδεμία πάρεστιν ἐνταυθοῖ γυνή,

πλὴν ἣ γ' ἐμὴ κομήτις ἥδ' ἐξέρχεται.

5

χαῖρ', ὦ Καλονίκη.

ΚΑ.

καὶ σύ γ', ὦ Λυσιστράτη.

τί συντετάραι; μὴ σκυθρόπαζ', ὦ τέκνον.

οὐ γὰρ πρέπει σοι τοξοποιεῖν τὰς ὀφρῦς.

rious love. So in *Clouds* 52. So in *Alciphron* (iii. 11) an honest countryman complains that his wife is consorting with luxurious city-ladies, and devoting herself to worship *Κωλιάδας* and *Γενετυλλίδας* and other fashionable divinities. So in *Lucian's Amores*, 42, it is said that wives take up with deities whose very names are unknown to their husbands, *Κωλιάδας, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ Γενετυλλίδας*. The name *Γενετυλλίς* is no doubt derived, as the Scholiasts both here and on the *Clouds* observe, ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως τῶν παίδων. For the name *Κωλιάς* they give several fanciful derivations, as that a Victor's daughter, moved with love, unloosed the chains which bound the limbs, *κῶλα*, of his prisoner. Possibly it was derived from *Cape Colias*, a low promontory some two or three miles from *Phalerum*, as to which *Pausanias* (*Attica* i. 4) says *Κωλιάδος δέ ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα καὶ Γενετυλλίδες ὀνομαζόμεναι θεαί*. See *Dodwell's Tour* i. 427.

5. *κομήτις*] *neighbour*. Over and above the general distribution of all *Attica* into demes, *Athens* itself was, for municipal purposes, also divided into certain quarters or wards which were termed

κῶμαι or *ἄμφοδα*, *Isocrates*, *Areop.* 52 (p. 149). Hence *κομήτης* or (in the feminine) *κομήτις* is used, as the Scholiast observes, ἀντὶ τοῦ γείτων· κῶμαι δὲ τὰ ἄμφοδα. So too *Hesychius*, *Photius*, *Suidas* s.v., and the Scholiast on *Clouds* 965.

8. *τοξοποιεῖν*] This does not mean, as the *Oxford Lexicographers* translate it, "to arch the brow like a supercilious person." It means *to knit the brows like a vexed and angry person*. *τοξοποιεῖν τὰς ὀφρῦς, συστρέφειν αὐτάς*.—*Hesychius*. Thus in *Longus* (*Pastorals* iv. 16) *Dionysophanes*, being enraged with *Gnatho*, bids him hold his tongue, *σφόδρα τὴν ὀφρῦν εἰς αὐτὸν τοξοποιήσας*. And in *Alciphron* (iii. 19) the captured and scowling robber *δριμὺν βλέπει καὶ τοξοποιεῖ τὰς ὀφρῦς*. The comparison is not between (1) a single eyebrow arched, and (2) a bow drawn to a semicircle, but between (1) a frown which knits together both eyebrows, and (2) a bow unstrung, and so forming one line with a slight double curve. With *Calonice's* advice compare *Alciphron* i. 34 (to which *Bergler* also refers), where *Thais* says to *Euthydemus* οὐ πρέπει σκυθρωποῖς εἶναι τοιοῦτοῖς ὄμμασι.

- ΛΥ. ἄλλ', ὦ Καλονίκη, κάομαι τὴν καρδίαν,
καὶ πόλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν γυναικῶν ἄχθομαι, 10
ὅτι ἡ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν νενομίσμεθα
εἶναι πανοῦργοι,
- ΚΑ. καὶ γὰρ ἐσμεν νῆ Δία.
- ΛΥ. εἰρημένον δ' αὐταῖς ἀπαντᾶν ἐνθάδε
βουλευσομέναισιν οὐ περὶ φαύλου πράγματος,
εὐδουσι κοῦχ ἤκουσιν. 15
- ΚΑ. ἄλλ', ὦ φιλτάτη,
ἥξουσι χαλεπὴ τοι γυναικῶν ἔξοδος.
ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐκύπτασεν,
ἡ δ' οἰκέτην ἤγειρεν, ἡ δὲ παιδίον
κατέκλινεν, ἡ δ' ἔλουσεν, ἡ δ' ἐψώμισεν.

12. πανοῦργοι] It seems to me that this passage has been misunderstood by all the Commentators. They take Lysistrata to mean that men are always describing women as πανοῦργοι, and now she finds they are *right*. She really means that now she finds they are *wrong*. "Id graviter fert," says Enger, "quod quum nequam esse mulieres viri existiment, idem ipsa nunc experta est." But though πανοῦργος may often be translated by "nequam" *worthless*, *good for nothing*, it really means more than that. A blockhead may be *worthless*, but he could not be a πανοῦργος, for πανουργία implies *shrewdness*, *δεινότης*, though shrewdness exerted for an unworthy purpose. *δεινότης*, says Aristotle (Eth. Nic. vi. 12), ἂν μὲν ὁ σκοπὸς ἦ καλὸς, ἐπαινετὴ ἐστίν· ἂν δὲ φαῦλος, πανουργία. A πανοῦργος is a *fourbe*, like Molière's

Scapin. In the *Frogs* Dionysus proposes to bring back from Hades Euripides rather than Sophocles, because the former, being a πανοῦργος, will be quite up to running away. "Πανουργὼς!" is the admiring and delighted comment of a slave in Menander, where a girl is explaining to him her artful scheme for outwitting the Master; Menander's "Arbitration," line 318 (ed. Capps): see Professor Capps's note. St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, supposes an adverse suggestion, *ὑπάρχων πανοῦργος*, δόλφ ὑμᾶς ἔλαβον, which our translators render with sufficient accuracy "being *crafty*, I caught you with guile." By the men then the women had been described as πανοῦργοι, *up to anything, full of shifts and resources*; but Lysistrata, when she would combine them in her noble and lofty scheme, finds

- ΛΥ. ἀλλ' ἦν γὰρ ἕτερα τῶνδε προὔργιαίτερα 20
αὐταῖς.
- ΚΑ. τί δ' ἐστὶν, ὦ φίλη Λυσιστράτη,
ἐφ' ὃ τι ποθ' ἡμᾶς τὰς γυναῖκας συγκαλεῖς;
τί τὸ πρᾶγμα; πηλίκον τι; ΛΥ. μέγα.
- ΚΑ. μῶν καὶ παχύ;
- ΛΥ. καὶ νῆ Δία παχύ. ΚΑ. κᾶτα πῶς οὐχ ἤκομεν;
ΛΥ. οὐχ οὗτος ὁ τρόπος· ταχὺ γὰρ ἂν ξυνήλθομεν. 25
ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρᾶγμ' ἀνεξητημένον,
πολλαῖσι τ' ἀγρυπνίαισιν ἐρριπτασμένον.
- ΚΑ. ἦ πού τι λεπτὸν ἐστι τοῦρριπτασμένον.
- ΛΥ. οὕτω γε λεπτὸν ὥσθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐστιν ἡ σωτηρία. 30

them *up to nothing*. She is experiencing the truth of the Euripidean maxim:

γυναῖκες εἰς μὲν ἔσθλ' ἀμχανώταται,
κακῶν δὲ πάντων τέκτονες σοφάταται.
Medea 409.

13. εἰρημένον] ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰρημένου. Ἀττικῶς.—Scholiast. Cf. Ach. 1164, 1182, Plutus 277, 910, and frequently elsewhere.

17. ἐκύπτασεν] ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐστράγγενσεν. κυπτάζειν γὰρ τὸ περὶ τι πονεῖν καὶ διατρίβειν.—Scholiast. κυπτάζειν διατρίβειν, στραγγεύειν.—Hesychius. *to dawdle about*. Cf. Clouds 509, Peace 731.

20. προὔργιαίτερα] *of more pressing importance*. Demosthenes seems to have this passage in his mind when he is contrasting the policy of Philip with that of the Athenians in a passage which the Oxford Lexicographers compare with the present. "Philip," says the orator, "makes much of those who act

well towards him, but ye do not do this, ἀλλ' ἕτερα ἐστὶν ἐκίστω προὔργιαίτερα," De F. L. 251, 252 (p. 412). By τῶνδε in the present line we must understand the occupations which Calonice has mentioned, though we should rather have expected ἐκείνων in that sense. It is impossible to refer it, as Van Leeuwen would do, to Lysistrata's scheme, which has not yet even been mentioned.

23. πηλίκον] *How big?* The terms μέγα καὶ παχύ are used, as the Scholiast observes, πρὸς τὸ αἰδοῖον, as they are in Ach. 787, Peace 1349, and Eccl. 1048. With the question κᾶτα πῶς οὐχ ἤκομεν compare Frogs 647.

28. ἦ πού] This form, very common in Euripides, signifies the conclusion at which the speaker tentatively arrives, *I fancy*. λεπτὸν is the natural opposite to παχύ.

- KA. ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν; ἐπ' ὀλίγου γ' ὥχεϊτ' ἄρα.
 ΛΥ. ὥς ἔστ' ἐν ἡμῖν τῆς πόλεως τὰ πράγματα,
 ἢ μηκέτ' εἶναι μήτε Πελοποννησίους,
 KA. βέλτιστα τοίνυν μηκέτ' εἶναι νῆ Δία.
 ΛΥ. Βοιωτίους τε πάντας ἔξολωλέναι.
 KA. μὴ δῆτα πάντας, ἀλλ' ἄφελε τὰς ἐγγέλεις.
 ΛΥ. περὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν δ' οὐκ ἐπιγλωττήσομαι

35

31. ἐπ' ὀλίγου γ' ὥχεϊτ' ἄρα] This is Dobree's felicitous emendation of the ἐπ' ὀλίγου γὰρ (or γ' ἄρ') ἔχeto of the MSS. The epithet λεπτόν, occurring twice in the preceding lines, naturally leads up to this emendation, since, as Porson observes in his note on Orestes 68, the phrase ἐπὶ λεπτῆς ἐλπίδος ὀχεῖσθαι is quite a proverbial saying. Thus in Knights 1244 we find Paphlagon saying, λεπτή τις ἐλπίς ἐστ' ἐφ' ἧς ὀχοῦμεθα. And Athenaeus (xii. 75, p. 551 C) quotes from our poet's Gerytades, ὥς σφόδρ' ἐπὶ λεπτῶν ἐλπίδων ὥχεισθ' ἄρα. Many similar passages will be found collected in Porson's note. The metaphor is from ships riding at anchor.

36. τὰς ἐγγέλεις] Of the Copaic eel, the darling of the Athenian epicure, enough has been said in the Commentary on Acharnians 880-94 and Peace 1005-14; and see infra 702. They were the most delicious contribution sent by Boeotia in times of peace to the Athenian market. Let *them* therefore, Calonice says, be excepted from the sentence of universal annihilation denounced against the inhabitants of Boeotia. The Scholiast, after giving the right interpretation of the line, adds

ᾧκουν τε τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι Ἐγγελεῖς, περὶ δὲ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτικοῖς φησὶν. He does not say that Hellanicus described them as *dwelling* in Boeotia, and it is at least doubtful if they ever did so. They seem to have been an Illyrian tribe, whose connexion with Boeotia arose from the fact that the Cadmeians, the issue of Eteocles, when expelled from Thebes by the Epigoni, took refuge within their borders, Hdt. v. 61, ix. 43; Pausanias, Boeotica v. 1. Anyhow there is certainly no reference to them here.

37. οὐκ ἐπιγλωττήσομαι] οὐ βλασφημήσω.—Scholiast. And so Suidas s.v. ἐπιγλωττήσομαι and again s. vv. οὐκ ἐπιγλωττήσομαι. But though the word is generally used in a bad sense (Aesch. P. V. 949, Cho. 1034) that signification is not inherent in the word itself, which merely means *to utter with the tongue*, as contrasted with *conceiving in the mind*. It was the *spoken word*, not the *thought*, that was of ill omen.

38. ἀλλ' ὑπονόησον] ὅτι ἀπολοῦνται δηλονότι.—Scholiast. Lysistrata means, and intends Calonice to understand her to mean, that unless the women can save them, the three great powers engaged

τοιούτον οὐδέν· ἀλλ' ὑπονόησον σύ μοι.

ἦν δὲ ξυνέλθωσ' αἱ γυναῖκες ἐνθάδε,

αἶ τ' ἐκ Βοιωτῶν αἶ τε Πελοπόννησιών

40

ἡμεῖς τε, κοινῇ σώσομεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

ΚΑ. τί δ' ἂν γυναῖκες φρόνιμον ἐργασαίαιτο

ἢ λαμπρὸν, αἶ καθήμεθ' ἐξηνθισμέναι,

in the war—the Peloponnesians, the Boeotians, and the Athenian empire—will all unavoidably perish. But with the characteristic reluctance of an Athenian to use ill-omened words about herself and her people, she will not say Ἀθηναίους τε πάντας ἐξολωλέναι, as she has said of the other powers, but leaves Calonice to supply those words for herself. So in Acharnians 318 Diaecopolis will not *speak* of his head being cut off, but intends the audience to *understand* what he means. So in Plato's fifth Epigram he throws an apple to his love, and begs her, if she loves him, to accept it; but if—he will not say *if she loves him not*, but puts it as follows—εἰ δ' ἄρ' ὁ μὴ γίνοιτο νοεῖς, then still let her take it, and remember how short-lived is its bloom and hers. In all such cases the speaker, although he will not utter the ill-omened words, yet wishes his meaning to be understood exactly as if he had uttered them. And Brunck's change of ἀλλ' (ἀλλὰ) in the present line into ἄλλ' (ἄλλο), with the sense of *think better of my meaning*, though adopted by a few editors, in reality makes nonsense of the passage.

43. ἐξηνθισμέναι] *bedizened*. ἀνθη φο-

ροῦσαι, τοῖς ἀνθεσι κεκοσμημέναι, οἶον ψιμυθίῳ καὶ φύκει καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις.—Scholiast, Suidas s. v. Hence the reference to ἄγχουσα in Lysistrata's reply. In Heliodorus vii. 19 we read of a woman παντοῖα κομωτικῇ πρὸς τὸ ἀβρότερον ἐξηνθισμένην. This line is twice quoted by Clement of Alexandria, and though in one case he gives the right reading ἐξηνθισμέναι, in the other, either by his own carelessness or by that of his transcribers, the word is corrupted into ἐξανθισμέναι, which several editors have inconsiderately introduced into the text of Aristophanes. It is of course well known that, auburn hair, ξανθαὶ τρίχες, being very popular at Athens, Athenian women were accustomed ξανθίζεσθαι τὰς τρίχας, to imitate the favourite colour by means of hair-dye; Clement himself had just quoted from Menander τὴν γυναῖκα γὰρ | τὴν σὺ φρον' οὐ δεῖ τὰς τρίχας ξανθὰς ποιεῖν; and by Alciphron (Fragm. 5, ed. Seiler) we are told that the hair of Lais was curly by nature, and auburn without hair-dye, τρίχες ἐνουλισμέναι φύσει, ξανθίζουσαι δὲ ἀφαρμάκεντα. Cf. Aelian, V. H. ix. 9 and xiii. 1. But ἐξανθισμέναι without any reference to τρίχες would rather mean that the women themselves were

κροκωτὰ φοροῦσαι καὶ κεκαλλωπισμέναι
καὶ Κιμβερίκ' ὀρθοστάδια καὶ περιβαρίδας ;

45

ΛΤ. ταῦτ' αὐτὰ γάρ τοι κάσθ' ἃ σώσειν προσδοκῶ,
τὰ κροκωτίδια καὶ τὰ μύρα χαὶ περιβαρίδες
χρὴ γχουσα καὶ τὰ διαφανῇ χιτῶνια.

ΚΑ. τίνα δὴ τρόπον ποθ' ;

ΛΤ. ὥστε τῶν νῦν μηδένα

browned, like roasting meat, Ach. 1047. And Lysistrata, in recapitulating Calonice's description of Athenian women, makes no allusion to hair-dye, but by the mention of *rouge* seems clearly to refer to ἐξηγισμέναι, the reading supported by the unanimous authority of Aristophanic MSS., scholiasts, and grammarians.—The verb *καθήμεθα* seems intended to denote an indolent attitude. In Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, chap. x, after Ischomachus has persuaded his wife to disuse cosmetics (see the Commentary on Eccl. 929), she asks if she can do nothing by which she may really be, and not merely appear, more beautiful. And he advises her μὴ δουλικῶς ἀεὶ ΚΑΘΗΣΘΑΙ, but to be up and about, to look after the maidservants, to shake the carpets and make the beds.

44. *κροκωτά*] The *κροκωτός* was a yellow or saffron-coloured body-robe, ἔνδυμα (Schol. at Thesm. 261 and at Eccl. 332), much worn by Athenian women. In the Thesmophoriazusae Mnesilochus, wishing to pass for a woman, is at once arrayed in a *κροκωτός*; while in the Ecclesiazusae Praxagora, wishing to pass for a man, appropriates her husband's clothes, and

leaves him in exchange her own *κροκωτίδιον*. And probably, in the Agamemnon, when Aeschylus speaks of Iphigeneia κρόκου βαφὰς ἐς πέδον χέουσας, he intended to represent her as wearing a *κροκωτός* at the sacrificial altar. The *κροκωτός* is said to have been made of silk (ἐκ μετάξης Schol. at Frogs 46); and I see no reason for assuming, as some do, that silk was unknown to the Athenians in the time of Aristophanes.

45. *Κιμβερίκᾳ κ.τ.λ.*] ἔστι δὲ τὸ Κιμβερικὸν διαφανὲς χιτωνίσκος, says Pollux vii. 49; εἶδος ἐνδύματος, says the Scholiast here, ἀπὸ τόπου. And so Suidas (except that by some oversight he changes ἐνδύματος into ἱματίου). *χιτωνίσκου* εἶδος πολυτελοῦς, ὃ λέγεται στατός, Hesychius. Our word *cambric* (said to be derived from Cambrai) seems sufficiently to represent both the name and the material.—ὀρθοστάδια, οἱ στατοὶ χιτῶνες, Scholiast, Photius. The *χιτὼν* was ordinarily made too long for the figure, and had therefore to be belted up underneath the bosom, so that while the lower part hung straight to the feet, the top was gathered up into loose and ample folds. Where the *χιτὼν* was made the same height as the figure,

ἀνδρῶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν αἵρεσθαι δόρυ,

50

ΚΑ. κροκωτὸν ἄρα νῆ τῷ θεῷ γὰρ βάψομαι.

ΛΤ. μήτ' ἀσπίδα λαβεῖν ΚΑ. Κιμβερικὸν ἐνδύσομαι.

ΛΤ. μήτε ξιφίδιον. ΚΑ. κτήσομαι περιβαρίδας.

ΛΤ. ἄρ' οὐ παρεῖναι τὰς γυναῖκας δῆτ' ἐχρῆν;

ΚΑ. οὐ γὰρ μὰ Δί' ἀλλὰ πετομένας ἤκειν πάλαι.

55

so that it required no belt, but hung down, straight and stiff, from the shoulder to the feet, it was called ὀρθοστάδιος or στατός. χιτῶν ὀρθοστάδιος, ὁ οὐ ζωννύμενος, Pollux vii. 48.—περιβαρίδας. These were common slippers, worn by females of all classes at Athens. The grammarians mostly call them simply ὑποδήματα γυναικεία or use some other general description; but Pollux (vii. 92) says that they were mostly worn by θεραπαινίδες, and (vii. 87) cites from a comedy of Cephisodemus the line νῦν δ' ὥσπερ ἡ θεράπαιν' ἔχω περιβαρίδας. It is plain however from the present passage that they were also worn, and were considered attractive, by Athenian ladies.

48. χῆ "γχοῦσα] ἄγχοῦσα or ἔγχοῦσα, rouge. That the Athenian women attempted to imitate or improve Nature's own white and red by ψιμίθιον and ἄγχοῦσα is of course well known; Eccl. 878, 929, Plutus 1064, and the lines quoted from the second Thesmophoriazusaë by Pollux vii. 95. And see the Commentary on the Ecclesiazusaë, ubi supra. ἄγχοῦσα, says the Scholiast here, is εἶδος βοτάνης ἧς ἡ ῥίζα ἐρυθρά, ἣ ἐρυθραίνουσι τὰ πρόσωπα αἱ γυναῖκες. It is the

Dyer's alkanet, the *anchusa tinctoria* of the botanists. Pliny treats of it in his Natural History xxii. 23 "Et anchusae radix in usu est, digitali crassitudine. Finditur papyri modo; manusque inficit sanguineo colore; praeeparat lanas pretiosis coloribus."

50. αἵρεσθαι δόρυ] So Eur. Heracl. 313 καὶ μήποτ' εἰς γῆν ἐχθρὸν αἵρεσθαι δόρυ.

51. κροκωτὸν . . . βάψομαι] "Crocotam ergo, ita me Ceres amat et Proserpina, mihi tingendam curabo," Brunck; and so all the Commentators. I presume that they take the line to mean *I will have my yellow robe re-dyed*, and not "*I will have it dyed another colour*." But even the former rendering is very unsatisfactory, for Calonice, eager at once to assume the attire which makes for Peace, is not likely to suggest the tedious process of dyeing. And I strongly suspect that βάψομαι has somehow usurped the place of a verb more analogous to the ἐνδύσομαι and κτήσομαι of the following lines, such as λήψομαι or βαστάσω. Many have remarked the similarity of these running comments of Calonice to those of Euelpides in Birds 598-602.

55. πετομένας] Compare Plautus (Mer-

ΛΥ. ἀλλ', ὦ μέλ', ὄψει τοι σφόδρ' αὐτὰς Ἀττικὰς,
ἅπαντα δρώσας τοῦ δέοντος ὕστερον.
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Παράλων οὐδεμία γυνὴ πάρα,
οὐδ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος.

ΚΑ. ἀλλ' ἐκείναι γ' οἶδ' ὅτι
ἐπὶ τῶν κελήτων διαβεβήκασ' ὄρθρῃαι.

60

ΛΥ. οὐδ' ἄς προσεδόκων κάλογιζόμεν ἐγὼ
πρώτας παρέσεσθαι δεῦρο, τὰς Ἀχαρνέων
γυναῖκας, οὐχ ἤκουσιν.

ΚΑ. ἡ γοῦν Θεαγένουσ

cator ii. 4. 18). A. Visne *ΕΑΜ* ad portum? B. qui potius quam *VOLES*?

57. ὕστερον] ὡς τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἰεὶ μελόντων. καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὄψει Ἀττικὰς ἀκριβῶς, οἷον μελλούσας ἐν τῷ πράγματι. —Scholiast. So rapid, after the death of Pericles, had been the deterioration of the Athenian character, that whereas the Athenians had formerly been distinguished for being always on the alert and beforehand with their opponents (Thuc. i. 70), they are now on the contrary always behindhand, τοῦ δέοντος ὕστερον. The system which Pericles introduced of removing all restrictions upon the popular will, and so relaxing the bonds of discipline and political self-control, naturally tended (when his strong hand no longer guided the reins) to make the Athenians, as Plato says, ἀργοὺς καὶ δειλοὺς καὶ λάλους, Gorgias, chap. 71. In the following century this became a common topic of complaint with the Athenian orators. See Demosthenes, First Philippic, pp. 49, 50.

58. Παράλων] the people of the coast, τῶν ἐν παράλῳ οἰκουσῶν. Παράλια γάρ

μοῖρα τῆς Ἀττικῆς.—Scholiast. It was one of the three districts into which Pandion divided Attica, giving them to three of his sons. Paralia he gave to Pallas. He had a fourth son, Nisus, to whom he gave Megara and Salamis.

59. ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος] While they are waiting for the arrival of the other women, Aristophanes takes the opportunity of raising the laughter of the audience by a few farcical jokes. He mentions the Salaminian women, to lead up to Calonice's remark that they, no doubt, have been from daybreak crossing (the straits which separate Salamis from the mainland) in their skiffs, κελήτες. The word κελῆς means either a *skiff* or a *riding-horse*, and in the latter sense is used to signify the particular σχῆμα συνουσίας to which allusion is again made infra 191 and 619. See Wasps 501, Peace 900, Thesm. 153. Jokes of this kind seem to have been specially employed in connexion with Salamis; infra 411, Eccl. 38. And as to ὄρθρῃαι, at *early dawn*, cf. Ach. 256 and infra 966 and 1089.

ὥς δεῦρ' ἰούσα θούκάτειον ἤρετο.

ἀτὰρ αἶδε καὶ δὴ σοι προσέρχονταί τινες·

αἱ δ' αὖθ' ἕτεραι χωροῦσί τινες. ἰὸν ἰὸν,

πόθεν εἰσίν; ΛΥ. Ἀναγυρουντόθεν.

ΚΑ.

νῆ τὸν Δία·

ὁ γοῦν ἀνάγυρός μοι κεκινήσθαι δοκεῖ.

ΜΥ. μῶν ὕστεραι πάρεσμεν, ὦ Λυσιστράτη;

τί φῆς; τί σιγᾷς;

ΛΥ.

οὐκ ἐπαινῶ, Μυρρίνη,

65

70

62. Ἀχαρνέων] Next, the Acharnians are mentioned for the sake of the jest upon Theagenes (οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ἀχαρνεὺς, Scholiast on Wasps 1183), whose notorious superstition in never leaving home without consulting the shrine of Hecate at his house-door (see Wasps 804 and the Commentary there) is here transferred to his wife. Suidas, both under Ἐκάτειον and under Θεαγένης, cites a proverb Θεαγένους Ἐκάτειον, and adds εἶχεν Ἐκάτης ἄγαλμα οὗ ἐπυνθάνετο πανταχοῦ ἀπίων.

67. Ἀναγυρουντόθεν] After Salamis and Acharnae we are introduced to the deme of Anagyrus, in order that Calonice may play upon the words of the proverb ἀνάγυρον κινεῖν, a proverb however referring not to the deme, but to the strong-smelling shrub known to our botanists as *Anagyris foetida*, "stinking bean-trefoil." It is a bushy plant, growing to the height of eight or ten feet, with laburnum-like flowers of a bright yellow and long seed-pods; and was found in great profusion about the Attic village of Anagyrus. It had a

most nauseous smell, φυτὸν δυσώδες, Hesychius, Suidas, Zenobius ii. 55, βαρύσσημος ἰσχυρῶς, Dioscorides iii. 67, "gravis odore," Pliny xxvii. 13; and when bruised gave out the scent in a peculiarly offensive manner (τριβόμενος ὀζει, Suidas). Hence arose the proverb ἀνάγυρον κινεῖν, used of persons who bring upon themselves some unpleasant results, ἐπὶ τῶν κινούντων τινα ἐπὶ κακῷ αὐτοῖς. The proverb is given by all the paroemiographers, Bodleian 56, Coislin 31, Diogenianus i. 25 and 52, Zenobius ii. 55 (Gaisford, pp. 6, 123, 158, 160, 266), and Suidas. Calonice therefore, seeing the village dames of Anagyrus hurrying in before the rest, exclaims *We have stirred up Anagyrus with a vengeance*. She is referring to the village, but she plays on the proverb which refers to the shrub.

70. οὐκ ἐπαινῶ, Μυρρίνη] So Thesm. 1213 οὐκ ἐπαινῶ, γράδιο. The plucky little Myrrhina was already Lysistrata's right-hand woman, and her dilatoriness was therefore all the more disappointing. She attempts to make up for it

ἤκουσαν ἄρτι περὶ τοιούτου πράγματος.

ΜΥ. μόλις γὰρ εὗρον ἐν σκότῳ τὸ ζώνιον.
ἀλλ' εἴ τι πάνυ δεῖ, ταῖς παρούσαισιν λέγε.

ΛΥ. μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἐπαναμείνωμεν ὀλίγου γ' εἵνεκα
τάς τ' ἐκ Βοιωτῶν τάς τε Πελοποννησίων
γυναῖκας ἐλθεῖν.

75

ΜΥ. πολὺ σὺ κάλλιον λέγεις.

ἡδὲ δὲ καὶ δὴ Λαμπιτῶ προσέρχεται.

ΛΥ. ὦ φιλότατη Λάκαινα, χαῖρε, Λαμπιτοῦ.

by falling in at once with Lysistrata's objections.

74. ὀλίγου γ' εἵνεκα] ἀντὶ τοῦ πρὸς βραχὺν χρόνον.—Scholiast. Just as ἐμοῦ γ' εἵνεκα means *so far as I am concerned*, so ὀλίγου γ' εἵνεκα means *so far as a short time is concerned*.

77. Λαμπιτῶ] Lampito was the name of the wife of Archidamus, the Spartan king who commanded the expeditions into Attica during the early years of the Peloponnesian War, Hdt. vi. 71. She was the daughter of King Leotychides and the mother of King Agis. By Plato (Alc. i. 18, p. 123 E) and Plutarch (Agesilaus ad init.) she is called Λαμπιδῶ. Here there is probably no specific allusion to the Spartan queen; her name is merely taken as the name of a Spartan woman. Hitherto all the women on the stage have been Athenians; but now representatives of the enemy make their appearance; Lampito comes from Sparta, and with her are delegates from Boeotia and Corinth, the two most powerful members, under Sparta, of the Peloponnesian

confederacy, and at this time the two bitterest enemies of Athens. Lysistrata greets them with enthusiasm.

81. σιώ] τοὺς Διοσκόρους λέγει. Λακωνικῶς δὲ φθέγγεται, ὡς οἱ Ἀττικοὶ νῆ τῷ θεῷ, ἥτοι τὴν Κόρην καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα.—Scholiast. The "Twain" in the mouth of an Athenian meant Demeter and Persephone, and the oath by their names could be taken by women only; Eccl. 158. The "Twain" in the mouth of a Spartan meant Castor and Polydeuces, and the oath could be taken by men as well as by women; infra 983, &c. So both Lampito and the Herald swear by Castor; infra 206, 988. If we may judge by the examples given in this Play, the speech of a Spartan was frequently tempered by the parenthetical use of the word οἶῶ; cf. infra 156, 998, 1256. The Dorians here, as elsewhere, speak in the Doric tongue; but here, as elsewhere, Aristophanes moulds the rigour of an unfamiliar dialect so as to make it more harmonious to the ear, and more intelligible to the mind, of an Athenian audience. And everywhere

οἶον τὸ κάλλος, γλυκυτάτη, σου φαίνεται.
ὥς δ' εὐχροεῖς, ὥς δὲ σφριγᾷ τὸ σῶμά σου.
κἂν ταῦτρον ἄγχοις.

80

ΛΑ. μάλα γὰρ οἶῶ ναὶ σιῶ.
γυμνάδδομαί γε καὶ ποτὶ πυγὰν ἄλλομαι.

ΛΥ. ὥς δὴ καλὸν τὸ χρῆμα τιθίων ἔχεις.

ΛΑ. ᾗπερ ἱερεῖόν τοί μ' ὑποψαλάσσετε.

ΛΥ. ἡδὲ δὲ ποδαπή 'σθ' ἡ νεάνις ἡτέρα;

85

ΛΑ. πρέσβειρά τοι ναὶ τῶ σιῶ Βοιωτία

the Commentators set themselves to reverse the good taste and good sense of the Athenian, by overloading the lines with the strictest Doric forms. I have preferred to follow the best MSS. and to present the lines as, according to their testimony, Aristophanes wrote them. See the Introduction to the Acharnians, pp. xlvi, xlvii.

82. γυμνάδδομαι] For the institutions of Lycurgus required the Spartan girls, as well as boys, to harden their bodies and develop their physical energies by a regular course of training in the athletic exercises of the gymnasium. σωμασκεῖν ἔταξεν [ὁ Λυκοῦργος] οὐδὲν ἦττον τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἄρρενος φύλου· ἔπειτα δὲ δρόμου καὶ ἰσχύος, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν; οὕτω καὶ ταῖς θηλείαις ἀγῶνας πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐποίησεν.—Xen. Rep. Lac. i. 4. τὰ σώματα τῶν παρθένων δρόμοις καὶ πάλαις καὶ βολαῖς δίσκων καὶ ἀκοντίων διεπόνησεν.—Plutarch, Lycurgus, chap. 14. And Lampito's hale and muscular appearance testified to the efficacy of his system. One proof of her agility in particular she mentions, ποτὶ (πρὸς) πυγὰν ἄλλομαι. For, as the

Scholiast says, ἐν τῷ γυμνάζεσθαι πηδᾶν εἰώθασι, καὶ οἱ πόδες ἄπτονται τῆς πυγῆς τοῦ πηδῶντος. This exercise, as Florent Chretien observes, was called βίβασις, and Kuster cites the passage in which Pollux describes it; βίβασις δέ τι ἦν εἶδος Λακωνικῆς ὀρχήσεως, ἧς καὶ τὰ ἄθλα προὔτιθετο οὐ τοῖς παισὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς κόραις. ἔδει δὲ ἄλλεσθαι καὶ ψαίνειν τοῖς ποσὶ πρὸς τὰς πυγὰς, iv. 102.

84. ὑποψαλάσσετε] *you handle me*. ψηλαφᾶτε.—Scholiast. Cf. infra 275. *You feel me as though I were a victim about to be sacrificed*; which the sacrificers feel to make sure that it is in good condition. τὰ γὰρ ἱερεῖα, says the Scholiast, μέλλοντες θύειν ψηλαφῶσιν εἰ λιπαρά ἐστιν.

86. πρέσβειρα] This is merely the feminine of πρέσβυς, and, as such, is here employed in the sense of an *ambassadress*, a *female delegate*, while in Ach. 883 it signifies *the eldest*. From its use in these two places we may perhaps infer that this feminine was more in vogue in Boeotia than elsewhere. We shall presently find (infra 697) that the lady's name is Ismenia. ποθ' ὑμέ is equivalent to πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

ἔκει ποθ' ὑμέ.

ΛΥ. νῆ Δί', ὦ Βοιωτία,
καλὸν γ' ἔχουσα τὸ πεδίον.

ΚΑ. καὶ νῆ Δία
κομψότατα τὴν βληχῶ γε παρατετιλμένην.

ΛΥ. τίς δ' ἡτέρα παῖς;

90

ΛΑ. χαῖα ναὶ τῷ σιῶ,

Κορινθία δ' αὖ.

ΛΥ. χαῖα νῆ τὸν Δία
δήλη 'στὶν οὔσα ταυταγὶ τάντευθενί.

ΛΑ. τίς δ' αὖ συναλίσξε τόνδε τὸν στόλον

87. ὦ Βοιωτία] This address would be suitable either for the Boeotian land or for the Boeotian woman; and Lysistrata and Calonice play upon this double meaning by using language which is applicable primarily to Boeotia itself, and only in a secondary sense to the woman before them. Boeotia was renowned for its plains, or (to use the Scotch expression) *straths*. It is described by the Scholiast as ἐν πεδίῳ, and by Hdt. (ix. 13) as χώρα ἱππασίμη. It was for this reason that Mardonius, on the approach of the Hellenic army, retired from Attica to try his last fortune on the plains of Boeotia, where there would be more space for the operations of cavalry; καλὸν τὸ Βοιωτικὸν πεδίον, he said, ἀγαθοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐναγωνίσασθαι, Plutarch, Aristeides, chap. 10. And Sylla, Plutarch tells us (Sylla, chap. 15, cf. Id. 20), was blamed by some because, when the general of Mithridates was approaching with a great army well supplied with chariots and

cavalry, ἀπολιπὼν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τραχείαν οἶσαν καὶ δύσιππον, ἐνέβαλεν αὐτὸν πεδιάσι καὶ ἀναπεπταμέναις ταῖς περὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν χώραις. For these reasons the Boeotian plain, τὸ Βοιωτικὸν πεδίον, became so common a battlefield for Hellas that Epameinondas called it the "Orchestra of Ares," Plutarch, Marcellus, chap. 21. That βλήχων (otherwise γλάχων) our *pennyroyal* was a well-known product of these plains is shown by the circumstance that in the Acharnians a Boeotian is represented as bringing it to be sold in the Athenian market. See Ach. 861 (and the Commentary there), 869, and 874. So far as regards Boeotia the country. As regards the Boeotian woman by πεδίον we are to understand *the groin* and by βληχῶ, τὴν τρίχα. And as to παρατετιλμένη see infra 151.

90. χαῖα] The Boeotian lady having been disposed of, the Corinthian now comes forward. She is introduced by Lampito as χαῖα, a Doric word equivalent to ἀγαθὴ (Scholiast, Suidas, Hesychius).

- τὸν τᾶν γυναικῶν ; ΛΥ. ἥδ' ἐγώ.
- ΛΑ. μύσιδδέ τοι
 ὃ τι λῆς ποθ' ἀμέ. ΜΥ. νῆ Δί', ᾧ φίλη γύναι, 95
 λέγε δῆτα τὸ σπουδαῖον ὃ τι τοῦτ' ἐστὶ σοι.
- ΛΥ. λέγοιμ' ἂν ἤδη. πρὶν λέγειν δ', ὑμᾶς τοδὶ
 ἐπερήσομαί τι μικρόν. ΜΥ. ὃ τι βούλει γε σύ.
- ΛΥ. τοὺς πατέρας οὐ ποθεῖτε τοὺς τῶν παιδίων
 ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ἀπόντας ; εἶ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι 100
 πάσαισιν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀποδημῶν ἀνήρ.
- ΚΑ. ὁ γοῦν ἐμὸς ἀνὴρ πέντε μῆνας, ᾧ τάλαν,
 ἄπεστιν ἐπὶ Θράκης, φυλάττων Εὐκράτην.

chius), and descriptive, generally, of a person endowed with any sort of excellence, birth, breeding, character, or appearance. Cf. *infra* 1157. Though a Doric word, Lysistrata adopts it in her reply out of compliment to Lampito.

92. *ταυταγὶ πάντευθεν*] *in these parts*. The sentence, as Seager observes, is pronounced *δεικτικῶς*, and *έντευθεν*, as he rightly adds, does not necessarily imply motion. See Wasps 991, Eccl. 169.

93. *συναλίαξε*] for *ξυνηλίαξε*, *convoiced*. *ξυνήθροισε*.—Scholiast. This is the verb to which the name of the Athenian dicasteries *Ἡλιαία*, *an Assembly*, belongs. Cf. *infra* 380.

94. *μύσιδδε κ.τ.λ.*] That is, *μύθιζε* ὃ, *τι θέλεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς*. The words which follow, *νῆ Δί', ᾧ φίλη γύναι*, are in all the older editions given to Lysistrata, and I have so left them in the translation; but most recent editors make them the commencement of Myrrhina's speech, and this seems to be right.

102. ᾧ τάλαν] This and ᾧ *τάλαντα* are

favourite ejaculations of Athenian women in familiar conversation. As a rule, they have no special reference to the person addressed, but are intended rather as a general exclamation at the pitifulness or wonderfulness of the situation.

103. *φυλάττων Εὐκράτην*] We know nothing of the circumstances to which the speaker alludes, and the Scholiasts knew no more than we do. Their explanation, *στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων ὁ Εὐκράτης*· *κωμωδεῖται δὲ ὡς δωροδόκος καὶ προδότης καὶ ξένος*, is obviously derived merely from the Comedies themselves, and does not rest on any independent historical basis. And the last two words are almost certainly erroneous. There is little doubt that the Eucrates here mentioned was the brother of the famous Nicias, who was put to death under the Thirty some seven years after the production of this Comedy. It was also proposed to confiscate his estate; and the eighteenth Oration of Lysias "About the confisca-

ΜΥ. ὁ δ' ἐμός γε τελέους ἐπτα μῆνας ἐν Πύλῳ.

ΛΑ. ὁ δ' ἐμός γα, κὰν ἐκ τᾶς ταγᾶς ἔλσῃ ποκά,
πορπακισάμενος φροῦδος ἀμπτάμενος ἔβα.

105

ΛΤ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μοιχοῦ καταλέλειπται φεψάλυξ.
ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἡμᾶς προῦδοσαν Μιλήσιοι,
οὐκ εἶδον οὐδ' ὄλισβον ὀκτωδάκτυλον,

tion of the property of Nicias's brother" is the peroration of a speech to be made by the son of Eucrates against such proposed confiscation. It makes no mention of the charge brought against the father, nor does it contain anything which throws light on the present allusion. We can only guess that about the date of the *Lysistrata* he was in command of a military force in the Thraceward regions (τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, see Peace 283 and the note there); and was so strongly suspected of some improper practices, treasonable or otherwise, that his soldiers were chiefly engaged in watching (see Birds 513) the suspicious movements of their own commander.

104. ἐν Πύλῳ] This line is expressly given by the Ravenna MS., and generally, to Myrrhina, but some recent editors have transferred it to *Lysistrata* on the ground that Myrrhina's husband will presently appear on the stage. We may, however, be sure that the three who complain of their misfortunes here are the three who, infra 112-18, say what they would do to get rid of them. And indeed the old Attic Comedy took no count of little inconsistencies of this kind; and besides, as at least five

days will have elapsed before Cinesias makes his appearance, he might easily during that interval have returned from Pylus to Athens. Pylus was still in the possession of the Athenians; see infra 1163. It was recaptured about two years later.

106. πορπακισάμενος] This is generally translated "having taken up his shield"; but though that would be the result of the operation, it is not really the operation itself described by the word. It means *having fastened the shield-strap to the shield*, and alludes to the Spartan custom of having the straps or handles of their shields made removable. A Spartan, on his return from an expedition, would remove the handle from the shield, to ensure that the Helots, if they were to rise in insurrection, should not seize it strapped ready for action. See the Commentary on *Knights* 849. And it was not until he was about to start on a new expedition that he would re-fasten "the shield-strap to the shield." ἐκ τᾶς ταγᾶς κ.τ.λ. = ἐκ τῆς τάξεως ἔλθῃ ποτέ. ἀμπτάμενος is ἀναπτάμενος.

107. φεψάλυξ] *a språk*. οἷον ζωπύρημα καὶ σπινθήρ.—Scholiast. "Ne scintilla quidem moechi."

ὃς ἦν ἂν ἡμῖν σκυτίνη 'πικουρία.

110

ἐθέλοιτ' ἂν οὖν, εἰ μηχανὴν εὖροιμ' ἐγὼ,

μετ' ἐμοῦ καταλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον;

ΜΥ.

νῆ τὼ θεῶ.

ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν καὶ εἴ με χρεΐη τοῦγκυκλον

τουτὶ καταθείσαν ἐκπιεῖν αὐθημερόν.

108. Μιλήσιοι] Miletushad fallen away from Athens during the preceding summer (Thuc. viii. 17), and was for some time the head-quarters of the Peloponnesian forces, and the scene of several important operations between them and the Athenians (Id. 24-36). It had an evil reputation as the Sybaris of Ionia (Diod. Sic. viii. 20, and see Plutus 1002 and the note there); and the suggestion here is that its panders to vice manufactured the "penem coriaceum octo digitos longum" which the women are accused of employing.

110. σκυτίνη 'πικουρία] She is playing on the proverbial phrase *συκίνη ἐπικουρία* which, as the Scholiast observes, was applied to persons who give but a feeble support to their friends, the wood of the fig-tree being weak, and incapable of yielding a firm support. *Σύκινον*, says the Scholiast on Plutus 946, is equivalent to *ἀσθερές* καὶ *ἀνωφελές*, ὅθεν καὶ "συκίνη ἐπικουρία." And so Hesychius, s.v. *σύκινον*. Lysistrata means to express her contempt for these artificial substitutes; but she changes *συκίνη* into *σκυτίνη*, because she is dealing with *αἰδοῖα δερμάτινα*. Athenaeus (xii. 75) preserves a line from a comedy of Strattis, *Σαννυρίωνος σκυτίνη*

'πικουρία, which has received many different interpretations, but as Athenaeus is citing it in connexion with the extreme tenuity of Sannyrion, it probably refers, as Dalecamp suggested, to the leathern stays with which, we may readily believe, he was accustomed to support his person. No doubt whichever was the later of the two Comedies borrowed the phrase from the earlier.

114. *καταθείσαν*] *Even though it were necessary for me to throw down this mantle and*—the word expected was *fight*, but *ἐκπιεῖν* is substituted *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, as a jest upon the bibulous propensities attributed to Athenian women. As to *ἐγκυκλον*, a *mantle*, a woman's *ἱμάτιον*, see the Commentary on Thesm. 249, and as to throwing down the *ἱμάτιον* in preparation for a fight, see Thesm. 548 and the note there. The Commentators mostly attach to *καταθείσαν* the signification of "pledging," a signification it may well bear after the surprise-word *ἐκπιεῖν* has made its appearance, but which is not suitable to the primary meaning of the line. And although the regular form for putting off a garment is the middle, *καταθεμένην*, yet the active, *καταθείσαν*, cannot

- ΚΑ. ἐγὼ δὲ γ' ἂν κὰν ὥσπερ εἰ ψῆτταν δοκῶ 115
δοῦν' ἂν ἐμαυτῆς παρταμοῦσα θῆμις.
- ΛΑ. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ κα ποττὸ Ταῦγετόν γ' ἄνω
ἔλσοιμ', ὅπα μέλλοιμί γ' εἰράναν ἰδεῖν.
- ΛΤ. λέγοιμ' ἂν· οὐ δεῖ γὰρ κεκρύφθαι τὸν λόγον.
ἡμῖν γὰρ, ὦ γυναῖκες, εἴπερ μέλλομεν 120
ἀναγκάσειν τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰρήνην ἄγειν,
ἀφεκτέ' ἐστὶ— ΚΑ. τοῦ ; φράσον.
- ΛΤ. ποιήσεται οὖν ;
- ΚΑ. ποιήσομεν, κὰν ἀποθανεῖν ἡμᾶς δέη.
- ΛΤ. ἀφεκτέα τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν τοῦ πέους.

lose its ordinary meaning of putting a thing down (infra 202) merely because it happens to be applied to a garment.

115. ψῆτταν] a turbot. 'Ρωμαῖοι καλοῦσι τὴν ψῆτταν ῥόμβον, says Athenaeus vii, last chapter but one. The turbot is with our ichthyologists *Rhombus maximus*; the brill, *Rhombus vulgaris*. The Rhombus of the Fourth Satire of Juvenal must certainly have been a turbot. Calonic is alluding to the popular notion that two flat fishes are in reality but one fish cut in halves; a notion derived from their peculiar shape and appearance, and illustrated by their German name *Halbfische*. In the Symposium of Plato 191 D, Aristophanes, expounding his theory that the lover and the loved are really parts of one entity, says ἕκαστος οὖν ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου ξύμβολον, ἅτε τετμημένος ὥσπερ αἱ ψῆτται, ἐξ ἐνὸς δύο. And Lucian (Piscator, 49), angling for philosophers, says Ἰδοὺ, τίς ἄλλος οὗτος ὁ πλατὺς, ὥσπερ ἡμίτομος ἰχθὺς προσέρχεται;

ψῆττά τις κεκρυμμένη ἐς τὸ ἀγκίστρον· κατέπιεν, ἔχεται, ἀνασπασθῶ.

117. Ταῦγετον] This was no easy task, for the mighty mountain which rises in abrupt and dizzy precipices to the west of the Amyclaeen plain is "probably inferior in height only to Pindus, Cyllene, and Olympus. It is visible from Zacynthus, which in a straight line is distant from it at least eighty-four miles. The northern crevices are covered with snow during the whole of the year," Dodwell's Tour ii. 410. That careful and accurate traveller is warmed almost to enthusiasm by the grandeur and beauty of the great mountain range with "its pointed and snowy summits glittering in the deep azure of the sky," Id. 388. "All the plains and all the mountains that I have seen," he says, "are surpassed in the variety of their combinations and the beauty of their appearance by the plain of Lacedaemon and Mt. Taygeton," Id. 408. "The

- τί μοι μεταστρέφεσθε; ποῖ βαδίσετε; 125
 αὐται, τί μοι μῦθε κανανεύετε;
 τί χρῶς τέτραπται; τί δάκρυον κατεΐβεται;
 ποιήσετ', ἢ οὐ ποιήσετ'; ἢ τί μέλλετε;
 ΜΥ. οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαιμ', ἀλλ' ὁ πόλεμος ἐρπύτω.
 ΚΑ. μὰ Δί' οὐδ' ἐγὼ γάρ, ἀλλ' ὁ πόλεμος ἐρπύτω. 130
 ΛΥ. ταυτὶ σὺ λέγεις, ὦ ψῆττα; καὶ μὴν ἄρτι γε
 ἔφησθα σαυτῆς κὰν παρατεμεῖν θῆμισυ.
 ΚΑ. ἀλλ' ἀλλ' ὃ τι βούλει· κὰν με χρῆ, διὰ τοῦ πυρρός
 ἐθέλω βαδίσειν· τοῦτο μᾶλλον τοῦ πέους.
 οὐδὲν γὰρ οἶον, ὦ φίλη Λυσιστράτη. 135

first view of its dazzling and snowy peaks and black forests crowning the huge masses of rock which rise perpendicularly from the brilliant Spartan plain in one row of colossal precipices excited feelings of awe and admiration such as I never experienced on any similar occasion," Col. Mure, *Tour in Greece* i. 209. "One scarcely realizes at home," says an anonymous writer, "how much Sparta, ancient and modern, is at the foot of towering mountains. The plain is fertile and well cultivated, rich in olives and vines, in mulberries and Indian corn, but the dominating physical fact of the situation is the rocky barrier so close at hand. We are under the lee of the mountains and cannot get away from their mighty shadows without quitting the Spartan valley altogether." The valley of Sparta," says Ruskin, "is one of the noblest mountain ravines in the world; the western flank of it is formed by an un-

broken chain of crags, forty miles long, rising, opposite Sparta, to a height of 8,000 feet, and known as the chain of Taygetus," *Queen of the Air* 26.

125. μεταστρέφεσθε] Lysistrata's proposition is received by her friends with every symptom of repugnance and dismay. They turn their backs and move away (ὡς ἀηδισθεῖσιν αὐτῶν καὶ μεταστραφείσιν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ, Scholiast); they compress their lips (μῦαν γὰρ τὸ τὰ χεῖλη πρὸς ἀλλήλα συνάγειν, Scholiast) and shake their heads (see the *παρεπιγραφὴ* after Ach. 113 and the note there); whilst their changing colour and their falling tears bear witness to the anguish of their souls, *θαλερόν τε κατεΐβετο δάκρυ παρειῶν*.

129. ὁ πόλεμος ἐρπύτω] *Let the war go on*. This expression is borrowed from *Knights* 673 where see the note.

135. οὐδὲν οἶον] *There is nothing like it*. See *Birds* 966, *Plato*, *Gorgias*, chaps. 1 and 37 (pp. 447 C and 481 B), and the *Commentary on the Birds*.

ΛΥ. τί δαὶ σύ; ΜΥ. κάγὼ βούλομαι διὰ τοῦ πυρός.

ΛΥ. ὃ παγκατάπυγον θήμέτερον ἅπαν γένος.

οὐκ ἔτος ἀφ' ἡμῶν εἰσιν αἱ τραγῳδίαί.

οὐδὲν γάρ ἐσμεν πλὴν Ποσειδῶν καὶ σκάφη.

ἀλλ', ὃ φίλη Λάκαινα, σὺ γὰρ ἐὰν γένη

μόνη μετ' ἐμοῦ, τὸ πράγμ' ἀνασώσασαί μεσθ' ἔτ' ἂν,

ξυμψήφισαί μοι.

140

ΛΑ. χαλεπὰ μὲν ναὶ τὼ σιῶ

γυναῖκας ὑπνῶν ἔστ' ἄνευ ψωλᾶς, μόνας.

138. οὐκ ἔτος] *Not without just cause.* Cf. Ach. 411, 413. οὐ ματαίως ἀλλὰ δικαίως.—Scholiast.

139. Ποσειδῶν καὶ σκάφη] Nothing, she means, but an intrigue and its natural consequence, the exposure of the child; nothing but a lover and a baby-basket. These are the matters on which all our thoughts are fixed, we cannot rise to higher and nobler aims. In the terms which she uses she is alluding to the Tyro of Sophocles (ἀφ' ἡμῶν εἰσιν αἱ τραγῳδίαί), which, in a revised shape, was probably acted shortly before the Birds. See Scholiast on Birds 275; Wagner, *Fragm. Trag. Gr. i.* 410. Tyro, the daughter of Salmoneus, having borne twin sons to Poseidon, endeavoured to conceal her shame by exposing them in a σκάφη (just as Romulus and Remus, in a like case, were placed εἰς σκάφην to be cast into the Tiber, Plutarch, *Rom. chap. 4*). The boys, when grown up, return to their home, and in the recognition-scene which ensues the σκάφη plays a conspicuous part as a means of identification. Aristotle (*Poetics xvi. 3*), classifying the various modes of re-

cognition, εἶδη ἀναγνωρίσεως, observes that identification sometimes takes place by means of personal marks, sometimes by external tokens, οἷον ἐν τῇ Τυροὶ διὰ τῆς σκάφης. The Scholiast says, εἰς τὴν Σοφοκλέους Τυρῷ ταῦτα συντείνει, ἐκθεύσαν τὰ τέκνα εἰς σκάφην. ὁ δὲ νοῦς, οὐδὲν ἐσμέν, εἰ μὴ συνουσιάζειν καὶ τίκτειν.

145. μόνη τούτων γυνή] The precise meaning of these words is extremely doubtful. They are generally translated "the only woman of them all," "sola harum femina" (Brunck, following Bergler); which, considering the judgement just pronounced by the speaker on her sex, would be but a sorry compliment. It seems to me that the word γυνή applies to the entire line, to φιλιότητι as well as μόνη, just as if it had run ὃ φιλιότητι γυνή σὺ καὶ τούτων μόνη. And this, I think, was the Scholiast's view who explains μόνη by μόνη γυνή δυναμένη μηχανὴν εὑρεῖν; an interpretation, however, which cannot be strictly accurate. In my opinion Lysistrata is referring to the words she employed just above, μόνη μετ' ἐμοῦ, and means that Lampito is the *only one with her*;

- ὅμως γὰ μάν· δεῖ τὰς γὰρ εἰράνας μάλ' αὖ.
 ΛΥ. ὦ φιλάττη σὺ καὶ μόνῃ τούτων γυνή. 145
 ΚΑ. εἰ δ' ὥς μάλιστ' ἀπεχοίμεθ' οὐδ' σὺ δὴ λέγεις,
 ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, μάλλον ἂν διὰ τουτογὶ
 γένοιτ' ἂν εἰρήνη;
 ΛΥ. πολὺ γε νῆ τὸ θεῶ.
 εἰ γὰρ καθοίμεθ' ἔνδον ἐντετριμμέναι
 κὰν τοῖς χιτωνίοισι τοῖς ἀμοργίνοις 150
 γυμναὶ παρίοιμεν, δέλτα παρατετιλμέναι,

not only φιλάττη but the only one of them all who is so, the Abdiel of the cause. In her enthusiasm she speaks abruptly, but means (to borrow from my own translation) "O dearest friend, my one true friend of all." And so, I imagine, Florent Chretien understood the line, when he translated it "O omnium harum sola dulcis foemina." And in claiming the Spartan woman as her one true friend of all, the Athenian woman may seem to have been endowed with a sort of prescience, since seven

years later, when the day of doom arrived for Athens, Sparta proved herself in very truth her "one true friend of all," by resolutely standing between her and the vengeance of her enemies. See the Introduction to the Ecclesiastusae, pp. ix, x.

149. ἐντετριμμέναι] powdered, with cosmetics rubbed in, Eccl. 732 and 904. Alexis, in a passage cited by Athenaeus (xiii. 23, p. 568 C), dilating on the art with which women disguise their natural blemishes, says

τὰς ὀφρὺς πυρρὰς ἔχει τις; ζωγραφοῦσιν ἀσβόλῳ.
 συμβέβηκε' εἶναι μέλαιναν; κατέπλασε ψιμυθίῳ.
 λευκόχρως λίαν τις ἐστί; παιδέρωτ' ἐντρίβεται.

It is noteworthy that though here, as supra 42-8, Lysistrata expounds in the clearest manner her plan of the campaign, yet it is really conducted on totally different lines. Not for one moment do the women sit at home endeavouring to attract the men. On the contrary they keep out of their way as much as they possibly can.

150. ἀμοργίνους] made of the finest lawn. This was manufactured from flax grown in the island of Amorgos.

ἔστι δὲ σφόδρα λεπτόν, says the Scholiast on 735 infra, ὑπὲρ τὴν βύσσον ἢ τὴν κάρπασον. The material was quite transparent, whence the women wearing it are called γυμναὶ in the following line.

151. παρίοιμεν] This compound is contrasted with the προσίοιμεν of two lines below, "if we walk *by* them, but not *to* them." With παρατετιλμέναι cf. supra 89. δέλτα here, as πεδίον there, signifies the groin. The Scholiast explains πλεκοῦν by συνουσιάζειν.

στύοινο δ' ἄνδρες κάπιθυμοῖεν πλεκοῦν,
 ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ προσίοιμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπεχοίμεθα,
 σπονδὰς ποιήσαιντ' ἂν ταχέως, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι.

ΛΑ. ὁ γῶν Μενέλαος τὰς Ἑλένας τὰ μάλα πα 155
 γυμνὰς παρενιδὼν ἐξέβαλ', οἶῶ, τὸ ξίφος.

ΚΑ. τί δ', ἣν ἀφίωσ' ἄνδρες ἡμᾶς, ὦ μέλε;

ΛΥ. τὸ τοῦ Φερεκράτους, κύνα δέρειν δεδαρμένην.

ΚΑ. φλυαρία ταυτ' ἐστὶ τὰ μεμιμημένα.
 ἐὰν λαβόντες δ' ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον βίᾳ 160
 ἔλκωσιν ἡμᾶς; ΛΥ. ἀντέχου σὺ τῶν θυρῶν.

ΚΑ. ἐὰν δὲ τύπτωσιν, τί;

ΛΥ. παρέχειν χρὴ κακῶς.

155. ὁ Μενέλαος] The Spartan woman cites a Spartan precedent. The legend that, after the fall of Troy, Menelaus, when about to slay his faithless wife, was so softened by her beauty that he cast his sword away, is found, the Scholiast informs us, in the "Little Iliad" of Lesches; and is also, as he adds, recorded by Euripides (Andromache 627).

ἐλὼν δὲ Τροίαν, . . .

οὐκ ἔκτανε γυναῖκα, χειρίαν λαβὼν
 ἀλλ' ὡς ἐσείδε μαστὸν, ἐκβαλὼν ξίφος
 φίλημ' ἐδέξω, προδόντιν αἰκάλλων κύνα,
 ἥσσαν πεφνκῶς Κύπριδος.

And it is introduced, with great effect, into Tennyson's splendid description of the disordered dreams of Lucretius.

Then, then, from utter gloom stood out the breasts,
 The breasts of Helen, and hoveringly a sword
 Now over and now under, now direct,
 Pointed itself to pierce, but sank down shamed
 At all that beauty.

158. Φερεκράτους] This is supposed to be the Comic Poet, the senior contemporary of Aristophanes, though the words were not to be found in his Comedies surviving at the time when the Scholiasts wrote. The proverb, as coined by the Poet, seems to be equivalent to the Latin *nudo detrahare vestimenta*, Plautus, *Asinaria* i. 1. 79; and is used, the

proverb collectors tell us, ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην πονούντων (Coislin 296; Diogen. v. 85; Gaisford *Paroemiogr.* pp. 146, 200), and so the Scholiast and Suidas. But Lysistrata, as Brunck observes, "proverbium aliorum trahit. Penem coriaceum intelligit, cuius mentio supra 109."

160. δωμάτιον] a bedchamber. κοιτώνιον. —Scholiast. See Eccl. 8; Lysias, de

- οὐ γὰρ ἐνι τούτοις ἡδονὴ τοῖς πρὸς βίαν
 κἄλλως ὀδυνᾶν χρή· κάμει ταχέως πάνυ
 ἀπεροῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ οὐδέποτε εὐφρανθήσεται
 ἀνὴρ, ἐὰν μὴ τῇ γυναικὶ συμφέρῃ. 165
- ΚΑ. εἴ τοι δοκεῖ σφῶν ταῦτα, χῆμιν ξυνδοκεῖ.
 ΛΑ. καὶ τὼς μὲν ἀμῶν ἀνδρας ἀμὲς πείσομεν
 παντὰ δικαίως ἄδολον εἰράναν ἄγειν·
 τὸν τῶν Ἀσαναίων γὰρ μὰν ῥνάχεται 170
 πᾶ καὶ τις ἂν πείσειεν αὐτὸν μὴ πλαδδίην;
 ΑΤ. ἡμεῖς ἀμέλει σοι τά γε παρ' ἡμῖν πείσομεν.
 ΛΑ. οὐχ ἄς πόδας κ' ἔχωνται τὰι τριήρεις

caede Eratosth. 17 (p. 93); Plato, Rep. iii. 4 (p. 390 C); Plutarch, Marius, chaps. 38 and 44; Sylla, chap. 37.

161. ἀντέχου] *cling tightly to the door*. Cf. Ach. 1121. "Ita adhaere foribus, ut ab eis te avelli non sinas."—Florent Chretien. With Calonice's question ἐὰν δὲ τύπτωσιν, τί; compare the questions of the Citizen and Chremes, Eccl. 799, 862.

165. ἀπεροῦσιν] *they will give over, cry off*, infra 778, Peace 306. ἀπαγορεύουσιν καὶ παύσονται τοῦ πολέμου.—Scholiast.

167. χῆμιν ξυνδοκεῖ] With these words Calonice and her friends finally give in their adhesion to the scheme proposed by Lysistrata. So in the Birds (1630), Poseidon, finding himself outvoted by Heracles and the Triballian, withdraws his opposition with the words εἴ τοι δοκεῖ σφῶν ταῦτα, κάμοι συνδοκεῖ. So in the uprising against the Four Hundred, a few months after the exhibition of this Play, when the soldiers are eager to demolish the fort at Etionia, Theramenes after a faint show of opposition

to their wishes, gives way with the words εἴπερ καὶ ἐκείνοις δοκεῖ καθαιρεῖν, καὶ ἐαυτῷ ξυνδοκεῖν, Thuc. viii. 92.

169. δικαίως ἄδολον] These words are constantly found in treaties. See Birds 633 and the Commentary there.

170. ῥνάχεται] Hesychius and Photius give two meanings to this word, viz. θόρυβον, *a racket*, and τὸν ῥέοντα ὄχετόν. The Scholiast and Suidas explain it by θόρυβον and συρφετόν. Here it seems to be used for *an unstable and tumultuous mob*. πλαδδίην in the following line, and infra 990, means *to play the fool*.

173. ἄς πόδας] ἄς stands for ἕως, and I have, though with some hesitation, accepted πόδας, the emendation of Valckenaer and Tyrwhitt, for the MS. reading σποδᾶς. The MS. reading would mean "Not while the triremes have so much attention paid them"; the amendment, *Not while your triremes are equipped with ropes and sails; not while you have so many triremes ready for active service*, or more strictly, as Tyrwhitt

- καὶ τὰργύριον τᾶβυσσον ἥ παρὰ τῇ σιῶ.
 ΛΥ. ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ τοῦτ' εἶ παρεσκευασμένον· 175
 καταληψόμεθα γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τήμερον.
 ταῖς πρεσβυτάταις γὰρ προστέτακται τοῦτο δρᾶν,
 ἕως ἂν ἡμεῖς ταῦτα συντιθώμεθα,
 θύειν δοκούσαις καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.
 ΛΑ. πάντ' εἰ κ' ἔχοι, καὶ τᾷδε γὰρ λέγεις καλῶς. 180
 ΛΥ. τί δῆτα ταῦτ' οὐχ ὡς τάχιστα, Λαμπιτοῖ,
 ξυνωμόσαμεν, ὅπως ἂν ἀρρήκτως ἔχη;

renders it, "Non quamdiu pedes (velorum sc. funes) habent triremes." "Inter navium instrumenta," he adds, "saepissime memorantur οἱ πόδες, *Odys. v. 260; Eurip. Orest. 706; Aristoph. Eq. 436.*" See the Commentary on the last-cited passage. The Scholiast here says Οὐκ ἂν ἄγοιεν εἰρήνην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἕως ἂν θαλασσοκρατῶσιν, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ ἄβυσσον ἥ παρὰ τῇ θεῶ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. καὶ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἀπέκειτο χίλια τάλαντα. ἤρξαντο οὖν κινεῖν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἄρχοντος, ἐφ' οὗ εἰσέχθη τὸ δρᾶμα, ὡς φησὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν Ἀτθίδι.

174. τὰργύριον] Lampito is referring to the 1,000 silver talents which Pericles had set apart at the commencement of the war (*Thuc. ii. 24*) to be used only on the most pressing emergency. That emergency had now arrived (*Id. viii. 15*), and it was proposed to employ the money in building ships to replace the fleets which had perished at Syracuse, and so to enable Athens to carry on the war. But the carrying on of the war was the very thing which Lysistrata and her friends were determined to prevent. And henceforth throughout the

Play their main object is to hold the Acropolis in their exclusive possession, that the men may not obtain for their warlike purposes the silver in the temple of the Goddess, παρὰ τῇ σιῶ. For the Athenian treasury was the inner chamber at the back of Athene's Temple; though whether that temple was the Erechtheium (as the Scholiast on *Plutus 1193* says, and as we should naturally expect) or the Parthenon (as the remains of the two temples have led antiquaries to believe) is a doubtful and difficult question. See the Commentary on the passage of the *Plutus*.

176. καταληψόμεθα τὴν ἀκρόπολιν] This was the recognized mode of commencing a revolution. So Cylon κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, *Thuc. i. 126*. And Peisistratus, ἐπιτιθέμενος τυραννίδι, no sooner obtained his body-guards than he at once κατέσχε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, *Aristotle, Polity of Athens, chap. 14*. And see *infra 274*.

177. ταῖς πρεσβυτάταις] The older women are told off for this service. They will form the Chorus of Women, the Semichorus of the Play. Much confu-

ΛΑ. *πάρφαινε μὰν τὸν ὄρκον, ὥς ὁμώμεθα.*

ΛΥ. *καλῶς λέγεις. ποῦ 'σθ' ἡ Σκύθαινα; ποῖ βλέπεις;*

θὲς ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ὑπτίαν τὴν ἀσπίδα,

185

καί μοι δότω τὰ τόμιά τις.

ΚΑ. *Λυσιστράτη,*

τίν' ὄρκον ὀρκώσεις ποθ' ἡμᾶς;

ΛΥ. *ὄντινα;*

εἰς ἀσπίδ', ὥσπερ, φάσ', ἐν Αἰσχύλῳ ποτὲ,

sion has arisen from editors not clearly keeping before their minds the fact, that the women on the *stage*, Lysistrata and her friends, are all *young* married women, whilst the women in the *orchestra* are all *old* women, and are constantly described as such. Their leader is Stratyllis, whom the men are for ever taunting on account of her age.

180. *πάντ' εὖ κ.τ.λ.] All will go well, for on this subject also you say well.*

183. *ὥς ὁμώμεθα] ἀντὶ τοῦ ὅπως ὁμώσωμεν.—Scholiast.*

184. *Σκύθαινα] Scythianess.* That the Scythian archers were employed to keep order in the Athenian Assemblies is plain from innumerable passages, such as Ach. 54, Eccl. 143: see the Commentary on the latter passage. The Assembly of Women is therefore in like manner attended by Scythianesses. And just as those rude barbarians were ridiculed for their habit of staring idly about them (see *infra* 426), so here the Scythianess is at once made to merit and receive the same rebuke.

186. *τόμια] The severed parts of the victim, over which the most solemn*

oaths were taken. Bergler refers to Demosthenes against Aristocrates 79 (p. 642), where it is said that, in a trial for murder before the Areopagus, the Accuser is required to swear not any common form of oath, but *στὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τομίῳν κάπρον* (*infra* 202) *καὶ κριοῦ* (*infra* 189) *καὶ ταῦρον* (Aesch. Sept. 42).

188. *ἐν Αἰσχύλῳ] The allusion, as the Scholiast observes, is to Septem 42, where the Messenger is describing the proceedings in the invaders' camp:*

*ἄνδρες γὰρ ἑπτὰ, θούριοι λοχαγέται,
ταυροσφαγοῦντες εἰς μελάνδετον σάκος,
καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου,
'Αρην, Ἐννῶ, καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον
ὠρκωμότησαν κ.τ.λ.*

The substitution here of *μηλοσφαγούσας* for *ταυροσφαγοῦντες*, if not a mere inadvertence, is probably due to the double meaning of *ταῦρος* (*infra* 217) and *μήλα* (*supra* 155). This mode of pledging faith was practised even in historic times. The Hellenic army of the Anabasis, and that of Ariaeus, after the battle of Cunaxa, swore to be faithful to each other *σφάξαντες κάπρον καὶ ταῦρον καὶ λύκον καὶ κριοῦν εἰς ἀσπίδα βάπτοντες οἱ μὲν*

- θεῖσαι μέλαιναν κύλικα μεγάλην ὑπτίαν, 195
 μηλοσφαγοῦσαι Θάσιον οἶνον σταμνίον,
 ὁμόσωμεν ἐς τὴν κύλικα μὴ ᾗ^πτῆ^κεῖν ὕδωρ.
- ΛΑ. φεῦ δᾶ, τὸν ὄρκον ἄφατον ὥς ἐπαίνω.
 ΛΥ. φερέτω κύλικά τις ἔνδοθεν καὶ σταμνίον.
 ΚΑ. ὃ φίλταται γυναῖκες, ὁ κεραμῶν ὅσος. 200
 ταύτην μὲν ἄν τις εὐθὺς ἡσθείη λαβών.
 ΛΥ. καταθεῖσα ταύτην προσλαβοῦ μοι τοῦ κάπρου.
 δέσποινα Πειθοῖ καὶ κύλιξ φιλοτησία,

197. μὴ ᾗ^πτῆ^κεῖν ὕδωρ] These words are of course added *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, for the purpose of satirizing the alleged vinous propensities of the women, *εἰς μέθην καμφοδῶν τὰς γυναῖκας*; as the Scholiast says. The expected words were neither *μὴ λύειν τὴν εἰρήνην*, as the Scholiast suggests, nor yet *καταλύειν τὸν πόλεμον* as Bergler puts it, but *ἀπέχεσθαι κ.τ.λ.*, that is, to act as Lysistrata proposed.

198. φεῦ δᾶ] This Doric ejaculation is used by both Aeschylus and Euripides in their Choral Odes, and Aristophanes probably borrowed it without much regard to its meaning or to its derivation. It is uncertain whether δᾶ is connected with Δεὺς (*Zeus*), or with γῆ (as is asserted by the Scholiast on Agamemnon 1039, and the author of the *Etym. Magn.* s.v. ἀλευάδα); or whether it merely stands for δὴ, and should be written δά. With the words *ἄφατον ὥς ἐπαίνω*, *I can't describe to you how I approve the oath*, compare Birds 428 *ἄφατον ὥς φρόνιμος*, *I can't describe to you how sagacious he is*. And cf. *infra* 1080, 1148.

200. ὁ κεραμῶν ὅσος] In answer to

Lysistrata's summons an attendant brings out a wine-jar and a cup, both of prodigious size. The magnitude of the earthen jar extorts from Calonice the delighted exclamation, *O, what a big Wine-jar!* And either she, or a friend (for many with great probability transfer the next line to Myrrhina), proceeds to congratulate herself on the size of the cup: *that is a cup 'twould give one joy to handle*.

202. τοῦ κάπρου] Lysistrata tells the attendant to set down the cup, and to take up the Wine-jar for the purpose of pouring out the wine. As Bergler remarks, she speaks of the Jar as if it were a victim whose blood they are about to shed. And while the Jar is being lifted she utters two lines of prayer, trusting that the Goddess of Persuasiveness and the Loving Cup will accept their sacrifice (as she calls the Wine) and be propitious to the women's cause.

203. Πειθοῖ] They invoke Peitho because by her aid, as the special minister and confidante of Aphrodite (if she were not rather Aphrodite herself under another aspect), they hope to persuade the

τὰ σφάγια δέξαι ταῖς γυναιξὶν εὐμενής.

ΚΑ. εὐχρων γε θαῖμα κάποπντίζει καλῶς. 205

ΛΑ. καὶ μὰν ποτὶδδὲι γ' ἀδὺ ναιὶ τὸν Κᾶστορα.

ΜΥ. ἔατε πρώτην μ', ὦ γυναῖκες, ὁμνύναι.

ΚΑ. μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐκ, ἔάν γε μὴ λάχῃς.

ΛΥ. λάξυσθε πᾶσαι τῆς κύλικος, ὦ Λαμπιτοῖ·
λεγέτω δ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μί' ἄπερ ἂν κάγῳ λέγω· 210
ὕμεις δ' ἐπομείσθε ταῦτὰ κάμπεδώσετε.

Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ μοιχὸς οὐδ' ἀνὴρ

ΚΑ. οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ μοιχὸς οὐδ' ἀνὴρ

men to terminate the war. They invoke the Cup of friendship because by means of the friendly league, to which they are about to pledge themselves over the Cup of Thasian wine, they hope to inaugurate a reign of peace and friendship throughout the Hellenic world. On the κύλιξ φιλοτηρία see Ach. 985 and the Commentary there. The Cup was immediately before them; and probably full in sight arose the ancient Temple of Aphrodite Pandemus and Peitho, which Theseus erected as a seal and emblem of the incorporation of all the demes of Attica into a single state, Pausanias i. 22. 3. Hence, perhaps, the word δέσποινα, like δέσποινα Νίκη infra 317, as of a present deity. On the great throne of Zeus at Olympia Peitho was represented crowning Aphrodite new risen from the sea, Pausanias v. 11. 3.

205. ἀποπντίζει καλῶς] *gushes out splendidly* (that is, *propitiously*, cf. Peace 1054, Birds 1118, &c.), as of a victim's blood. ταῦτα δὲ λέγει, says the Scholiast, μμου-

μένη τοὺς θυοσκόους, τουτέστι τοὺς ἱερεῖς. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπέλεγον τοῖς θύμασιν, εὐφημίας χάριν. The attendant is pouring the wine into the cup and the women are pressing round to see. And one admires the deep rich colour, and another the delicious fragrance (προσόςζει γ' ἡδὺ), of the Thasian wine, whilst a third would fain be the first to pledge her oath, that is, to raise the cup to her lips. The entire scene is intended to banter the alleged wine-loving propensities of Athenian women.

208. λάχῃς] Much of the humour underlying this dialogue has passed unnoticed because annotators have failed to observe that, in the peculiar form of oath which Lysistrata is about to administer, *to swear* has much the same meaning as *to drink*. Myrrhina's eagerness πρώτην ὁμνύναι arises from the circumstance that she would so obtain the first draught of wine, ἐπεὶ ἡ ὁμνύουσα πρώτη ἔμELLE καὶ πρώτη πιεῖν, as the Scholiast says; whilst the retort ἐὰν λάχῃς is due to the fact that in ancient

- ΛΥ. ὅστις πρὸς ἐμὲ πρόσσεισιν ἐστυκῶς. λέγε.
 ΚΑ. ὅστις πρὸς ἐμὲ πρόσσεισιν ἐστυκῶς. παπαί, 215
 ὑπολύεται μου τὰ γόνατ', ὦ Λυσιστράτη.
 ΛΥ. οἴκοι δ' ἀταυρώτῃ διάξω τὸν βίον
 ΚΑ. οἴκοι δ' ἀταυρώτῃ διάξω τὸν βίον
 ΛΥ. κροκωτοφοροῦσα καὶ κεκαλλωπισμένη,
 ΚΑ. κροκωτοφοροῦσα καὶ κεκαλλωπισμένη, 220
 ΛΥ. ὅπως ἂν ἀνὴρ ἐπιτυφῇ μάλιστά μου·
 ΚΑ. ὅπως ἂν ἀνὴρ ἐπιτυφῇ μάλιστά μου·
 ΛΥ. κούδέποθ' ἐκοῦσα τάνδρῃ τῶμῳ πείσομαι.
 ΚΑ. κούδέποθ' ἐκοῦσα τάνδρῃ τῶμῳ πείσομαι.

symposia not only was the ruler of the feast, the symposiarch, the *arbiter bibendi* elected by lot (Horace, Odes i. 4. 18, ii. 7. 25), but sometimes also the order in which the cup was to pass from guest to guest was regulated in a similar manner; *huic si sorte bibas, sortem concede priorem*, Ovid, Ars. Amat. i. 581.

211. ἐμπεδώσετε] *confirm*. See 233 *infra*, where ταῦτ' ἐμπεδοῦσα means *if I make firm*, that is, *abide by* what I have sworn, ἀσφαλῆ φιλάττουσα as the Scholiast explains it. Bergler refers to Iph. Taur. 758, 790.

212. οὐκ ἔστιν κ.τ.λ.] Lysistrata propounds the oath, Calonice repeats it after her, whilst all the other women place their hands upon the cup, so as to be participators in the ceremony; like the Seven Chiefs *θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου*.

216. ὑπολύεται μοι τὰ γόνατ'] Not, as usually, from fear, but from pleasure. So when Penelope becomes certain, by his mention of a secret known only to those two, that the stranger is really her husband, we are told (Odyssey xxiii. 205):

ὣς φάτο· τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γόνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ
 σήματ' ἀναγνώσης, τὰ οἱ ἔμπεδα πέφραδ' Ὀδυσσεύς.

O knees that as water are weak, O heart's shield suddenly broken,
 Who save Odysseus could speak it,—the spell of the secret token? (Way.)

217. ἀταυρώτῃ] οἶον ἀγνὴ καὶ ἄμκτος, says the Scholiast, and again ἄζευκτος γάμον καὶ ἀζυγίης. That the Greeks saw no special coarseness in the metaphor may be inferred from its introduction by Aeschylus in his tender and beautiful

description of Iphigeneia in the first Chorus of the Agamemnon.

219. κροκωτοφοροῦσα] This line is, in substance, repeated from 44 *supra*.

221. ἐπιτυφῇ μου] *burn with love of me*. ἐπικανθῇ καὶ πυρωθῇ ἐπ' ἐμοί.—Scholiast.

ΛΥ.	ἐὰν δέ μ' ἄκουσαν βιάζεται βία,	225
ΚΑ.	ἐὰν δέ μ' ἄκουσαν βιάζεται βία,	
ΛΥ.	κακῶς παρέξω κούχῃ προσκινήσομαι.	
ΚΑ.	κακῶς παρέξω κούχῃ προσκινήσομαι.	
ΛΥ.	οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνατενῶ τὰ Περσικά.	
ΚΑ.	οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνατενῶ τὰ Περσικά.	230
ΛΥ.	οὐ στήσομαι λείαν' ἐπὶ τυροκνήστιδος.	
ΚΑ.	οὐ στήσομαι λείαν' ἐπὶ τυροκνήστιδος.	
ΛΥ.	ταῦτ' ἐμπεδοῦσα μὲν πίοιμ' ἐντευθενί·	
ΚΑ.	ταῦτ' ἐμπεδοῦσα μὲν πίοιμ' ἐντευθενί·	
ΛΥ.	εἰ δὲ παραβαίην, ὕδατος ἐμπλήθ' ἡ κύλιξ.	235

229. τὰ Περσικά] These were common slippers worn by women and children. περσικαί, ὑποδημάτος εἶδος γυναικείου.—Suidas. εὐτελὴ ὑποδήματα.—Hesychius. Aristophanes usually speaks of them in the plural, Clouds 151, Thesm. 734, Eccl. 319, but here employs the dual.

231. ἐπὶ τυροκνήστιδος] The τυρόκνηστις, already mentioned in the Wasps and the Birds, was used for grating cheese, silphium, and the like. In form it was very dissimilar to one of our "graters," being a sort of knife with a bronze or ivory handle. And on the handles of knives it was customary to carve all sorts of animal figures. τυρόκνηστις δὲ μάχαιρα. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς λαβαῖς τῶν μαχαιρῶν ἐλεφάντινοι λέοντες γλύφονται ὀκλάζοντες, ὅπως μὴ ἀποθραύουσιν αὐτῶν οἱ πόδες, εἰ ὀρθοὶ ἐστῶντες γλύφουσιντο.—Scholiast, Suidas. But bronze figures would be less fragile, and in the British Museum there are several specimens of Greek bronze knife-handles on which the figures of lions, hounds, and other animals are

carved in every variety of posture; some indeed couching upon the handle, but others standing upright, and touching the handle only with their feet. And it is plain that in the τυρόκνηστις of which Lysistrata is speaking the lioness was in a standing position. She takes the lioness so standing as representing a σχῆμα συνουσίας, the sentence being, as Brunck observes, equivalent to οὐ τετραποδῶδον στήσομαι (Peace 896). The grammarians say that τυρόκνηστις was a σχῆμα συνουσίας, but that seems to be an entire mistake; the λεία was a σχῆμα συνουσίας; see the lines of Machon preserved by Athenaeus xiii, chap. 39 (p. 577 D), but the addition ἐπὶ τυροκνήστιδι seems merely the product of Lysistrata's too lively imagination.

235. εἰ δὲ παραβαίην] *If I abide by this, may I drink of the Thasian wine; but if I break my oath, may the cup be filled with water instead.* A person taking an oath settled beforehand for himself what should be the reward for keeping it, and

ΚΑ. εἰ δὲ παραβαίην, ὕδατος ἐμπλήθ' ἡ κύλιξ.

ΛΥ. ξυνεπόμενθ' ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πᾶσαι; ΜΥ. νῆ Δία.

ΛΥ. φέρ' ἐγὼ καθαγίσω τήνδε.

ΚΑ. τὸ μέρος γ', ὦ φίλη,
ὅπως ἂν ὦμεν εὐθὺς ἀλλήλων φίλοι.

ΛΑ. τίς ὠλολυγὰ;

240

ΛΥ. τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' οὐγὼ 'λεγον·
αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς θεοῦ
ἤδη κατειλήφασιν. ἀλλ', ὦ Λαμπιτοί,
σὺ μὲν βιάδιζε καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν εἷ τίθει,
ταςδὶ δ' ὁμήρους κατάλιφ' ἡμῖν ἐνθάδε·

what the penalty for breaking it. See Birds 445-7 and the Commentary there; and Iph. Taur. 750-2. According to the statement in Demosthenes contra Timocr. 171 (p. 747) the dicastic oath was closed with the words ἐπόμενμι Δία, Ποσειδῶνα, Δήμητρα· καὶ ἐπαρῶμαι ἐξώλειαν ἐμαντῶ καὶ οἰκίᾳ τῇ ἐμαντοῦ εἶ τι τούτων παραβαίνουμι· εὐορκοῦντι δὲ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι.

238. καθαγίσω] καύσω, καθιερώσω.—Scholiast, Suidas. συντελέσω καὶ καθιερώσω.—Hesychius. Lysistrata uses the correct liturgical word which signifies to complete and consummate a sacrifice, by burning, eating or otherwise consuming (according to the ordinances applicable to each case) the remains of the consecrated victim. But here, as in Plutus 681, the term is diverted to a comic meaning. The purpose of Lysistrata is to complete the sacrifice by herself consuming the remains of the Thasian wine, a purpose intercepted by Calonice, who calls upon her to go shares with her

friends, and so give immediate proof of their newly cemented friendship, κοινὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν φίλων, see the Commentary on Plutus 345. Possibly also the language of Calonice is intended to convey a hint that they will not long remain friends if Lysistrata drinks all the wine herself.

240. τίς ὠλολυγὰ] ὠλολυξασῶν τῶν ἐν ἀκροπόλει γυναικῶν τοῦτο λέγει.—Scholiast. The answer is repeated from Acharnians 41.

244. ταςδὶ] τὰς θεραπαίνας φησί.—Scholiast. But we have no reason to suppose that Lampito brought any attendants with her; and even if she did, the word must also include the associates and friends who, we know, accompanied her to Athens. These are the women who with Lysistrata, Calonice, Myrrhina, and others will henceforth hold the Acropolis, and who, at the close of the Play, will join their husbands in the reconciliation dance and song. See infra 1274.

- ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαισι ταῖσιν ἐν πόλει
 ξυνεμβάλωμεν εἰσιῶσαι τοὺς μοχλοὺς. 245
 KA. οὐκ οὖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ξυμβοηθήσιν οἷε
 τοὺς ἀνδρας εὐθύς ;
 AT. ὀλίγον αὐτῶν μοι μέλει.
 οὐ γὰρ τοσαύτας οὐδ' ἀπειλὰς οὐδὲ πῦρ
 ἤξουσ' ἔχοντες ὥστ' ἀνοῖξαι τὰς πύλας 250
 ταύτας, ἐὰν μὴ 'φ' οἷσιν ἡμεῖς εἴπομεν.
 KA. μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐδέποτε γ' ἄλλως γὰρ ἂν
 ἄμαχοι γυναιῖκες καὶ μισαὶ κεκλήμεθ' ἂν.
 XO. ΓΕ. χῶρει, Δράκης, ἡγοῦ βάδην, εἰ καὶ τὸν ὄμον ἀλγείς
 κορμοῦ τοσούτον βάρους χλωρᾶς φέρων ἐλάας. 255

252. μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην] She swears by Aphrodite whom she has just forsworn. The epithet ἄμαχοι seems to have been applied to women as a term of reproach, *resistless, people whom it is impossible to subdue*. So infra 1014 οὐδὲν ἐστὶ θηρίον γυναικὸς ἀμαχώτερον, where see the Commentary. ἄλλως, ἀντὶ τοῦ μάτην, says the Scholiast; a very common usage. See Peace 92 and the note there.

254. The women retire into the Acropolis through the Propylaea, and after a short pause the Chorus of old men, twelve in number, are heard slowly moving towards the orchestra, and singing their Parodos or entrance song. Their movements are slow because they are carrying heavy logs of wood, and carefully nursing some lighted embers in their pitchers. And for the same reason their entrance song does not, as is usually the case with such songs, consist of the quick and spirited trochaic

tetrameters, but is almost entirely iambic. They encourage one another as they go, and we learn the names of four of their number, Draces, Strymodorus, Philurgus, and Laches. And Phaedrias, we shall presently learn, was the name of a fifth, infra 356. Draces and Strymodorus are mentioned elsewhere also as names of the members of a Chorus, Wasps 233, Eccl. 294.

255. κορμοῦ] κορμός means a *section*, a piece of wood chopped off a larger piece. ἀπὸ τοῦ κείρω γίνεται κορμός.—Etym. Magn. (s. v. πορθμός). Here the κορμός χλωρᾶς ἐλαίας (called πρέμνον infra 267) is a log chopped off a fresh olive-tree, like the stem of fresh olive wood, χλωρὸν, ἐλαῖνεον which the Cyclops had cut for his club, τὸ μὲν ἔκταμεν, ὅφρα φοροίη, and which Odysseus likened to the mast of a 20-oared vessel, so long it was and so thick, Od. ix. 319–24.

256. πόλλ' ἄελλττ'] They mean that if

- ἦ πόλλ' ἀελλπτ' ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ βίῳ, φεῦ,
 ἐπεὶ τίς ἄν ποτ' ἤλπισ', ὦ Στρυμόδωρ', ἀκοῦσαι
 γυναικας, ἄς ἐβόσκομεν 260
 κατ' οἶκον ἐμφανὲς κακὸν,
 κατὰ μὲν ἅγιον ἔχειν βρέτας,
 κατὰ τ' ἀκρόπολιν ἐμὴν λαβεῖν,
 μοχλοῖς δὲ καὶ κλήθροισιν
 τὰ προπύλαια πακτοῦν ; 265
 ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα πρὸς πόλιν σπεύσωμεν, ὦ Φιλοῦργε,
 ὅπως ἂν αὐταῖς ἐν κύκλῳ θέντες τὰ πρέμνα ταυτί,
 ὅσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτ' ἐνεστήσαντο καὶ μετῆλθον,
 μίαν πυρὰν νήσαντες ἐμπρήσωμεν αὐτόχειρες
 πάσας ὑπὸ ψήφου μιᾶς, πρώτην δὲ τὴν Λύκωνος. 270

you live to be old, you will see many things that you never expected. There are two somewhat similar lines in a

ἦ πολλά γ' ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ γίγνεται μεταλλαγή
 τῶν πραγμάτων· μένει δὲ χρῆμ' οὐδὲν ἐν ταῦτ' ῥυθμῷ,

not quite as they are given by Meineke or Bothe (Fragm. Inc. 4). The words πόλλ' ἀέλλπτως, as Florent Chretien observes, are found in the familiar tag with which Euripides closes five of his tragedies.

262. ἅγιον βρέτας] The sacrosanct image of Athene Polias, the παλαιὸν βρέτας of Eumenides 80, the ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα of the famous inscription relating to the repairs of the Erechtheum. No more specific description was needed to denote this venerable statue, the image which, tradition said, fell down from heaven. The "closed and barred" Propylaea are of course immediately in front of the speaker. κατὰ ἔχειν and κατὰ λαβεῖν are for κατέχειν and καταλαβεῖν.

somewhat similar metre by Eupolis which I think should run as follows,

267. τὰ πρέμνα] *logs*. See Birds 321. τὰ στελέχη τῶν ξύλων.—Scholiast. πρέμνον· στέλεχος δένδρου.—Photius, Suidas. And these πρέμνα are in fact called στελέχη infra 336. But Photius gives a more general explanation τὰ παχεία ξύλα, and (s. v. *πρεμνίζετο*) τὰ παχεία καὶ μεγάλα ξύλα. And so Hesychius: πρέμνια· παχεία ἔχοντα ξύλα. With these incendiary designs of the old men Bergler compares the threats of Lycus in the Herc. Fur. 240–4, a drama which is supposed to have been exhibited not long before the Lysistrata.

270. ὑπὸ ψήφου μιᾶς] So with regard to the successful generals after Arginusae it was determined μιᾷ ψήφῳ ἅπαντας κρίνειν, Xen. Hell. i. 7. 37. So Eratos-

οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν Δήμητρ' ἐμοῦ ζῶντος ἐγχανοῦνται·
ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ Κλεομένης, ὃς αὐτὴν κατέσχε πρῶτος,

ἀπήλθεν ἀφάλακτος, ἀλλ'

275

ὅμως Λακωνικὸν πνέων

ῥῆξετο θῶπλα παραδοὺς ἐμοί,

thenes, one of the Thirty, is said by his venomous accuser, to have thrown, in conjunction with his colleagues, 300 citizens into prison, καὶ μὲν ψήφῳ αὐτῶν ἀπάντων θάνατον κατεψηφίσατο, Lysias against Eratosth. 53. These indeed were admittedly illegal acts; but the Chorus are not in a mood to trouble themselves about the legality of their revenge.—τὴν Λύκωνος. It can only be by an oversight that Blaydes supposes Lysistrata herself to be meant. The "wife of Lycon" was Rhodia, a woman of infamous life. τὴν Ῥοδίαν, says the Scholiast, λέγει οὕτω καλουμένην, τὴν Αὐτολύκου μὲν μητέρα, γυναῖκα δὲ Λύκωνος, ἐπ' αἰσχροῖς κωμωδουμένην. Εὐπολὺς Πόλεσιν "ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τὴν Λύκωνος ἔρρει πᾶς ἀνὴρ." As to Lycon see the note on Wasps 1301. His wife is to be involved, quite irrelevantly, in the general conflagration, just as in Frogs 588 the name of Archedemus is introduced, quite irrelevantly, into the imprecation of Dionysus.

272. ἐγχανοῦνται] ἐπεγγελάσουσι.—Scholiast. See Ach. 1197, Knights 1313, Wasps 1007, &c.

273. Κλεομένης] The story of Cleomenes, the flighty and half-witted (οὐ φρενήρης ἀκρομάνης τε Hdt. v. 42) King of Sparta, is told in the Fifth and Sixth Books of the History of Herodotus, and in the nine-

teenth and twentieth chapters of the Polity of Athens. On his first expedition to Attica, he materially assisted in the expulsion of the Peisistratidae by defeating their Thessalian allies (Hdt. v. 64, 65; Polity, chap. 19; infra 1150-6). The second time he went it was on the invitation of Isagoras, who invoked his aid against the innovations of Cleisthenes. On this occasion, though Cleisthenes himself retired at his approach, yet when he attempted to dissolve the Council, and place the supreme power in the hands of Isagoras and 300 of his partisans, the Council and People made so determined a resistance to his proposals, that he and his adherents seized and took refuge in the Acropolis. There he was besieged with so much vigour that on the third day he was forced to capitulate, and he and his small Lacedaemonian force were allowed to evacuate Attica. ὁ τε Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασιῶται αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν (cf. supra 176, 179, 242, 263). Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ, τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες, ἐπολιόρκειον αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ὅσοι ἔσαν αὐτέων Λακεδαιμόνιοι.—Hdt. v. 72.

275. ἀφάλακτος] unscathed. ἀπαθής, ἀτιμώρητος.—Scholiast.

277. ἐμοί] τῷ δήμῳ.—Scholiast. The affair took place very nearly a century

σμικρὸν ἔχων πᾶνυ τριβῶνιον,
 πινῶν, ῥυπῶν, ἀπαράτιλτος,
 ἐξ ἑτῶν ἄλουτος.

280

οὕτως ἐπολιόρκησ' ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐκείνον ὡμῶς
 ἐφ' ἑπτακαίδεκα ἀσπίδων πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις καθεύδων.

before, but the Chorus always regard themselves, and with good reason, as the identical Athenian People which fought and conquered in "the brave days of old." See *infra* 665 and the Commentary on Wasps 1071.

279. ἀπαράτιλτος] *unkempt*. ἀντὶ τοῦ δασὺς καὶ ἄκοσμος τὰς τρίχας.—Scholiast. It is the reverse of *πατατελιμένος* which we have had more than once in this Play.

280. ἐξ ἑτῶν ἄλουτος] The siege only lasted for two whole days, but that is near enough for Comedy. And the whole description of the ignominious exit of Cleomenes and his Spartans from the Acropolis is a mere fancy picture, designed to portray in the strongest colours the contrast between their humiliating retreat, and the pride and haughtiness (ὄμως Λακωνικὸν πνέων, *for all their Laconian arrogance*) with which they had entered Athens a few days previously.

282. ἐφ' ἑπτακαίδεκα ἀσπίδων] *in ranks seventeen deep*. ὅτι τὰς τάξεις ἀσπίδας ἔλεγον. καὶ αὐτὸς πάλιν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Βαβυλωνίους "ἴστασθ' ἐφεξῆς πάντες ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἀσπίδας." ἐπὶ τάξεσιν ἑπτακαίδεκα καθεύδων, ὥστε τὸ βάθος τῆς φρουρᾶς ἑπτακαίδεκα κατέχειν ἀσπίδας.—Scholiast. The Lexicons and Commentators give many examples of this usage. The

Peloponnesians move out to attack Phormio ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ταξάμενοι τὰς ναῦς, Thuc. ii. 90. The Athenian armies attempting to escape from Syracuse εἶδον τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν of the enemy παρατεταγμένην οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγων ἀσπίδων, Id. vii. 79. So when the Thirty led their troops from the city to attack Thrasylbulus in Munychia ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων, Xen. Hell. ii. 4. 11. So at the battle of Leuctra οἱ Θηβαῖοι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων συνεστραμμένοι ἦσαν, Id. vi. 4. 12. "Remember," says Isocrates in the Archidamus, sec. 115 (p. 136), "those who fought against the Arcadians at Dipaea οὗς φασιν ἐπὶ μιᾷ ἀσπίδος παραταξαμένους τρόπαιον στήσαι πολλῶν μυριάδων." And "Antiochus Soter," says Lucian (Zeuxis 8), "was dismayed when he saw the opposing army, ἐς βάθος ἐπὶ τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσι τεταγμένους ἐπλίτας." The πύλαι at which the Athenian ranks were watching to prevent the escape of Cleomenes must have been the nine gates of the old Pelasgic wall. Suidas (s. v. ἡπέδιζον, *they levelled*) cites Cleidemus [or Cleitodemus], one of the earliest writers on the antiquarian history of Athens, as saying, apparently of the Pelasgi, ἡπέδιζον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν περιέβαλλον δὲ ἐννεάπυλον τὸ Πελασγικόν. Bergler supposes that the participle καθεύδων with

τασδὶ δὲ τὰς Εὐριπίδῃ θεοῖς τε πᾶσιν ἐχθρὰς
 ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄρα σχήσω παρὼν τολμήματος τοσούτου ;
 μὴ νῦν ἔτ' ἐν τῇ τετραπόλει τοῦμὸν τροπαῖον εἶη. 285

ἀλλ' αὐτὸ γάρ μοι τῆς ὁδοῦ
 λοιπὸν ἐστι χωρίον [στρ.
 τὸ πρὸς πόλιν, τὸ σιμὸν, οἱ σπουδὴν ἔχω·
 χῶπως ποτ' ἐξαμπρεύσομεν

which the line ends is used *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* for *φρουρῶν* or the like. But a joke of that kind would be quite foreign to the tone of the passage. It seems rather to mean that they watched all night as well as all day, not even retiring for their necessary rest.

283. *Εὐριπίδῃ κ.τ.λ.*] "God-detested" is a very common term of abuse, and is frequently found in these Comedies, but the Chorus, having to do with women, add "*Euripides-detested*," *μισογύνῃς γὰρ ὁ Εὐριπίδης*, as the Scholiast says, *καὶ πολλὰ κατ' αὐτῶν λέγων*. See the Introduction to the *Thesmophoriazusae*, pp. xvi, xvii. And indeed we shall find as we proceed that the Men, in their attacks upon the female character, draw largely from the great magazine of misogynist maxims which the writings of Euripides supply.

285. *τῇ τετραπόλει*] Four little towns—*MARATHON*, *Probalinthus*, *Tricorythus* (*infra* 1032), and *Oenoe*—were from very early times grouped together as one district under the name of (not *Tetrapolis*, but) *the Tetrapolis*. In their midst, upon the marshy plain of *Marathon*, stood the white marble trophy which commemorated the great Victory.

See the Commentary on *Wasps* 711. *τρόπαιον*, says the Scholiast, *τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι, τὸ κατὰ Περσῶν. ἡ γὰρ Μαραθὼν τῆς τετραπόλεως μέρος, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ Οἰνὴ, Προβάλινθος, Τρικώρυθος*. Their appeal to these heroic memories is akin to the famous Demosthenic adjuration, *μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας κ.τ.λ.* (*De Corona* 263, p. 297), and to those lines of *Eupolis* which according to *Longinus* (*sec.* 16) were thought to contain the germ (*τὸ σπέρμα*) of that adjuration:

οὐ γὰρ, μὰ τὴν Μαραθῶνι τὴν ἐμὴν μάχην,
 χαίρων τις αὐτῶν τοῦμὸν ἀλγυνεὶ κέαρ.

And it was well in these dark days of tribulation and despondency that the Athenians should call to their remembrance the successful heroism of their ancestors; how when a Spartan king sought to curtail their freedom, they expelled both him and his troops with ignominy from their city; and how in still darker times they, single-handed, had saved all Hellas and all Europe from the supremacy of Asia.

286. *ἀλλ' αὐτό*] *ἀντὶ τοῦ, πλησίον γεγόναμεν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μεταξὺ ὀλίγος τόπος ὁ λειπόμενος*.—Scholiast.

τοῦτ' ἄνευ κανθηλίου.

290

ὥς ἐμοῦ γε τὸ ξύλω τὸν ὤμον ἐξιπώκατον·

ἀλλ' ὅμως βαδιστέον,

καὶ τὸ πῦρ φυσητέον,

μή μ' ἀποσβεσθὲν λάθῃ πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς ὁδοῦ.

(φυσῇ τῷ στόματι)

φῦ φῦ.

But of my journey, he says, this little space yet remains to be traversed; this slope which leads to the Acropolis whereunto I am bound with all urgency. And we must take thought how to hale (ἄμpron, a trace) this log along without a donkey's aid.

288. τὸ σιμόν] “They are come to what they will call the σιμόν of the Acropolis. No other word can so well express the character of the flat slope on its western side, the only accessible approach to the citadel.”—Bp. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, chap. xiv. The Scholiast seems to think that the name may have been specially appropriated to this flat slope (σιμόν, ὄνομα χωρίου περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν), though another puts it in the alternative ἀντὶ τοῦ πρόσαντες, ἢ ὄνομα χωρίου; but it is in fact freely used in reference to any rising ground. Arrian, for example (*De Ven.* 17), notices the well-known fact that a hare gains an advantage over its pursuers by taking to τὰ σιμὰ καὶ τὰ ἀνώμαλα, rising and uneven ground. And so, in Alciphron's graphic description of a coursing adventure (iii. 9), we find the hare at once breasting and surmounting τὸ σιμόν.

289. χῶπως ποτ' ἐξαμπεύσομεν] Before ὅπως we must understand φροντιστέον, or some such expression. ἐξαμπεύειν strictly means “to drag along with a rope,” but here it is used generally, without reference to any particular mode of carriage. The Men are still carrying the logs and do not set them on the ground until 312 infra. With τοῦτο, if we are to understand any particular substantive, we may supply βάρος, supra 255, or φορτίον, infra 312. The Coryphaeus was apparently shouldering two logs, τὰ ξύλω, though Draces had but one.

293. πῦρ] ἐν χύτρᾳ πῦρ εἶχον δι' ἀνθρώπων.—Scholiast. They fear that the fire which they have been nursing in the χύτρα, infra 297, 308, 315, will go out, just as they are nearing their journey's end.

294. φῦ φῦ] The Oxford Lexicographers describe this as an exclamation of disgust, like our *fie! faugh!* but it is obviously intended to represent the sound of the old men ΦΥΣώντων. It is used in precisely the same way in Lucian's *Philopatris*, 2, where one speaker declares that he is quite puffed out with the nonsense he has been

ἰοὺ ἰοὺ τοῦ καπνοῦ.

295

ὥς δεινὸν, ὦναξ Ἡράκλεις,

[ἀντ.

προσπεσόν μ' ἐκ τῆς χύτρας

ὥσπερ κύων λυττώσα τῷ φθαλμῷ δάκνει·

κάστιν γε Λήμνιον τὸ πῦρ

τοῦτο πάσῃ μηχανῇ.

300

οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποθ' ὧδ' ὁδὰξ ἔβρυκε τὰς λήμας ἑμοῦ.

σπεῦδε πρόσθεν ἐς πόλιν,

καὶ βοήθει τῇ θεῷ,

ἢ πότ' αὐτῇ μάλλον ἢ νῦν, ὦ Λάχης, ἀρήξομεν;

φῦ φῦ.

hearing and swallowing, and the other advises him to breathe it out; whereupon the first recommends him to stand some way off, lest the wind should blow him away, and then begins φῦ, φῦ, φῦ, φῦ, and his comrade rejoins, “βαβαὶ τοῦ ἀναφυσήματος, it has raised quite a storm at sea.” The Scholiast tells us that there was a *παρεπιγραφή* or stage-direction, *φυσᾷ τῷ στόματι*, which I have accordingly restored to its place in the text. It is this “puffing” which blows up the smoke into the puffer’s face, and occasions the ejaculation *ἰοὺ ἰοὺ τοῦ καπνοῦ*.

298. *κύων λυττώσα*] *a mad dog*. See the story in Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 14, about a child bitten by a mad dog, *ὑπὸ κυνὸς λυσσῶντος παῖδα δηχθέντα*.

299. *Λήμνιον*] The epithet is employed here for the sake of the pun on *λήμαι*. “The fire has bitten my *λήμας*, it must be a *Λήμνιον πῦρ*.” The reference is merely to the *name*, and not to anything special about “Lemnian fire.” The phrase *πῦρ*

Λήμνιον was a common one, and is supposed to have arisen from the volcano, *Mosychlus*, which was once active on the island, though it has now disappeared, and is believed to have been submerged in the sea. See Tozer’s “Islands of the Aegean,” p. 271, and the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, line 800, with Jebb’s Commentary and Appendix. To the passages there collected may now be added *Bacchylides* xviii. 55, where Theseus is described as having a *Λαμνίαν φοίνισσαν φλόγα* flashing from his eyes. As to *λήμη*, *an eyesore*, see the Commentary on *Eccl.* 404, *Plutus* 581.

301. *ἔβρυκε*] *it bit*, like *δάκνει* three lines above. So *infra* 367, *Peace* 1315, *Birds* 26.

306. *θεῶν ἔκατι*] *by the favour of the Gods*. “Thank Heaven,” says Pindar, “I have more than one string to my bow.” *ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἔκατι μυρία παντᾶ κέλευθος*, *Isthm.* iii. 19. Their “puffing,” by the divine blessing, has had the desired effect, and the fire, which

ιοὺ ἰοὺ τοῦ καπνοῦ.

305

τουτὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐγρήγορεν θεῶν ἑκατι καὶ ζῆ.
 οὔκουν ἂν, εἰ τὼ μὲν ξύλω θείμεσθα πρῶτον αὐτοῦ,
 τῆς ἀμπέλου δ' ἐς τὴν χύτραν τὸν φανὸν ἐγκαθέντες
 ἄψαντες εἴτ' ἐς τὴν θύραν κριηδὸν ἐμπέσοιμεν ;
 κἂν μὴ καλούντων τοὺς μοχλοὺς χαλῶσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, 310
 ἐμπιπράναι χρὴ τὰς θύρας καὶ τῷ καπνῷ πιέξειν.
 θώμεσθα δὴ τὸ φορτίον. φεῦ τοῦ καπνοῦ, βαβαιάξ.
 τίς ξυλλάβοιτ' ἂν τοῦ ξύλου τῶν ἐν Σάμῳ στρατηγῶν ;
 ταυτὶ μὲν ἤδη τὴν ράχιν θλίβοντά μου πέπνται.

they feared was going out, is now burning brightly again.

308. τῆς ἀμπέλου τὸν φανόν] *the vine-torch. ἐκ τῶν ἀμπελίων τὰς λαμπάδας κατεσκευάζον εἰς ἔξαψιν.*—Scholiast. They are now preparing for an immediate assault. They lay on the ground the heavy logs which they have been carrying on their shoulders, and place the lighted tapers in the pots ready for use. But before they actually set fire to the logs, they will make a strenuous rush at the central door of the Propylaea and try to burst it open, as if with a battering ram. And it is only if the women will not admit them on their summons (καλούντων), that they will burn down the doors (θύρας, there were five in all) of the Propylaea, and smother the defenders. However, as we shall see, they never actually reach the entrance. Of course they could not, having to remain in the orchestra.

309. κριηδόν] *δίκην κριοῦ. κριοὺς γὰρ χαλκοῦν μηχανήματα ὁ τοῖς τείχεσι προσφέ-*

ρουν σιν οἱ βάρβαροι.—Scholiast. Who are the βάρβαροι? If the writer is an Alexandrian in the days of the Ptolemies, he means the Romans: if a Byzantine after the fall of Rome, he must mean some of the Northern Invaders.

313. τῶν ἐν Σάμῳ στρατηγῶν] During all this period of the War, Samos was the permanent head-quarters of the Athenian armaments; and the leaders of the Army and Navy there were always ready to lend a hand, *ξυλλαμβάνειν*, to one party or the other in the City. They were now entering upon those strange and tangled intrigues in connexion with the return of Alcibiades, which form the central picture of the Eighth Book of Thucydides, and resulted first in the overthrow, and then in the re-establishment of the democratical government. The Men hope to find them equally ready to lend a hand for the purpose of suppressing the revolutionary movement of the Women.

σὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἔργον, ὃ χύτρα, τὸν ἀνθρακ' ἐξεγείρειν, 315
 τὴν λαμπάδ' ἡμμένην ὅπως πρώτιστ' ἐμοὶ προσοίσεις.
 δέσποινα Νίκη ξυγγενοῦ, τῶν τ' ἐν πόλει γυναικῶν
 τοῦ νῦν παρεστῶτος θράσους θέσθαι τροπαῖον ἡμᾶς.

ΧΟ. ΓΥ. λιγνὺν δοκῶ μοι καθορᾶν καὶ καπνὸν, ὃ γυναῖκες, 320
 ὥσπερ πυρὸς καομένου· σπευστέον ἐστὶ θᾶπτον.

πέτου πέτου, Νικοδίκη, [στρ.
 πρὶν ἐμπεπρῆσθαι Καλύκη
 τε καὶ Κρίτυλλαν περιφυσήτω
 ὑπὸ τε νόμων ἀργαλέων

317. δέσποινα Νίκη] As they are (supposed to be) approaching the Acropolis, they have full in view the Temple of the Wingless Victory, otherwise Athene Nike. It stood at the right of the Propylaea, on what may be called a bastion of the Cimonian wall; τῶν δὲ Προπυλαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ Νίκης ἐστὶν ἀπτέρων ναός, Pausanias i. 22. 4; Wordsworth's Athens and Attica, chap. xiv; Leake's Topography of Athens, Appendix 15; Lethaby's Greek Buildings, pp. 151-8. To Her therefore the Men make their appeal that she will grant them (δὸς is understood) the victory over the audacious women who are (ἐν πόλει) holding the Acropolis against them.

319. λιγνὺν κ.τ.λ.] The Men have concluded their laborious entrance song and are busying themselves with their hostile preparations. And now the voices of the twelve choreutae who form the Women's Chorus are heard in the distance, though the singers themselves are not yet visible. They have learned

that the Men are threatening to destroy the Acropolis and its defenders in one common conflagration, and have been filling their pitchers at the fountain for the purpose of extinguishing the flame. They cannot yet see the Men, but they can see the fiery vapour (λιγνὺς Birds 1241, Thesm. 281) and smoke ascending from the fires which their adversaries have been blowing into a blaze. The quicker movement of the Women is indicated by the lighter and more tripping metre, chiefly choriambic, and the almost idyllic character, of their entrance song. In the first two lines an iambic dipody is succeeded by two choriambes and one amphibrach or bacchic foot.

321. Νικοδίκη] Nicodice is a member of the Women's Chorus. Calyce and Critylla are two of Lysistrata's friends now forming the garrison of the Acropolis. The latter name reappears in the Thesmophoriazusae.

327. νῦν δὲ] *Just now.* ἀπρίως.—Scho-liast. See the note on Peace 5.

ὑπό τε γερόντων ὀλέθρων. 325
 ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι τόδε. μῶν ὑστερόπους βοηθῶ;
 νῦν δὲ γὰρ ἐμπλησαμένη τὴν ὑδρίαν κνεφαία
 μόγῃς ἀπὸ κρήνης ὑπ' ὄχλου καὶ θορύβου καὶ πατάγου χυτρείου,
 δούλῃσιν ὥστιζομένη 330
 στιγματίαις θ', ἀρπαλέως
 ἀραμένη, ταῖσιν ἐμαῖς
 δημότισιν καομέναις
 φέρουσ' ὕδωρ βοηθῶ.

ἤκουσα γὰρ τυφογέρον-

[ἀντ.

328. ἀπὸ κρήνης] Aristophanes is evidently depicting a scene of daily occurrence at Athens, when the women came in the dusk of the morning (*κνεφαία*) to fill their pitchers at the fountain-head. He must therefore be alluding to some particular fountain, which Wordsworth (*Athens and Attica*, chap. xii), Bothe, Blaydes, and others suppose to have been the Clepsydra, but which is by Dyer (*Ancient Athens*, p. 445) and others identified, no doubt correctly, with the great reservoir known as the Enneacrounos. For the Clepsydra was an intermittent and comparatively small spring of brackish water issuing from the side of the Acropolis (see *infra* 913) and somewhat difficult of access. It could not have been the habitual resort of women coming to draw water for their daily necessities. But the Enneacrounos was the great water-supply of the district, and would naturally be surrounded in the morning by a bustling and excited throng. Its exact position is

a matter of dispute; but we know from Thucydides (ii. 15) that it was in the immediate vicinity of the Acropolis, which is sufficient for our present purpose. The historian tells us that its water was specially used *πρὸ γαμικῶν* (cf. Pollux iii. 43); and it is to this circumstance that the Chorus are supposed to allude when they threaten the men (*infra* 378) with a *λουτρὸν νυμφικόν*. It must be remembered that although the Chorus originally seized the Acropolis (*supra* 179, 241), yet throughout all the subsequent action of the Play they are always in the lower City, and never *inside* the Acropolis.

330-4. δούλῃσιν . . . βοηθῶ] It appears from the antistrophe that a line composed of two choriambes or their equivalent is missing from this part of the Parodos, but we have no means of ascertaining where it should be supplied or what it should be.

335. τυφογέροντας] *dotards*, Clouds 908. *τετυφωμένους γέροντας*.—Scholiast.

τας ἄνδρας ἔρρειν, στελέχη 336
 φέροντας, ὥσπερ βαλανεύσοντας,
 ὡς τριταλανταῖα βάρος,
 δεινά τ' ἀπειλοῦντας ἐπῶν,
 ὡς πυρὶ χρὴ τὰς μυσαρὰς γυναικάς ἀνθρακεύειν. 340
 ἄς, ὦ θεὰ, μή ποτ' ἐγὼ πιμπραμένας ἴδοιμι,
 ἀλλὰ πολέμου καὶ μανιῶν ῥυσαμένας Ἑλλάδα καὶ πολίτας,
 ἐφ' οἷσπερ, ὦ χρυσολόφα,
 σὰς, πολιοῦχ', ἔσχον ἔδρας. 345
 καὶ σε καλῶ ξύμμαχον, ὦ
 Τριτογένει', ἣν τις ἐκεί-
 νας ὑποπίμπρησιν ἀνὴρ
 φέρειν ὕδωρ μεθ' ἡμῶν.

336. στελέχη] *logs*. It is the equivalent of κορμούς supra 255, and πρέμνα supra 267, where see the Commentary. στέλεχος· κορμός ξύλου, κλάδος.—Hesychius.

337. ὥσπερ βαλανεύσοντας] ὥσπερ βαλάνειον ὑποκαύσοντας.—Scholiast. As to the fire in the public baths see Plutus 535, 952 and the Commentary there.

339. ἀπειλοῦντας] Blaydes refers to Eur. Suppl. 542, where Theseus says to the Theban herald, κάμοι μὲν ἦλθες δεῖν' ἀπειλήσων ἔπη;

345. σὰς ἔδρας] τὸν ναόν σου κατέλαβον.—Scholiast. They mean the Acropolis itself and not any particular Temple. For the Acropolis, though full of innumerable shrines to other Gods, was so dominated by the triple presentment of Athene, as the Πολιάς, the Παρθένος, and the Πρόμαχος, that it might well be called, as here, Athene's dwelling-place, and, as in the Plutus, Παλλάδος πέδον. The name Πολιοῦχος is equivalent to the

more special name Πολιάς, and is even more frequently employed by the Poets. See Birds 827, 828 and the Commentary there. On the other hand the epithet χρυσολόφος can apply only to the Παρθένος, for she alone had a helmet of gold: and the Power invoked as the ξύμμαχος is probably the Πρόμαχος, the Champion of the Athenian Acropolis. See the Commentary on Knights 1169, and Thesm. 1138. And cf. infra 483 and 775, where the entire Acropolis is called a ἱερὸν τέμενος, a ἱερὸς ναός.

350. τοὺν τί ἦν;] Here for the first time the Women see the Men, as the two Semichoruses suddenly meet face to face in the orchestra. The Men have wheeled round so as to confront their approaching opponents. In the phrase πόνη πονηροὶ, the πόνη is merely intensive; *you utter scoundrels*. See Wasps 466 and the Commentary there.

353. θύρασιν] *out of doors*. See

- ἔασον ὦ. τουτὶ τί ἦν; ὧνδρες πόνῳ πονηροί· 350
οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἂν χρηστοί γ' ἔδρων, οὐδ' εὐσεβεῖς τάδ' ἄνδρες.
- ΧΟ. ΓΕ. τουτὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἡμῖν ἰδεῖν ἀπροσδόκητον ἦκει·
ἔσμὸς γυναικῶν οὐτοσὶ θύρασιν αὖ βοηθεῖ.
- ΧΟ. ΓΥ. τί βδύλλεθ' ἡμᾶς; οὐ τί που πολλὰι δοκοῦμεν εἶναι.
καὶ μὴν μέρος γ' ἡμῶν ὁρᾶτ' οὐπω τὸ μυριοστόν. 355
- ΧΟ. ΓΕ. ὦ Φαιδρία, ταύτας λαλεῖν ἔασομεν τοσαυτί;
οὐ περικατὰξαι τὸ ξύλον τύπτοντ' ἐχρῆν τιν' αὐτάς;
- ΧΟ. ΓΥ. θάμεσθα δὴ τὰς κάλπιδας χήμεις χαμᾶζ', ὅπως ἂν,
ἦν προσφέρῃ τὴν χεῖρά τις, μὴ τοῦτό μ' ἐμποδίσῃ.
- ΧΟ. ΓΕ. εἰ νῆ Δί' ἦδη τὰς γνάθους τούτων τις ἢ δις ἢ τρὶς 360
ἔκοψεν ὥσπερ Βουπάλου, φωνὴν ἂν οὐκ ἂν εἶχον.

Wasps 891. They were expecting to find the Women skulking behind the walls of the Acropolis, and are quite unprepared for this encounter in the open.

354. βδύλλεθ'] *are in such deadly fear of*. Cf. Knights 224 and the note there. I have removed the note of interrogation with which the line is usually closed, but which seems to give a wrong sense. The Women are speaking ironically; *You surely do not think there are many of us*.

357. περικατὰξαι τὸ ξύλον] *to break the stick about their backs*.

358. κάλπιδας] *the ewers*; so infra 370, 400, and 539. The vessel was called ἑδρία supra 327.

361. Βουπάλου] εἴ τις ἠπεύλησε τύπτειν, καθάπερ Ἰππῶναξ τὸν Βούπαλον.—Scho-liast. Bupalus and his brother Anthermus were two celebrated Chian sculptors, and the allusion here is to the

lampoons with which they were assailed by the ugly little Ephesian poet, Hipponax, for reproducing, and indeed caricaturing, in some of their works, his own repulsive physiognomy. For as Pliny says, xxxvi. 4 (2) (I quote from Holland's translation), "the said Poet had a passing foule and ill-favoured face of his own; and these Imageurs could find no better sport than to counterfeit both him and his visage as lively as possibly might be in stone, and in a knavery to set the same up in open place, where merry youths met in knots together and so to propose him as a laughing-stock to the whole world. Hipponax could not indure this indignitie, but for to be revenged upon these companions, sharpened his style or pen against them, and so coursed them with bitter rimes and biting libels that as some do thinke and verily beleieve, being weary of their lives, they knit their

ΧΟ. ΓΥ. καὶ μὴν ἰδοῦ· παταξάτω καὶ σταῶ' ἐγὼ παρέξω,
 κοῦ μή ποτ' ἄλλη σου κύων τῶν ὄρχεων λάβηται.

ΧΟ. ΓΕ. εἰ μὴ σιωπήσει, θενῶν σου 'κκοκκιῶ τὸ γῆρας.

ΧΟ. ΓΥ. ἄπτου μόνον Στρατυλλίδος τῷ δακτύλῳ προσελθάν. 365

ΧΟ. ΓΕ. τί δ', ἣν σποδῶ τοῖς κονδύλοις, τί μ' ἐργάσει τὸ δεινόν;

ΧΟ. ΓΥ. βρύκουσά σου τοὺς πλεύμονας καὶ τ'ἀντερ' ἐξαμήσω.

ΧΟ. ΓΕ. οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνὴρ Εὐριπίδου σοφώτερος ποιητής·
 οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠδὶ θρέμμ' ἀναιδές ἐστιν ὡς γυναικες.

necks in halters, and so hanged themselves. But sure this cannot be true, for they lived many a faire day after, yea and wrought a number of Images in the Islands adjacent to Chios, and namely in Delos; under which pieces of their worke they subscribed certain arrogant verses to this effect That the Island of Chios was not only enobled for the vines there growing which yeelded so good wine; but renowned as well for Anthermus his two sons, who made so many fine and curious images." One line of these libels has come down to us λάβετέ μου θαιμάτια, κόψω Βουπάλου τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, to which Bergk joins another fragment ἀμφιδέξιος γάρ εἰμι, κοῦχ ἀμαρτάνω κόπτων (Fragment 83 in his Poetae Lyrici Graeci). The description of Hipponax in the Epodes of Horace as the "acer hostis Bupalò" is known to all.

362. καὶ μὴν ἰδοῦ] This is a defiance; an invitation to the opponent to "come on," she is ready for him. Cf. Thesm. 568. By παρέξω she means *I will offer my cheek to your blow*; I won't withdraw myself; you may strike me if you like.

But if you do, she adds in a fury, "nunquam alius canis poterit tibiprehendere ore testiculos; nam ego, ut canis, prius eos evellam," Bergler. The last four words of the speech are uttered *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*.

364. ἐκκοκκιῶ] "At, ni taces, disputabo iam tuam senectam."—Florent Chretien. ἐκκοκκίζειν properly means "to pick out the seeds, κόκκους, of the pomegranate," ἡ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ροιῶν, as the Scholiast says. Thence it comes to mean generally *to rifle, to empty*, and so *to destroy, to smash*, as here. We meet with the word again infra 448, Ach. 1179, Peace 63. The words τὸ γῆρας σου are merely a periphrasis for "you." He is addressing Stratyllis, the leader, and apparently the oldest member, of the Women's Chorus who were all elderly women. See the Commentary on 179 supra. The line which follows is of course spoken by another member of the Chorus.

367. βρύκουσα . . . ἐξαμήσω] *I will tear out (literally, reap out) with my teeth*. For βρύκω see 301 supra; and with ἐξαμῶ in this sense Bergler refers to Eur.

- ΧΟ. ΓΥ. αἰρώμεθ' ἡμεῖς θοῦδατος τὴν κάλπιν, ὧ 'Ροδίππη. 370
 ΧΟ. ΓΕ. τί δ', ὧ θεοῖς ἐχθρὰ, σὺ δεῦρ' ὕδωρ ἔχουσ' ἀφίκου;
 ΧΟ. ΓΥ. τί δαί σὺ πῦρ, ὧ τύμβ', ἔχων; ὡς σαντὸν ἐμπυρεύσων;
 ΧΟ. ΓΕ. ἐγὼ μὲν, ἵνα νήσας πυρὰν τὰς σὰς φίλας ὑφάψω.
 ΧΟ. ΓΥ. ἐγὼ δέ γ', ἵνα τὴν σὴν πυρὰν τούτῳ κατασβέσαιμι.
 ΧΟ. ΓΕ. τοῦμόν σὺ πῦρ κατασβέσεις; 375
 ΧΟ. ΓΥ. τοῦργον τάχ' αὐτὸ δείξει.
 ΧΟ. ΓΕ. οὐκ οἶδά σ' εἰ τῇδ' ὡς ἔχω τῇ λαμπάδι σταθεύσω.
 ΧΟ. ΓΥ. εἰ ρύμμα τυγχάνεις ἔχων, λουτρὸν γ' ἐγὼ παρέξω.

Cyclops 236 τὰ σπλάγχν' ἔφασκον ἐξαμή-
 σεσθαι βίᾳ.

369. *θρέμ' ἀναιδές*] Strange to say, this phrase is found not in the Plays of Euripides (or, at least not in any of his extant Plays), but in the *Electra* of Sophocles where (line 622) Clytaemnestra addresses it to her daughter. But the idea contained in the phrase is thoroughly Euripidean, and possibly the words themselves may have occurred in one of his non-existent Tragedies.

370. *αἰρώμεθ'*] Taken aback by the desperate language of the women, the Men for the moment relinquish the idea of assaulting Stratyllis and her comrades, and turn their attention to the fire. The women therefore again take up the ewers they had set down, *supra* 358, in anticipation of an immediate attack. But their action has reminded the men of the water which the women are carrying, and a new altercation breaks out on this subject which speedily brings matters to a crisis. The reader will observe the greater rapidity of the present squabble. The speeches are never more

than a line long, and are often only half that length.

372. *ὧ τύμβε*] We have seen that the Coryphaeus of the Men's Chorus was impolite enough to taunt Stratyllis with her age. But the Men are no younger than the Women, and now Stratyllis returns the taunt by calling her opponent a *τύμβος*, a mocking appellation of an old man. Euripides makes Creon call himself (*Medea* 1209), and the Argive herald call Iolaus (*Heracleidae* 167), a *γέροντα τύμβον*.

377. *ρύμμα*] *soap*, from *ρύπτω*; *Acharnians* 17; τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν *σμήγμα* ἢ *νίτρον*, says the Scholiast. If the Men have the soap, the Women have the water wherewith to give them a bath. And that too a *λουτρὸν νυμφικόν*, they add; a phrase supposed to imply that the water had been drawn, as no doubt it had been, from the *Enneacrounos*. See the Commentary on 328 *supra*. Pollux (iii. 43) after observing that the water for the wedding bath was at Athens drawn from the *Enneacrounos*, but in other cities from any chance fountain, adds *ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ταῦτα, νυμφικὰ λουτρά*.

- ΧΟ. ΓΕ. ἐμοὶ σὺ λουτρὸν, ὦ σαπρά;
 ΧΟ. ΓΥ. καὶ ταῦτα νυμφικὸν γε.
 ΧΟ. ΓΕ. ἤκουσας αὐτῆς τοῦ θράσους;
 ΧΟ. ΓΥ. ἐλευθέρα γάρ εἰμι.
 ΧΟ. ΓΕ. σχήσω σ' ἐγὼ τῆς νῦν βοῆς. 380
 ΧΟ. ΓΥ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔθ' ἡλιάξεις.
 ΧΟ. ΓΕ. ἔμπρησον αὐτῆς τὰς κόμας.
 ΧΟ. ΓΥ. σὸν ἔργον, ὦ 'χελῶε.
 ΧΟ. ΓΕ. οἵμοι τάλας. ΧΟ. ΓΥ. μὲν θερμὸν ἦν;

380. ἡλιάξεις] δικάσεις. καὶ Ὅμηρος (Il. i. 232) νῦν ὕστατα λωβήσαιο. φονεύσω γάρ σε.—Scholiast. *You will never sit in the Heliaea again*; which was the chief delight of these old fellows.

381. ὦ 'χελῶε] Achelous was the largest Hellenic river, and from its name all fresh water was sometimes called Achelous. ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος πάντῃ τὸν 'Αχελῶν σεμνύνει, says Eustathius (on Iliad xxi. 194), ὡς καὶ πᾶν ὕδωρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ 'Αχελῶν κληθῆναι. And again, ὅθεν 'Αχελῶς, φησὶ, πᾶν πηγαῖον ὕδωρ. Bergler refers to Eur. Bacchae 625, where Pentheus, thinking that his palace is on fire, runs hither and thither δμῶσιν 'Αχελῶν φέρειν | ἐνέπων, and to a line (preserved in Athenaeus x. 29, p. 427 C) from a satyric drama of Achaeus, where the Satyrs are grumbling over the weakness of their wine, and asking if it is not largely diluted with water,

μὲν (οὐ) 'χελῶς ἦν κεκραμένος πολὺς;

(The question requires an affirmative answer, and I have inserted οὐ to complete both the sense and the metre. Wagner adopts Meineke's suggestion μὲν 'Αχελῶς, but the article seems out

of place.) As to σὸν ἔργον cf. Clouds 1345, 1397, 1494, Birds 862, supra 315, infra 839, Thesm. 1208, Frogs 590, Eccl. 514.

383. ποῖ θερμόν;] *Hot indeed!* On this use of ποῖ see on 193 supra. The water fresh drawn from the spring is icy cold. And the season is winter.

384. ἄρδω σ' ὅπως] ποτίζω σε ἵνα νεύσῃς, ἐπεὶ γέρων ἦν. τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ τὰ φυτό. — Scholiast. But far from making him blossom into youth again, the extreme chilliness of the water makes him shiver to such an extent that he withers away (αὐὸς εἰμι) like a dead plant. The Women recommend him to dry himself and his clothes by the fire which he had brought for a very different purpose.

387. ΠΡΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ] Intelligence of the seizure of the Acropolis and of the disturbance in front of the Propylaea has reached the City Magistrates, and a dignified personage, attended by four Scythian policemen, now makes his appearance on the scene. He is one of the Πρόβουλοι elected immediately after the Sicilian catastrophe to provide for the safety of Athens, Thuc. viii. 1; Aristotle's Polity of Athens, chap. 29. This important magistrate, arriving to

ΧΟ. ΓΕ. ποῖ θερμόν; οὐ παύσει; τί δρᾷς;

ΧΟ. ΓΥ. ἄρδω σ', ὅπως ἂν βλαστάνῃς.

ΧΟ. ΓΕ. ἀλλ' αὐδός εἰμ' ἤδη τρέμων.

385

ΧΟ. ΓΥ. οὐκοῦν, ἐπειδὴ πῦρ ἔχεις,
σὺ χλιανεῖς σεαυτόν.

ΠΡΟ. ἄρ' ἐξέλαμψε τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ τρυφή
χῶ τυμπανισμὸς χοῖ πυκινοὶ Σαβάζιοι,
ὃ τ' Ἀδωνιασμὸς οὗτος οὐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν,

quell the tumult, finds that the chief disturbers of the peace are a parcel of excited women, and naturally concludes that they are engaged in one of those wild religious orgies, mostly imported from Phrygia and the East, in which Hellenic women were accustomed occasionally to indulge. The word *τρυφή* (properly *voluptuousness*) is employed in much the same sense as *ἀκολασία*, *wantonness*, with which Plato couples it in *Gorgias* 46 (p. 492 C). As to *τυμπανισμός*, the *timbrel-playing*, see line 3 of this Play; and as to *Sabazius*, the Phrygian *Dionysus*, *Wasps* 9.

389. ὃ τ' Ἀδωνιασμὸς] *The wailing for Adonis, the Adonis-dirge*. The *Ἀδώνια* (Peace 420) was celebrated only by women, and lasted for two days; one day commemorating the happy wedded love of Adonis and Aphrodite; the other, her mourning over his untimely death. The ceremonies are graphically and learnedly described by Thomas Stanley in his "Excitations on Bion" (published 1651, reprinted in 1821); and probably the best idea of the Adonis-dirge is to be derived from Bion's *Idyll*, written more than a century after

the exhibition of this Play; a beautiful presentation of which by the Hon. E. J. Cardew will be found at the close of this Commentary. The manner in which the women wailed for Adonis is shown by Lucian, *De Syria Dea* 6. That these ill-omened dirges and lamentations did really attend the dispatch of the fleet to Sicily we are told by Plutarch (*Nicias* 13, *Alcibiades* 18). Demostratus, he says, proposed that the generals should have absolute discretion as to the preparations for the expedition and as to the whole conduct of the War. And when the people so voted and all things were now ready, many ill omens occurred. For the women were holding the Adonia, and everywhere about the City mimic funerals of Adonis were going on, and the dirges of weeping women. And not a few thought that these things were a presage of the fate of the expedition which was then setting forth with such splendid promise and vigour. And again in *Nicias* 12 he mentions Demostratus as the demagogue most eager for the war. Adonis was the Phoenician Thammuz, and his worship was one of the idolatries into which the

οὐ γὰρ ποτ' ὦν ἤκουον ἐν τῇ κκλησίᾳ ; 390
 ἔλεγεν δ' ὁ μὴ ὄρασι μὲν Δημόστρατος
 πλείν εἰς Σικελίαν, ἡ γυνὴ δ' ὀρχουμένη,
 "αἰαῖ Ἀδωνιν," φησὶν, ὁ δὲ Δημόστρατος
 ἔλεγεν ὀπλίτας καταλέγειν Ζακυνθίων·
 ἡ δ' ὑποπεπωκυ', ἡ γυνὴ πὶ τοῦ τέγους, 395
 "κόπτεσθ' Ἀδωνιν," φησὶν· ὁ δ' ἐβιάζετο

Israelites were so prone to fall. See Baring Gould's "Curious Myths" under the title "St. George." These acts of worship were commonly performed on the flat tops of the houses. See Jeremiah xix. 13, xxxii. 29, and Zephaniah i. 5. "They worshipped on the house-tops," says Dr. Pusey on the last-mentioned passage, "probably to have a clear view of that magnificent expanse of sky, the moon and stars which God had ordained; the queen of heaven which they worshipped instead of Himself." Moreover, the house-top was the recognized place for wailing and lamentation. See Isaiah xv. 3, xxii. 1, and Jeremiah xlviii. 38.

391. *μὴ ὄρασι*] *bad luck to him*, a parenthetical imprecation. The full phrase, as Bergler remarks, is *μὴ ὄρασιν ἴκοιτο*. See infra 1037. Athenaeus ii. 45 cites some lines from Alexis where a speaker says *Ill fare the man who ate the lupines* (*μὴ ὄρασιν . . . ἴκοιθ' ὁ τοὺς θέμους φαγὼν*) and threw down the husks in the porch. 'Twas not Cleaenetus the Tragic poet, of that I am sure, for he would have eaten husks and all. In his note on that passage Casaubon refers to three places in Lucian in which

the phrase occurs, two of which I had myself marked for quotation. In the sixth Dialogue of the Gods, Hera referring to Ixion's passion for herself exclaims *μὴ ὄρασιν ἴκοιτο τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμῶν*, *A murrain on the fellow, desiring what is far above him*. In the De Saltatione, 5, Craton says *Hang me if I would stand that*, *μὴ ὄρασιν ἄρα ἰκοίμην*, *εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἀνασχοίμην ποτέ*. And in the tenth Courtesan-Dialogue a girl says of a philosopher who is weaning her lover from her, *μὴ ὄρασιν ἴκοιτ' ὁ λῆρος ἐκείνος τοιαῦτα παιδεύων τὸ μειράκιον*. The literal meaning of the phrase seems to be *may he come in a bad time* (not in season), and so, *may he come to bad luck*. A similar idea finds expression in many modern languages. *Andad con Diós y mucho de enhoramala* says Sancho the governor to the detected virago in Don Quixote, Part II, chap. 45. This was no doubt the original form of the phrase, though in Menander's time it had become corrupted into *μὴ ὄρας* (see his *Περικειρομένη* 201, ed. Capps); and a scholiast on Lucian has the impertinence to call the genuine form an Attic solecism. But Lucian knew better than his Scholiast.

392. *ἡ γυνή*] He has not actually men-

ὁ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς καὶ μιὰρὸς Χολοζύγης.
 τοιαῦτ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἀκολαστάσματα.
 ΧΟ. ΓΕ. τί δῆτ' ἂν, εἰ πύθοιο καὶ τὴν τῶνδ' ὕβριν;
 αἰ τᾶλλα θ' ὑβρίκασι κᾶκ τῶν καλπιδῶν
 ἔλουσαν ἡμᾶς, ὥστε θαίματίδια
 σείειν πάρεστιν ὥσπερ ἐνεουρηκότας.
 ΠΡΟ. νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ τὸν ἀλυκὸν, δίκαιά γε.

400

tioned any individual woman; but he uses the article to denote the woman whom he was picturing in his mind when he spoke of the Adonis-wailing on the roof.

394. καταλέγειν] *to enroll, to call out for immediate service.* See Ach. 1065, Knights 1369, and the Commentary on those passages. He proposed, the speaker means, that Zacynthian hoplites should be enrolled amongst the troops about to embark on the Sicilian expedition. And that his resolution was carried we may infer from the fact that Thucydides (vii. 57), in his enumeration of the forces engaged on each side before Syracuse, expressly mentions the Zacynthians as part of the Athenian armament.

396. ἐβιάζετο] *persisted, pressed it on,* in spite of all opposition. So in his speech against Meidias 50 (p. 527) Demosthenes says to the dicasts, "Do not suffer my adversary to use such arguments as these; and if he persists, ἂν βιάηται, do not pay any attention to them." See also section 240 (p. 575) of the same speech. Κόπτεισθ' Ἀδωνιν *Bewail Adonis, beat your breasts for Adonis;* a very common signification of κόπτεισθαι.

397. Χολοζύγης] This is a perversion

of the nickname Βουζύγης by which Demostratus was known. Δημόστρατος Βουζύγης ἐλέγετο, ὃν Χολοζύγην εἶπε διὰ τὸ μελαγχολᾶν. Καὶ Εὐπολὶς δὲ ἐν Δήμοις ὡς μανιώδη αὐτὸν λέγει "τί κέκραγας, ὥσπερ Βουζύγης ἀδικούμενος;"—Scholiast. There is another fragment of Eupolis in which the name Βουζύγης is found (Fragm. 7 of the Demi according to Meineke); but there the epithet is possibly applied to Pericles. Βουζύγης was the name of an Eleusinian official; and how it came to be given as a nickname to Demostratus we are not told, but the fact must have been well known for Aristophanes to convert it in this offhand way into Χολοζύγης. The latter name probably refers to the furious temper (χόλος, *wrath*) which made Eupolis describe him as a maniac. Bergler suggests that he may have been a Χολαργεύς by deme.

402. σείειν] ἵνα ἀποβάλλωνται τὸ ὕδωρ.—Scholiast. ὥσπερ ἐνεουρηκότας "tanquam si in ea minxissemus."

403. τὸν ἀλυκόν] τὸν θαλάσσιον.—Scholiast. The Magistrate is engaged in refitting the navy, and his mind is full of ships and seas. When therefore he swears by Poseidon, he wishes it to be understood that he means not τὸν Ἰππιον,

ὅταν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ξυμπονηρεῶμεθα
 ταῖσιν γυναιξὶ καὶ διδάσκωμεν τρυφᾶν, 405
 τοιαῦτ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν βλαστάνει βουλευήματα.
 οἱ λέγομεν ἐν τῶν δημιουργῶν τοιαδί·
 ὃ χρυσοχόε, τὸν ὄρμον ὃν ἐπεσκεύασας,
 ὀρχουμένης μου τῆς γυναικὸς ἐσπέρας
 ἢ βάλανος ἐκπέπτωκεν ἐκ τοῦ τρήματος. 410
 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἔστ' ἐς Σαλαμῖνα πλευστήα·
 σὺ δ' ἦν σχολάσης, πάσῃ τέχνῃ πρὸς ἐσπέραν
 ἐλθὼν ἐκείνῃ τὴν βάλανον ἐνάρμοσον.

the Lord of horses (Knights 551, Clouds 83), or the like, but τὸν ἀλυκόν, the Lord of the salt sea-waves. Cf. Plutus 396.

404. ξυμπονηρεῶμεθα] *co-operate in their evil deeds*. The words βλαστάνει βουλευήματα are borrowed, as Porson observes, from Aesch. Sept. 590 ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλευήματα.

407. ἐν τῶν δημιουργῶν] *in (the shops of) the artificers*. He mentions two shops, a goldsmith's and a shoemaker's.

408. τὸν ὄρμον] *the necklace*. The Scholiast says τὸν ὄρμον ἀντὶ τοῦ ὄρμου Ἀττικῶς, meaning that the proper construction would be ἡ βάλανος τοῦ ὄρμου ἐκπέπτωκεν ἐκ τοῦ τρήματος. The words τὸν ὄρμον are in fact the Independent Accusative, though not quite of the same class as those considered in the notes on Birds 167, 483, 652, and elsewhere, since they do not stand for the subject of the ensuing verb. They resemble rather the words "this reverend holy friar" in the passage cited in the note on Eccl. 583 from Romeo and Juliet iv. 2. Necklaces were com-

monly made of gold. In Odyssey xv. 459 Eumaeus, explaining how he was kidnapped when a child, says ἤλυθ' ἀνὴρ πολυῦδρις ἐμοῦ πρὸς δώματα πατρὸς | χρύσειον ὄρμον ἔχων. In the Choephoreae 606 we are told that Scylla slew her father χρυσεοδμήτοισιν ὄρμοις πεισθείσα. And the Electra of Euripides (line 176) says οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγλαΐαις, φίλαι, | θυμὸν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ χρυσεῖσις | ὄρμοισιν πεπόταμαι. The βάλανος and the τρήμα together form the clasp of the necklace; the βάλανος being the bolt or pin, and the τρήμα the hole into which the bolt or pin is fastened. The words are here employed in their literal sense only. The speaker is merely emphasizing the manner in which wives are spoiled and petted by their husbands.

412. πρὸς ἐσπέραν] The time for lovers' meetings. See Plutus 998 and the note there. Here βάλανος means the "glans penis." See Aristotle, H. A. i. 10. 3.

417. τὸ ζυγόν] *The sandal-strap*, a strap passing from one side of the sole to the other, over the wearer's toes, so as to keep them firm in their place. ζυγός δέ

ἕτερος δέ τις πρὸς σκυτοτόμον ταδὶ λέγει
 νεανίαν καὶ πέος ἔχοντ' οὐ παιδικόν· 415
 ὦ σκυτοτόμε, τοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς μου ποδὸς
 τὸ δακτυλίδιον ἐμπιέζει τὸ ζυγόν,
 ἄθ' ἀπαλὸν ὄν· τοῦτ' οὖν σὺ τῆς μεσημβρίας
 ἐλθὼν χάλασον, ὅπως ἂν εὐρυτέρως ἔχῃ.
 τοιαῦτ' ἀπήντηκ' εἰς τοιαυτὶ πράγματα, 420
 ὅτε γ' ὦν ἐγὼ πρόβουλος, ἐκπορίσας ὅπως
 κωπῆς ἔσσονται, τὰργυρίου νυνὶ δέον,

καλεῖται ὁ περικείμενος τοῖς γυναικείοις σαν-
 δαλίοις ἡμᾶς κατὰ τοὺς δακτύλους, πρὸς τὸ
 συνέχειν ἐξυγωμένον τὸν πόδα.—Scholiast.
 ὁ περικείμενος ἡμᾶς τοῖς δακτύλοις πλαγίους
 ἐπὶ τῶν σανδαλίων.—Suidas, Photius,
 Hesychius. τοῦ σανδαλίου τὸ συνέχον τοὺς
 δακτύλους.—Photius, Pollux vii. 81. δακ-
 τυλίδιον is the diminutive of affection.
 See the Commentary on Ach. 404.

421. πρόβουλος] The πρόβουλοι were
 appointed, says the Scholiast, to devise
 and propose such measures as they con-
 sidered advantageous for the State after
 the Sicilian catastrophe; εἰσηγησόμενοι
 τὰ δοκοῦντα τῇ πολιτείᾳ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ
 Σικελίᾳ συμφορὰν. And it is plain from
 the present scene that their jurisdiction
 extended over all the affairs of the
 State. Mr. Grote indeed (chap. 61) does
 not think it admissible to draw any
 inference as to their functions from the
 proceedings of the Probulus in this
 Comedy. He gives no reason for this
 extraordinary statement; and it is clear
 that, making allowance for caricature,
 there could not be a higher authority

than Aristophanes, himself^c living at
 this very moment under the actual rule
 of the Probuli, and addressing his fellow
 citizens, all living under the same rule.

422. κωπῆς] *oar-spars, timber for oars*.
 κωπεῖς· τὰ εἰς κόπας εὐθετα ξύλα.—Hesy-
 chius. The first resolve of the Athenians
 on learning the full magnitude of their
 disaster before Syracuse was that, not-
 withstanding the annihilation of their
 fleets and armies there, they would not
 give in, but would equip a new fleet,
 collecting from every possible source
 timber and money for that purpose;
 μὴ ἐνδιδόναι, ἀλλὰ παρασκευάζεσθαι καὶ
 ναυτικόν, ὅθεν ἂν δύνωνται ξύλα ξυμπορι-
 σαμένους καὶ χρήματα (Thuc. viii. 1). And
 this design they at once proceeded to
 carry into effect. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ διενόησαν, τὴν τε ναυπη-
 γίαν, ξύλα ξυμπορισάμενοι (Id. viii. 4).
 And shortly afterwards they determined
 to resort to the special emergency fund
 of 1,000 talents (Id. viii. 15), which at
 the commencement of the War they had
 set aside ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν νῇ ἀκροπόλει χρημάτων

ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποκέκλεισμαι τῶν πυλῶν.
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔργον ἐστάναι. φέρε τοὺς μοχλοὺς
 ὅπως ἂν αὐτὰς τῆς ὕβρεως ἐγὼ σχέθω.
 τί κέχηνας, ὦ δύστηνε; ποῖ δ' αὖ σὺ βλέπεις,
 οὐδὲν ποιῶν ἀλλ' ἡ καπηλεῖον σκοπῶν;
 οὐχ ὑποβαλόντες τοὺς μοχλοὺς ὑπὸ τὰς πύλας
 ἐντεῦθεν ἐκμοχλεύσεται; ἐνθενδὶ δ' ἐγὼ

425

(Id. ii. 24). [It will be observed that in Thucydides the word employed is *ξυμπορισάμενοι*, and in Aristophanes *ἐκπορίσας*, both terms of finance connected with the duties of the *πορισταί*, as to whom see the Commentary on *Frogs* 1505.] In pursuance of these resolutions, the *Πρόβουλος* here is superintending the purchase of *ξύλα εὐθετα εἰς κόπας*, and is now proceeding to the Acropolis to obtain the money to pay for them. For the money, as we know, was in the public treasury *παρὰ τῇ θεῳ*, in the *ὀπισθόδομος* of Athene's Temple; that is, according to the Scholiast on *Plutus* 1193, in the *Erechtheum* (which would seem, *a priori*, the most probable locality), but in the opinion of most scholars, the *Parthenon*; see the Commentary on the *Plutus*. And one of the reasons for which the women had seized the Acropolis was to prevent the employment of the money for the prolongation of the War. See *supra* 174-9, and *infra* 487, 488, and 624. And so, when the *Πρόβουλος* would go to the Treasury, he finds himself, to his surprise and indignation, barricaded out of the Acropolis by the extraordinary action of the women. It was always a

task of some difficulty with the Athenians to obtain a sufficient supply of timber for their shipbuilding purposes; and one of the objects which they hoped to secure by extending their dominion over Sicily and Magna Graecia was a never-failing supply of timber from the forests of Italy. And Andocides, in his speech "De Reditu suo" 11, declares that in the year 411, the very year in which this Comedy was acted, he was bringing for the use of the armament at Samos a cargo of cheap oar-spars, *κωπέας*, the very articles which the *Πρόβουλος* here attempting to provide. There was therefore at this moment a very pressing need for the money, and the phrase *τὰργυρίου νυνὶ δέον* (*δέον* for *δέοντος*, as the Scholiast says) expresses the true position of affairs at this conjuncture.

426. *τί κέχηνας*;] This is addressed to one of the four Scythians, and the question *ποῖ δ' αὖ σὺ βλέπεις* to another of them; just as *Lysistrata*, *supra* 184, reprimands the Scythianess with the words *ποῖ βλέπεις*; Doubtless the Scythian police were in the habit of staring idly about them, "star-gazing" we might call it. And as the Scythians were notorious for hard drinking, they

συνεκμοχλεύσω.

430

ΛΥ.

μηδὲν ἐκμοχλεύετε·

ἐξέρχομαι γὰρ αὐτομάτῃ. τί δεῖ μοχλῶν ;

οὐ γὰρ μοχλῶν δεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ νοῦ καὶ φρενῶν.

ΠΡΟ. ἄληθες, ὦ μιαρὰ σύ ; ποῦ 'σθ' ὁ τοξότης ;

ξυλλάμβαν' αὐτὴν κώπισω τὼ χεῖρε δεῖ.

ΛΥ. εἴ τᾶρα νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν χεῖρά μοι

435

would naturally be accustomed to have "an eye for the tavern."

430. μηδὲν ἐκμοχλεύετε] The gates are thrown open, and Lysistrata of her own free-will (αὐτομάτῃ) comes forth with her friends, before the Scythians can make use of their crowbars. These, it must be remembered, are not the party who seized the Acropolis, and who now form the Chorus of Women; they are the young matrons who entered into the Acropolis with Lysistrata, supra 244-6. The Probulus is not minded to stand any nonsense from these recalcitrant women. He at once directs an archer to arrest Lysistrata and to tie her hands behind her back. But this is not so simple a task as he imagines.

435. νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν] We have seen in the note to Thesm. 517 that Artemis was one of the divinities most commonly invoked by Athenian women. It will be observed that these four little defiant speeches by women all commence with a similar adjuration; εἴ τᾶρα νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, εἴ τᾶρα νῆ τὴν Πάνδροσον, εἴ τᾶρα νῆ τὴν Φωσφόρον, and εἴ τᾶρα νῆ τὴν Ταυροπόλον, and I believe that these appellations are all intended to represent the same Goddess, the "many-named" daughter

of Leto, Thesm. 320. Ταυροπόλος was of course one of her many names; Ταυροπόλον τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, says Photius; the Artemis whose minister Iphigeneia was when in the Tauric Chersonese. And as to τὴν Φωσφόρον the Scholiast says τὴν Ἄρτεμιν οὕτως ἐκάλουν, ἐπεὶ δαδούχος. ἡ αὐτὴ γὰρ τῇ Ἑκάτῃ ἢ ἐπεὶ τῇ Σελήνῃ ἢ αὐτῇ. And indeed Iphigeneia (in Taur. 21) expressly refers to Artemis as τῇ φωσφόρῳ θεᾷ; just as Athene, at the end of the same play, 1456, prophecies Ἄρτεμιν δέ νιν βροτοὶ | τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμνήσουσι Ταυροπόλον θεάν. There remains only the name Πάνδροσος, which will be dealt with in a subsequent note. But allowing that the selfsame Goddess is invoked in all the four speeches, who are the speakers that invoke her? The Ravenna MS. gives the first speech to Lysistrata, and the remaining three to Stratyllis. This arrangement prevailed in all the editions before Portus, who assigned them to Lysistrata and Stratyllis alternately, and so all subsequent editions until after Dindorf. But Dobree pointed out that there are certainly four Scythians and four speakers; and this view was approved by Dindorf in his notes, and is generally adopted by later editors.

ἄκραν προσοίσει, δημόσιος ὦν κλαύσεται.

ΠΡΟ. ἔδεισας, οὗτος; οὐ ξυναρπάσει μέσσην,
καὶ σὺ μετὰ τούτου, κάνύσαντε δήσετον;

ΚΑ. εἴ τ᾽ ἄρα νῆ τὴν Πάνδροσον ταύτη μόνον
τὴν χεῖρ' ἐπιβαλεῖς, ἐπιχεσεῖ πατούμενος.

440

Dindorf suggested that the four speeches should be ascribed to *Λυσιστράτη* and *Γυναῖκες* 1, 2, 3; and this has been done by all editors who have adopted Dobree's view excepting Van Leeuwen, who thinks fit to call the last three speakers *Γῤᾶες* 1, 2, 3; not having, it would seem, observed that all the elderly women are in the orchestra with Stratyllis, and that Lysistrata's comrades now issuing from the Acropolis on to the stage are all youthful matrons who could not by any conceivable stretch of language be called *γῤᾶες*. Dobree suggested that one of the women might be Myrrhina, and Bergk that another might be Calonice; and in my translation, published in 1878, I called the three women Calonice, Myrrhina, and Stratyllis. This arrangement I have retained in the text, for it seems absurd to suppose that Calonice and Myrrhina who were Lysistrata's chief friends and adherents in starting the revolution should not be standing by her at this critical moment. My only doubt has been about the name of Stratyllis, who was the leader of the Women's Chorus and whose speeches should therefore, according to the arrangement adopted in this edition, be attributed to the *χορὸς γυναικῶν*. But the use of her name as a *dramatis persona* is so persistently supported by the

MSS. that I cannot but retain it. And possibly, not being the real Coryphaeus of the Play, she may be allowed a greater individuality. See Professor John Williams White's article in the "Harvard Studies in Classical Philology," xvii. 103 on "An unrecognized actor in Greek Comedy."

436. *δημόσιος*] *a mere public servant*, "publicus minister," as Bergler and Enger rightly interpret it. Brunck's notion that *δημόσιος*, both here and in Knights 1135, signifies a victim set apart for public sacrifice, and so is equivalent, as a term of abuse, to *κάθαρμα* and *φαρμακὸς* seems to me altogether unfounded. *ἄκραν χεῖρα* here, and seven lines below, means *the tip of his finger*. Cf. *Iph.* in *Aul.* 951.

438. *καὶ σὺ μετὰ τούτου*] As Lysistrata defies the archer first told off to arrest her, the *Πρόβουλος* calls for a second to assist him in effecting the arrest.

439. *νῆ τὴν Πάνδροσον*] *θυγατέρες Κέκροπος Πάνδροσος καὶ Ἀγραύλη* (strictly "Ἀγραυλος).—Scholiast. Although *Πάνδροσος* was not so frequently invoked at Athens as her sister "Ἀγραυλος (see *Thesm.* 533 and the Commentary there), still nothing can be more natural than that these defenders of the Acropolis should be found invoking Pandrosus, whose shrine was in the Erechtheum,

ΠΡΟ. ἰδοὺ γ' ἐπιχεσεῖ. ποῦ 'στιν ἕτερος τοξότης ;

ταύτην προτέραν ξύνδησον, ὅτι καὶ λαλεῖ.

ΜΥ. εἴ τᾶρα νῆ τὴν Φωσφόρον τὴν χεῖρ' ἄκραν

ταύτη προσοίσεις, κύαθον αἰτήσεις τάχα.

ΠΡΟ. τουτὶ τί ἦν ; ποῦ τοξότης ; ταύτης ἔχου.

445

the most sacrosanct building in the Acropolis, hard by the shrine of Athene herself ; τῷ ναφ̄ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχής ἐστιν, Pausanias i. 27. 3. And yet, since in every other speech throughout this short altercation the Women invoke Artemis in one or other of her characters, I cannot but believe that in this invocation also the name of Πάνδροςος, the All-bedewer, is intended to apply to Artemis as identical with Hecate or the Moon. See on 435 supra. That dew falls mostly under a cloudless sky was a fact well known to the ancients ; οὐ γίνεταί δρόσος, ὄντων ἐπινεφέλων, Aristotle, Problems xxv. 21 ; "neque in nube, neque in flatu cadunt rores," Pliny, N. H. xviii. 69. And they naturally attributed the phenomenon to the influence of the Moon ; δροσοβολεῖ γὰρ [ὁ ἀήρ], says Plutarch, Symp. iii. 10-14, ταῖς πανσελήνοισι μάλιστα διατηκόμενος, ὥς που καὶ Ἀλκμᾶν ὁ μελοποιὸς, αἰνιτόμενος, τὴν δρόσον ἀέρος θυγατέρα καὶ Σελήνης [καλεῖ]. "Οἶα," φησὶ "Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔρσα τρέφει καὶ Σελάνας." Virgil's *ros-cida Luna*, Georgic iii. 337, might serve as a translation of Πάνδροςος Σελήνη, and Artemis, as the Scholiast on 443 infra tells us, is τῇ Σελήνῃ ἡ αὐτή. And in an astronomical fragment contained in Burmann's Latin Anthology, ii. 322 the writer, supposed though for no very

convincing reasons to be Sisebut the scholarly King of the Visigoths, says "Rorifluam sectemur carmine Lunam." The phrase which follows ἐπιχεσεῖ παρούμενος has already occurred in Knights 69 ; but *there* it is fitly placed in the mouth of a slave ; *here* the Πρόβουλος expresses his surprise at hearing it from the lips of a woman.

444. κύαθον] *a cupping-glass*. You will want a cupping-glass to reduce the swellings which our blows will occasion. κύαθον αἰτήσεις, says the Scholiast, ἵνα προσθῇς ταῖς γνάθοις, οὕτως ὑπωπιασθήσῃ ὑφ' ἡμῶν. γεμίζουσι γὰρ κύαθον θερμοῦ, καὶ προσκολλῶσι τοῖς οἰδήμασι καὶ θεραπεύεται. In Peace 542 the Hellenic cities, bruised and battered (ὑπωπιασμέναι) by the war, are described as κνάθοις προσκείμεναι, and Athenaeus (x. 23, p. 424 B) commenting on that passage observes τα γὰρ ὑπόπια τοῖς κνάθοις περιθλώμενα ἀμανροῦται.

445. ποῦ τοξότης] This is the fourth and last archer. By τῆς ἐξόδου the Magistrate means the sallying out of the women through the Propylaea. But if the following speech is rightly attributed to Stratyllis, this archer is stayed not by a fourth woman issuing from the Acropolis, but by the threatening voice and gesture of the leader of the Women Chorus in the orchestra.

παύσω τιν' ὑμῶν τῆσδ' ἐγὼ τῆς ἐξόδου.

ΣΤ. εἴ τάρρα νῆ τὴν Ταυροπόλον ταύτη πρόσει,
ἐκκοκκιῶ σου τὰς στενοκωκύτους τρίχας.

ΠΡΟ. οἷμοι κακοδαίμων· ἐπιλέλοιφ' ὁ τοξότης.
ἀτὰρ οὐ γυναικῶν οὐδέποτ' ἔσθ' ἡττητέα
ἡμῖν· ὁμόσε χωρῶμεν αὐταῖς, ὦ Σκύθαι,
ξυνταξάμενοι. 450

ΛΤ. νῆ τὸ θεὸ γνώσεσθ' ἄρα
ὅτι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσι τέτταρες λόχοι
μαχίμων γυναικῶν ἔνδον ἐξωπλισμένων.

ΠΡΟ. ἀποστρέφετε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν, ὦ Σκύθαι. 455

ΛΤ. ὦ ξύμμαχοι γυναῖκες, ἐκθεῖτ' ἔνδοθεν,

448. ἐκκοκκιῶ] *I will yerk out*, τὰς στενοκωκύτους τρίχας, *your bitterly wailing hairs*; that is, the extraction of which will cause you bitterly to wail, ἐφ' αἷς στενάξεις τιλλόμενος, as the Scholiast says; cf. infra 1222. The στενο- in the compound is connected in meaning with στένω, στενάζω, rather than with στενός. As to ἐκκοκκιῶ cf. supra 364.

449. ἐπιλέλοιφ'] *has failed me, deficit*. Cf. Plutarch's Lysander, chap. 9, ad init. And I think that Dobree's explanation of the line is right, "exclamat Probulus deficere lictores sibi (ἐπιλείψουσι Vesp. 1445)," or in other words that ὁ τοξότης here has much the same meaning as τὸ τοξικὸν infra 462. He means that his archer force has been used up and that he has no more to send. But though they have been worsted singly, he will now try what the combined charge of the four can accomplish.

454. λόχοι] To the combined charge of the four archers Lysistrata will oppose

four troops of fully armed women who are even now waiting (ἔνδον) in the Acropolis. λόχος is a very common word for a *troop*; and there is no allusion here, as the Scholiast and Commentators suppose, to the Spartan λόχοι. Aristophanes has already employed the term in Ach. 575, 1074, Birds 589. And it is frequently found in Aeschylus, who indeed uses it on three occasions of a band of women; ἴδετε παρθένων ἰκέσιον λόχον, Septem 106. θαυμαστός λόχος | εὔδει γυναικῶν, Eum. 46. εἰκλὲς λόχος | παίδων, Id. 980.

455. ἀποστρέφετε τὰς χεῖρας] *Twist back their hands*. The phrase is equivalent to the ὅπισω τῷ χεῖρε δεῖ of 434 supra. In the Oedipus Tyrannus (line 1154), when the Herdsman hesitates to divulge his fatal secret, Oedipus says οὐχ ὡς τάχος τις τοῦδ' ἀποστρέψει χεῖρας;

456. ὦ ξύμμαχοι γυναῖκες] She is summoning, not of course the Women Chorus in the orchestra, but those who

ὦ σπερμαγοραιολεκιθολαχανοπώλιδες,
 ὦ σκοροδοπανδοκευτρίαρτοπώλιδες,
 οὐχ ἔλξετ', οὐ παίησετ', οὐκ ἀρήξετε;
 οὐ λοιδορήσετ', οὐκ ἀναισχυντήσετε;
 παύσασθ', ἐπαναχωρεῖτε, μὴ σκυλεύετε. 460

ΠΡΟ. οἴμ' ὡς κακῶς πέπραγέ μου τὸ τοξικόν.

ΛΥ. ἀλλὰ τί γὰρ ᾄου; πότερον ἐπὶ δούλας τινὰς
 ἦκειν ἐνόμισας, ἢ γυναιξὶν οὐκ οἶει
 χολὴν ἐνείναι; 465

ΠΡΟ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ μάλα
 πολλὴν γ', ἐάνπερ πλησίον κάπηλος ᾔη.

had entered along with Calonice, Myrrhina, and herself into the Acropolis, including the τασδι of line 244. The next line is rendered with sufficient accuracy by Brunck, *O quae in foro semina, ova, et olera venditis*. We shall hear, infra 562, of a woman selling λέκιθοι in the agora; see also Plutus 427 and the Commentary on both those passages. λέκιθος means *the yolk of an egg or an omelet made of eggs*. σπερμαγοραιο- means *seed sold in the agora, market-seeds*. Van Leeuwen's contention that these syllables describe the women "gens foro innutrita" can hardly be serious.

459. οὐχ ἔλξετ' ἔλκειν is a wrestling term. *Will ye not grapple with them? will ye not hale them along?*

461. παύσασθ' The women, issuing from the Acropolis, fall upon the four Scythian archers, and defeat them with great slaughter. They are then recalled by Lysistrata, who forbids them to strip the slain.

462. τὸ τοξικόν] *the archer-force*, or, as Sir Walter Scott describes them in the *Lady of the Lake*, *the archery*.

Forth from the pass in tumult driven,
 Like chaff before the wind of heaven,
 The archery appear.

vi. 17 (cf. Id. v. 25).

465. χολήν] The ancients, associating the liver as well with the sensation of *thirst* as with the passion of *anger*, employed the word χολήν, *bile*, in connexion with either idea. Lysistrata uses the word in the sense of *anger* (*Wasps* 403, *Thesm.* 468; compare Horace's *fervens difficili bile tumet iecur*, and again *meum iecur urere bilis*). The Magistrate, for the purpose of twitting the women on their supposed infirmity in respect of drink, diverts it to the alternative meaning. οἱ πυρέττοντες, says St. Chrysostom, δριμύειαν χολὴν ἔνδον ἔχοντες πλεονάζουσιν, ὅταν ἐπεμβάλωσι σίτα καὶ ποτὰ, οὐ μόνον οὐ κατασβεννύουσι τὸ δῖψος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάπτουσι τὴν φλόγα. Hom. lxxiii in Matth. p. 631 C.

ΧΟ. ΓΕ. ὦ πόλλ' ἀναλώσας ἔπη, πρόβουλε τῆσδε τῆς γῆς,
 τί τοῖσδε σαυτὸν εἰς λόγον τοῖς θηρίοις συνάπτεις;
 οὐκ οἶσθα λουτρὸν οἶον αἶδ' ἡμᾶς ἔλουσαν ἄρτι
 ἐν τοῖσιν ἱματιδίοις, καὶ ταῦτ' ἄνευ κονίας;

470

ΧΟ. ΓΥ. ἀλλ', ὦ μέλ', οὐ χρὴ προσφέρειν τοῖς πηλοῖσις εἰκῇ
 τὴν χεῖρ'. ἐὰν δὲ τοῦτο δρᾷς, κυλοιδιᾶν ἀνάγκη.
 ἐπεὶ θέλω γὰρ σωφρόνως ὥσπερ κόρη καθῆσθαι,

467. ὦ πόλλ' ἀναλώσας ἔπη κ.τ.λ.] The Chorus of Men, who have kept silence during the controversy between the Magistrate and the garrison of the Acropolis, now recommence their complaint against the Chorus of Women for drenching them with water, just as they had done in their last speech, supra 399-402.

470. κονίας] κονία is the *lye of ashes* (τὸ ἐκτέφρας καθιστάμενον ὑγρὸν, Pollux vii. 40) which was used as *soap*, Ach. 18, Frogs 711, Plato, Rep. iv. 7 (p. 430 A). The Women had said, supra 377, that if the Men had any soap they would give them a bath; but as a matter of fact they have given them a bath without any soap. I cannot think that any play is intended as some have suggested between ἄνευ κονίας and ἀκονίτι.

472. κυλοιδιᾶν] *to have black eyes*; literally *to have swellings underneath your eyes*. κύλα are the parts immediately beneath the eyes, τὰ ὑποκάτω τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μέρη, Photius; τὰ ὑποκάτω τῶν βλεφάρων κοιλάματα, Hesychius; κυλοιδιῶν τὰ κύλα οἰδῶν ἔστι δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. Θεόκριτος (i. 38) “δὴθὰ κυλοιδιῶντες,” Suidas, and so the Scholiast here. See Ruhnken's Timaeus, s.v. who

says “Κυλοιδιᾶν dicuntur, quibus oculi, vel ex verberibus, vel ex insomnia, vel ex quacunque alia caussa tument.”

474. κινούσα μηδὲ κάρφος] This either then was, or afterwards became, a proverbial description of quiet inoffensive behaviour. It is given as such by Suidas and the Paroemiographers (Diog. vi. 67; Gaisford, p. 208); and occurs twice in the Mimes of Herondas i. 54, iii. 67. In the latter passage a schoolmaster is to flog a mischievous urchin until he makes him κοσμιώτερον κούρης | κινεῦντα μηδὲ κάρφος.

475. βλίττη] βλίττειν means *to take the honey from the honey-comb*, ἀφαιρεῖν τὸ μέλι ἀπὸ τῶν κηρίων, Hesychius, Suidas, Timaeus, where see Ruhnken's note. See also Knights 794, Birds 498, and the Commentary on those passages. The Etymologicum Magnum (s.v. βλιμάζειν) says, according to some MSS., λαμβάνεται ἡ λέξις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τὰ κηρία τῶν μελισσῶν τρυγᾶν, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης “ἀλλὰ καθεύρας αὐτὸν βλίττεις” [Knights 794] καὶ Σοφοκλῆς “ἡ σφηκιὰν βλίττουσιν εὐρόντες τινὰ” ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλι, μελίξω, καὶ κατὰ συγκοπὴν καὶ τροπὴν τοῦ μ εἰς β καὶ τοῦ ζ εἰς δύο ττ, βλίττω Ἀττικῶς. See Gaisford's note on the passage. But σφηκιὰ, a *wasp's* or *hornet's*

λυποῦσα μηδέν' ἐνθαδὶ, κινουσα μηδὲ κάρφος,
 ἦν μὴ τις ὥσπερ σφηκιὰν βλίττη με κἀρεθίζει. 475

ΧΟ. ΓΕ. ὦ Ζεῦ, τί ποτε χρησόμεθα τοῖσδε τοῖς κνωδάλοις ; [στρ.
 οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀνεκτέα τάδ', ἀλλὰ βασανιστέον
 τόδε σοι τὸ πάθος μετ' ἐμοῦ
 ὃ τι βουλόμεναί ποτε τήν 480
 Κραναὴν κατέλαβον, ἐφ' ὃ τι τε

nest (Wasps 224, 229, 404), is not a very desirable place to rifle for honey; and I suspect that Aristophanes is mocking the line of Sophocles about taking honey from a wasp's nest; while the Women may be wishing to let their opponents know that, if they try to rifle their sweets, they will bring a swarm of hornets about their ears.

476. ὦ Ζεῦ κ.τ.λ.] The preliminary skirmishes (1) between the Men and Women Choruses, and (2) between the Magistrate and the garrison of the Acropolis are now concluded, and the parties settle down to one of those full-dress debates in anapaestic tetrameters which, whenever they occur, form the most picturesque, as well as the most illuminating, portion of the Play. In them we are sure to find the real intent and purpose of the drama set forth in a lucid and vigorous argument, with little or no attempt at comic caricature. The little song with which the Chorus of Men commence the debate, the antistrophe to which, sung by the Chorus of Women, will be found *infra* 541-8, is composed of seven lines; two creticipaeonic (the first of the two having a monosyllabic base); and five anapaes-

tic, four consisting of three anapaests each, and the last of two anapaests. The long syllable of the anapaest is frequently resolved into two short ones; so that in lieu of the ordinary anapaest we have one in four short syllables.

481. Κραναῖν] In the time of the Pelasgians, Herodotus tells us, the Athenians went by the name of Κραναοί; afterwards, in the time of Cecrops, they received the further name of Κεκροπίδαι (Knights 1055); and it was not until the time of Erechtheus that they took the name of Ἀθηναῖοι, Hdt. viii. 44. The antique flavour of the name "Cranaan" appealed strongly to the Athenians, who always prided themselves on their antiquity. Pindar thrice uses the words Κραναῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις, Olympic vii, xiii; Nemea viii. Aristophanes speaks of τῶν Κραναῶν (sc. τῶν Ἀθηνῶν) in *Birds* 123, and of the Κραναὰ πόλιν in *Ach.* 75 and here, as did both Aeschylus and Sophocles (Scholiast on *Ach.* 75). More especially was the epithet applicable, as it is here applied, to the Acropolis, the oldest inhabited part of Athens, and probably the only inhabited part in those old Pelasgic days.

μεγαλόπετρον, ἄβατον ἀκρόπολιν,
 ἱερὸν τέμενος.

ἀλλ' ἀνερῶτα, καὶ μὴ πείθου, καὶ πρόσφερε πάντας ἐλέγχους.

ὥς αἰσχροὺς ἀκωδώνιστον ἔαν τὸ τοιοῦτον πρᾶγμα μεθέντας. 485

ΠΡΟ. καὶ μὴν αὐτῶν τοῦτ' ἐπιθυμῶ νῆ τὸν Δία πρῶτα πυθέσθαι,
 ὃ τι βουλόμεναι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀπεκλείσατε τοῖσι μοχλοῖσιν.

ΛΥ. ἵνα τὰργύριον σῶν παρέχοιμεν καὶ μὴ πολεμοῖτε δι' αὐτό.

ΠΡΟ. διὰ τὰργύριον πολεμοῦμεν γάρ;

ΛΥ. καὶ τᾶλλα γε πάντ' ἐκυκήθη.

ἵνα γὰρ Πείσανδρος ἔχοι κλέπτειν χοῖ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐπέχοντες, 490

483. ἱερὸν τέμενος] For the whole Acropolis was a sacred enclosure, ὅλης οὔσης ἱερᾶς τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως ταυτησί, Demosthenes, de F. L. 309 (p. 428). See the Commentary on 345 supra. The term τέμενος included not only the Temple itself, but all the courts and sacred precincts belonging to it. The words ἄβατον ἱερὸν are in Plato's Laches, chap. 6 (p. 183 B) employed with regard to Lacedaemon. "I observe the hoplites," says Laches, "τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἡγουμένους εἶναι ἄβατον ἱερὸν, καὶ οὐδ' ἄκρω ποδὶ ἐπιβαίνοντας."

485. ἀκωδώνιστον] *untested*. But how κωδωνίζω comes to bear that signification is not quite certain. The old grammarians refer it either to the custom of the night-watch ringing bells as they went their rounds for the purpose of ascertaining whether the sentries were awake, or else to the practice of testing the nerves of horses, or of quails, by the sudden ringing of bells. The Scholiast says μετῆκται ἀπὸ τῶν περιπολούντων καὶ κώδωσι διαπειρωμένων εἰ ἐγρηγόρασιν οἱ ἐπὶ ταῖς φυλακαῖς

τεταγμένοι. οἱ δὲ ὑπομνηματισταὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρνύγων φασὶ μετῆχθαι τὴν λέξιν. τοὺς γὰρ ὑπομείναντας τὸν ἦχον τοῦ κώδωνος ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν πρὸς μάχην. ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους κώδωσιν ἐξετάζειν. The same three explanations—the night-watch, the quail, and the horse—are given by Suidas, Hesychius, and Etymol. Magn. under various headings. But both Suidas and Photius under κωδωνίσαι, and the Etymol. Magn. under διακωδωνισθέντες confine themselves to the horse-test, saying in the same words ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων μετενήνεκται· εἰδῶσι γὰρ οὕτως δοκιμάζειν τοὺς γενναίους ἵππους, εἰ μὴ καταπλήσσουνται τὸν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ θόρυβον, τοὺς κώδωνας ψοφοῦντες. The participle μεθέντας at the end of the line may either govern τὸ πρᾶγμα or be used intransitively, *slackening in our efforts*, "nostra negligentia" as Brunck translates it.

487. τὴν πόλιν] that is, as the Scholiast observes, τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. It is in fact the word which Aristophanes almost invariably employs to describe the Acropolis;

αεί τινα κορκορνήν ἐκύκων. οἱ δ' οὖν τοῦδ' εἵνεκα δρώντων
ὅ τι βούλονται· τὸ γὰρ ἀργύριον τοῦτ' οὐκέτι μὴ καθέλωσιν.

ΠΡΟ. ἀλλὰ τί δράσεις;

ΛΤ. τοῦτό μ' ἐρωτᾷς; ἡμεῖς ταμιεύσομεν αὐτό.

ΠΡΟ. ὑμεῖς ταμιεύσετε τὰργύριον;

ΛΤ. τί δὲ δεινὸν τοῦτο νομίζεις;

οὐ καὶ τᾶνδον χρήματα πάντως ἡμεῖς ταμιεύομεν ὑμῖν; 495

ΠΡΟ. ἀλλ' οὐ ταῦτόν. ΛΤ. πῶς οὐ ταῦτόν;

ΠΡΟ. πολεμητέον ἔστ' ἀπὸ τούτου.

ΛΤ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν δεῖ πρῶτον πολεμεῖν.

ΠΡΟ. πῶς γὰρ σωθησόμεθ' ἄλλως;

cf. Thuc. ii. 15. This is the only Play in which the actual term ἀκρόπολις is found, though here it occurs five times. In answer to the Magistrate's question Lysistrata avers that they had seized the Acropolis for the purpose of keeping the money safe, and so stopping the supplies for the War. This was their avowed object, supra 173–80.

490. Πείσανδρος] For Peisander see Peace 394 and the note there. The Scholiast on the Peace says of him οὗτος φιλοπόλεμος ἦν, καὶ πολεμοποιὸς κερδῶν ἰδίῳ ἐνεκεν. A turbulent and restless intriguer, he was at this moment one of the chief promoters of the scheme for subverting the democracy and establishing the rule of the Four Hundred in its place. The Scholiast observes that Aristophanes had spoken of him much in the same way, fifteen years before, in his comedy of the Babylonians; and the line is preserved by the Scholiast on Birds 1556, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν πολέμου μετὰ Πείσανδρου πορίσειεν: a line which reads, as Bergk remarks, as if it came

from a list of persons to be pilloried for their political or social offences, like the list in Frogs 354–68.

491. κορκορνήν] tumult. κορκορνή· κραυγὴ, βοή, ταραχὴ μετὰ θορύβου.—Hesychius. It is coupled with μάχη in Peace 991 λῦσον δὲ μάχας καὶ κορκορνγᾶς.

493. ἡμεῖς ταμιεύσομεν] The Athenian treasury in the Acropolis in the ὀπισθόδομος of Athene's Temple was under the charge of ten officials, one from each tribe, who are called by Aristotle ταμίαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, Polity of Athens, chap. 47. But now the women themselves, the Acropolis being in their hands, propose to undertake the duties of these ταμίαι, and keep guard over the money in the Treasury. They are quite competent to discharge these duties, they say, for do they not already manage τᾶνδον χρήματα, the household money? καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, says Praxagora in Eccl. 211, speaking of the women, ταύταις ἐπιτρόποις καὶ ταμίαισι χρώμεθα.

497. πρῶτον] The Magistrate was fully

- ΛΥ. ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς σώσομεν. ΠΡΟ. ὑμεῖς;
 ΛΥ. ἡμεῖς μέντοι. ΠΡΟ. σχέτλιόν γε.
 [ΛΥ. ὥς σωθήσει, κὰν μὴ βούλῃ.
 ΠΡΟ. δεινόν γε λέγεις. ΛΥ. ἀγανακτεῖς.]
 ἀλλὰ ποιητέα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁμῶς. 500
 ΠΡΟ. νῆ τὴν Δῆμητρ' ἄδικόν γε.
 ΛΥ. σωστέον, ὦ τὰν. ΠΡΟ. κεί μὴ δέομαι;
 ΛΥ. τοῦδ' εἵνεκα καὶ πολὺ μάλλον.
 ΠΡΟ. ὑμῖν δὲ πόθεν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῆς τ' εἰρήνης ἐμέλησεν;
 ΛΥ. ἡμεῖς φράσομεν.
 ΠΡΟ. λέγε δὴ ταχέως, ἵνα μὴ κλάῃς.
 ΛΥ. ἀκροῶ δὴ,

justified in saying that the money was urgently required for the war; for never had Athens been in such straits for both ships and money as she was at this particular crisis, Thuc. viii. 1. 15. But Lysistrata puts aside that question by raising a preliminary objection. The question whether the money is, or is not, necessary for the war is, she says, quite immaterial; for the war is itself unnecessary. *πρῶτον* is used in exactly the same way in Eccl. 657 (where see the Commentary) and Plutus 519, 522.

499. ὥς σωθήσει κ.τ.λ.] I have placed this line in brackets, because in my opinion it is no part of the genuine text, but the work of some grammarian attempting to summarize the statements of Lysistrata and the Magistrate. It did not appear in any printed edition before Brunck's; it is found neither in the original text of the Ravenna nor in that of the Munich MS., though some later grammarian has written it in the

margin of both. It adds nothing to the argument, but merely creates a wearisome repetition of the speeches already made. With ὥς σωθήσει we must understand ἴσθι or some such word. See the Commentary on Wasps 416.

504. τὰς χεῖρας κατέχειν] *to keep your hands still.*

505. ΣΤ.] These four words, given in the MSS. and older editions to Lysistrata, and by later editions to the "First Woman," I have assigned to old Stratyllis, the leader of the Women's Chorus, who has already intervened in the dialogue carried on by the actors on the stage (supra 447, see the Commentary on 435 and 445 supra), and seems generally anxious to have a finger in the pie. But the Magistrate declines to recognize the old hag in the orchestra; ὦ γράῳ as he politely calls her. He waves her aside with a jibe on her age, and a hope that with her ill-omened interruption she is a boding raven, croaking

καὶ τὰς χεῖρας πειρῶ κατέχειν.

ΠΡΟ.

ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτὰς ἴσχειν.

ἀλλ' οὐ δύναμαι· χαλεπὸν γὰρ

505

ΣΤ.

κλαύσει τοῖνον πολὺ μᾶλλον.

ΠΡΟ. τοῦτο μὲν, ὦ γραῦ, σαντῇ κρώξαις· σὺ δέ μοι λέγε.

ΛΤ.

ταῦτα ποιήσω.

ἡμεῖς τοῦ μὲν προτέρου πολέμου κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἡνεχόμεσθα

ὑπὸ σωφροσύνης τῆς ἡμετέρας, τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἅττ' ἐποιεῖτε.

οὐ γὰρ γρύζειν εἰᾶθ' ἡμᾶς. καί τοῦκ ἡρέσκετέ γ' ἡμᾶς.

ἀλλ' ἥσθανόμεσθα καλῶς ὑμῶν· καὶ πολλάκις ἔνδον ἂν οὔσαι 510

ἡκούσαμεν ἂν τι κακῶς ὑμᾶς βουλευσαμένους μέγα πρᾶγμα·

εἴτ' ἀλγοῦσαι τάνδοθεν ὑμᾶς ἐπανηρόμεθ' ἂν γελάσασαι,

“ τί βεβούλευται περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ παραγράψαι

her own fate. And turning to Lysistrata, he bids *her* answer the question he put four lines above, viz. what had induced the women to intermeddle with questions of Peace and War. This Lysistrata proceeds to tell him.

507. τοῦ μὲν προτέρου πολέμου κατὰ] I have ventured to substitute these words for the common reading τὸν μὲν πρότερον πόλεμον καὶ, which makes no sense at all. The substituted words are very inelegant, and very unlike what Aristophanes would have written, but I think that they give the meaning which Aristophanes intended to convey, viz. *in the time of the former war*: that is of the so-called Archidamian War, which commenced with the first invasion of Attica under King Archidamus, and was terminated by the Peace of Nicias.

509. ἡρέσκετέ γ' ἡμᾶς] τὸ σχῆμα Ἀττικόν. —Scholiast. He means the use of the accusative, instead of the dative, after ἀρέσκω. The usage is very common, and

Van Leeuwen must have forgotten this passage and many others when in *Frogs* 103, σὲ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀρέσκει, he proposed to change σὲ δὲ into σοί. Still more astonishing is his remark on the present passage that in *Frogs* 103 ἀρέσκει is followed by an accusative (not, as here, of the *person* but) of the thing.

510. ἔνδον] *in the house*, as supra 495, infra 516; *while engaged at home in our domestic affairs*.

512. γελάσασαι] τὴν μὲν καρδίαν λυπούμεναι, γελῶσαι δὲ, Scholiast; *with grief in our hearts, but with a smile on our faces*.

513. ἐν τῇ στήλῃ παραγράψαι] *to write on the Treaty-pillar by the side of the Treaty*. That treaties were inscribed on pillars is of course well known; and several instances are given in the Commentary on Ach. 727. Generally, one of these pillars was erected in the capital city of each of the contracting parties, whilst others were established in some place of Panhellenic sanctity,

ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ τήμερον ὑμῖν ;” “ τί δέ σοι ταῦτ’ ;” ἡ δ’ ὁς ἀν ἀνὴρ,
 “ οὐ σιγήσει ;” κἀγὼ ’σίγῳν. 515

ΣΤ.

ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀν ἐγὼ ποτ’ ἐσίγῳν.

ΠΡΟ. κὰν ᾤμωξάς γ’, εἰ μὴ ’σίγας.

ΛΤ.

τοιγὰρ ἔγῳγ’ ἔνδον ἐσίγῳν.

εὐθὺς δ’ ἔτερόν τι πονηρότερον βούλευμ’ ἐπεπύσμεθ’ ἀν ὑμῶν
 εἴτ’ ἡρόμεθ’ ἀν’ “ πῶς ταῦτ’, ὦνερ, διαπράττεσθ’ ὧδ’ ἀνοήτως ;”
 ὁ δέ μ’ εὐθὺς ὑποβλέψας ἀν ἔφασκ’, εἰ μὴ τὸν στήμονα νήσω,
 ὁτοτύξεσθαι μακρὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν. “ πόλεμος δ’ ἀνδρεσσι
 μελήσει.” 520

such as Olympia or Delphi. How carefully they were preserved may be judged by the statement of Pausanias, writing 600 years afterwards, that he had seen at Olympia the bronze pillar containing the terms of the 30 years' truce made in 455 B. C. between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians (Thuc. i. 115) and also the pillar containing the terms of the 100 years' treaty made in 420 B. C. between Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis (Thuc. v. 47), Pausanias v. 12. 7 and 23. 3. But in the present passage we are dealing with the pillar containing the Peace of Nicias which, as we know (Thuc. v. 18), was to be erected in the Acropolis of Athens. Some three years later Alcibiades persuaded the Athenians to write on this *στήλη*, underneath the Treaty, that the Lacedaemonians had failed to abide by their oaths ; Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀλκιβιάδου πείσαντος, τῇ Λακωνικῇ στήλῃ ὑπέγραψαν ὅτι οὐκ ἐνέμειναν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ὅρκοις.—Thuc. v. 56. This is no doubt the transaction to which Lysistrata is alluding.

515. ἀλλ’ οὐκ] Stratyllis again attempts to put in her oar, and is again treated with scant ceremony by the Magistrate.

519. ὑποβλέψας] *scowling, looking at me from under his bent brows*. See Thesm. 396. The meaning is very similar to that of *ταυρηδὸν βλέπειν* in Frogs 804, where see the Commentary. That the glance here was a scowl is plain from the speech which accompanies it. *στήμονα νεῖν* is to *spin the thread* to be used as warp in weaving. In the *Batrachomyomachia* (183) Athene refuses to assist the mice because they have devoured the *πέπλος* which she had woven with great care, καὶ στήμονα λεπτὸν ἔνησα. As to *ὁτοτύξεσθαι μακρὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν*, to *wail loudly for her head*, which will be soundly smacked, see Plutus 612 and the Commentary there.

520. πόλεμος δ’ ἀνδρεσσι μελήσει] This is from the farewell speech of Hector to Andromache, intended to still her “boding fear, Ere from her last embrace her hero part.” Fear not for me, he says,

ΠΡΟ. ὀρθῶς γε λέγων νῆ Δί' ἐκείνος.

ΛΤ.

πῶς ὀρθῶς, ὦ κακόδαιμον,

εἰ μηδὲ κακῶς βουλευομένοις ἐξῆν ὑμῖν ὑποθέσθαι ;

ὅτε δὴ δ' ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς φανερώς ἠκούομεν ἥδη,

“ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ; ” “ μὰ Δί' οὐ δῆτ' ἔσθ' ” ἕτερός τις·

μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν εὐθὺς ἔδοξεν σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα κοινῇ 525

ταῖσι γυναιξὶν συλλεχθείσαις. ποῖ γὰρ καὶ χρὴν ἀναμεῖναι ;

ἦν οὖν ἡμῶν χρηστὰ λεγουσῶν ἐθελήσῃτ' ἀντακροᾶσθαι

ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰούσα τὰ σαντῆς ἔργα κόμιζε,
ἰστόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
ἔργον ἐποίχασθαι· πόλεμος δ' ἀνδρεσσὶ μελήσει.—Iliad vi. 490-2.

“Daughter,” says old Simon Glover to the Fair Maid of Perth (chap. 2), “your tongue wags too freely. Quarrels and fights are men’s business, not women’s; and it is not maidenly to think or speak of them.”

524. οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ] Not one, he means, who could help them. The language is similar to that of the Prophet Isaiah lix. 16 Καὶ εἶδε, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀνὴρ, καὶ κατενόησε, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀντιληψόμενος· καὶ ἡμύνατο αὐτοὺς τῷ βραχίονι αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ ἐλεημοσύνῃ ἐστηρίσατο. Cf. Id. lxiii. 5. On the present passage Tyrwhitt acutely observes “Haec de Alcibiade in triviis iactitata fuisse conicio.” And doubtless such sentiments as these were largely instrumental in bringing about the exile’s triumphant return. The Athenians had lost in Sicily not only their fleets and armies, but also their most trusted leaders; and the people, disheartened and bewildered, would naturally look for a man to

shape their policy in this crisis, and would look in vain. And so all eyes would turn to that remarkable young man who, whether acting for or against his country, had proved himself beyond all comparison the most brilliant and resourceful politician of his time. They recalled him, and made him dictator, and all went well. They distrusted him, and dispensed with his services, and Athens was ruined.

527, 528. ἀντακροᾶσθαι κἀντισιωπᾶν] *To listen and keep silence in our stead.* The sexes are to change places. The women are to be the active speakers and managers of the State, as the men had hitherto been; the men in their turn are to listen and keep quiet, as the women had hitherto done. In the next line Lysistrata is putting her plan into operation. The Magistrate, interrupting, is at once told to hold his tongue, just as under the previous system the

κάντισιωπᾶν ὥσπερ χήμεις, ἐπανορθώσαιμεν ἂν ὑμᾶς.

ΠΡΟ. ὑμεῖς ἡμᾶς; δεινόν γε λέγεις κοῦ τλητὸν ἔμοιγε.

ΛΥ.

σιώπα.

ΠΡΟ. σοί γ', ὦ κατάρατε, σιωπῶ' γῶ, καὶ ταῦτα κάλυμμα φορούσῃ 530
περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν; μὴ νυν ζώην.

ΛΥ.

ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἐμπόδιόν σοι,

παρ' ἐμοῦ τουτὶ τὸ κάλυμμα λαβὼν

ἔχε καὶ περίθου περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν,

κᾶτα σιώπα,

ΚΑ.

* * * * *

ΜΥ.

καὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν καλαθίσκον·

535

wife had been told by her husband ;
supra 515.

530. κάλυμμα] A covering for the head, a veil enveloping the head and face ; sometimes used of a bride's wedding-veil, Aesch. Ag. 1149, Eur. Iph. Taur. 372 ; sometimes of a mourner's veil. But it was not confined to those classes. Lysistrata, who is neither a bride nor a mourner, is wearing one now ; and the Magistrate's allusion to it as a distinctive article of womanly attire has a result he little expected. It gives Lysistrata an idea which she and her comrades immediately carry out. The

Man, we have seen, is now to take the Woman's place ; and it is *he* therefore whose duty it is to wear the κάλυμμα and spin the thread, στήμονα νεῖν. At once, therefore, they array the surprised Magistrate in this womanly veil, and supply him with the basket and requirements of a spinning-woman. With σοί γε σιωπῶ' γῶ ; compare Frogs 1134 ἐγὼ σιωπῶ τῷδ' ;

535. καλαθίσκον] This was a woman's wicker work-basket in which the wool was placed ready for the spinner. Catullus (lxiv. 319), describing the Parcae at work, says

Ante pedes autem candentis mollia lanae
Vellera virgati custodibant calathisci.

And the wool, taken out by the spinner, was carded back into the basket ; cf. infra 579. We may be sure, both from the grammatical requirements of the present passage and from the analogy of the correspondingsystem of dimeters infra 603, 604, that this line is spoken

by one of Lysistrata's friends (I think, Myrrhina), and that a line before it, spoken by another of her friends (Calonice), has dropped out of the text. For the missing line Enger suggests καὶ ταυτηνὶ λαβέ τὴν ζώνην, and Meineke καὶ τόνδε πόκον δέξαι παρ' ἐμοῦ, whilst

ΛΤ. κᾶτα ξαίνειν συζωσάμενος,
 κνάμους τρώγων
 πόλεμος δὲ γυναιξὶ μελήσει.

ΧΟ. ΓΤ. ἀπαίρετ', ὦ γυναῖκες, ἀπὸ τῶν καλπίδων, ὅπως ἂν
 ἐν τῷ μέρει χῆμεῖς τι ταῖς φίλαισι συλλάβωμεν. 540

ἔγωγε γὰρ ἂν οὔποτε κάμοιμ' ἂν ὀρχουμένη, [ἀντ.
οὐδὲ γόνατ' ἂν κόπος ἔλοι με καματηρὸς ἂν.
 ἐθέλω δ' ἐπὶ πᾶν ἰέναι
 μετὰ τῶνδ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεχ', αἷς

Van Leeuwen inserts in the text a line of his own καὶ τὸν ἄτρακτον τοῦτον δέξαι.

536. ξαίνειν] *to card the wool*. Cf. infra 579. συζωσάμενος *girdling up your garments*, that they may not embarrass your movements. So spinning-women are represented on the vases; and cf. Dodwell i. 460.

537. κνάμους τρώγων] Women were in the habit of chewing some eatable as they wove or spun. Bergler quotes from Athenaeus iii, chap. 4 (p. 73 D) τὸν σίκνον τρώγουσα, γύναι, τὴν χλαῖναν ὕφαινε. And Lysistrata selects κνάμους as the special vegetable for the Magistrate to chew, because, being an Athenian citizen, he is presumably a *κναμοτρῶξ* (Knights 41, infra 690), a *bean-consumer*, that is to say, very fond of the bean, not indeed as an article of food, but as the *ψήφος* with which Athenians voted in their popular elections.

538. πόλεμος δὲ γυναιξὶ μελήσει] She is again referring to Hector's speech, as

supra 520; but with Hector the wife was to go to the loom, while "War was the care and the business of Men"; whereas here the Man is to go to the loom, and "War is the care and the business of Women."

541. ἔγωγε] The first debate is inaugurated (supra 476-83) by a song of encouragement addressed by the Chorus of Men to the Magistrate; the second by a similar song addressed by the Chorus of Women to Lysistrata and her friends. The old Women in the orchestra are full of enthusiasm for the young Women on the stage; for their native grace, their courage, their bright wit, and their wise patriotism. There is nothing that they are not prepared to do for Lysistrata's sake; but unfortunately, owing to their respective positions in the orchestra and on the stage, there is nothing that they *can* at the present moment do but dance; and this, they protest, they will never tire of doing.

ἐνὶ φύσις, ἐνὶ χάρις, ἐνὶ θράσος, 545
 ἐνὶ δὲ σοφὸν, ἐνὶ δὲ φιλόπολις
 ἀρετὴ φρόνιμος.

ἀλλ', ὦ τηθῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων καὶ μητριδίων ἀκαληφῶν,
 χωρεῖτ' ὀργῇ καὶ μὴ τέγγεσθ'. ἔτι γὰρ νῦν οὖρια θεῖτε. 550
 ΛΥ. ἀλλ' ἤνπερ γ' ὁ γλυκύθυμος Ἑρως χῆ Κυπρογένει' Ἀφροδίτῃ
 ἤμερον ἡμῶν κατὰ τῶν κόλπων καὶ τῶν μηρῶν καταπνεύσῃ,
 καὶ τ' ἐντέξῃ τέτανον τερπνὸν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ῥοπαλισμοῦς,
 οἶμαί ποτε Λυσιμάχας ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι καλεῖσθαι.

549. ἀλλ' ὦ τηθῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων] λέγει παῖδες.—Scholiast. *Ye children of manliest grandmothers, ye whose mothers were—stinging-nettles.* That *τήθη* is strictly a *grandmother* is evident from *Acharnians* 49 and *Plato's Rep.* v. 9 (p. 461 D). And as to the application of the epithet *ἀνδρείος* to objects other than *ἀνδρες* see the note on *Wasps* 1090. The verbal play in the latter part of the verse can hardly be preserved in our language. We are intended to suppose that *μητριδίων* is a substantive, the diminutive of *μητέρων*, but the unexpected addition of *ἀκαληφῶν* shows that it is an adjective, and that *μητριδίων ἀκαληφῶν* means *seed-ing nettles*, nettles which have arrived at the age at which their stinging powers are fully developed; *μητριδίας* δὲ λέγονσι τὰς ἐχούσας τὸ σπέρμα τῆς βοτάνης τῆς ἀκαλήφης. δάκνουσι δὲ αὐται.—Scholiast. The Scholiast goes further and thinks that in *τηθῶν* there is an allusion to *τήθεα*, *oysters* (*Iliad* xvi. 747), and in *ἀκαληφῶν* to *sea-nettles* (*urticae marinae*), a class to which our common jelly-fish belong, but of which some species are

very stinging and poisonous; Wood's *Natural History* iii. 739. And *Athenaeus* iii. 39 (p. 90 B), speaking of these *urticae marinae*, says τὸ δ' ἐν *Λυσιστράτῃ* Ἀριστοφάνους πέπαικται· “ἀλλ' ὦ τηθῶν ἀνδρειοτάτῃ καὶ μητριδίων ἀκαληφῶν” ἐπεὶ *τήθεα* τὰ ὕστρεα. μέμικται γὰρ κωμωδικῶς πρὸς τὴν *τήθη* καὶ *μητέρα*. But I fail to detect, and I think that the audience would have been unable to detect, any allusion of this kind. It will be observed that *Athenaeus* writes *ἀνδρειοτάτῃ* for *ἀνδρειοτάτων*, an obvious mistake, and a very absurd one, since (apart from the plural verbs in the following line) the young and lovely *Lysistrata* could not possibly have been addressed as *manliest of grandmothers*. Yet some recent editors, in defiance of all the MSS. and of common sense, have introduced this absurdity into the text.

550. *χωρεῖτ' ὀργῇ*] Bergler refers to *Thuc.* v. 70, where the historian, describing the first battle of *Mantineia*, says καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ ξύνοδος ἦν, Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐντόνος καὶ ὀργῇ χωροῦντες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ βραδέως καὶ μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ.

ΠΡΟ. τί ποιησάσας ;

555

ΛΥ. ἦν παύσωμεν πρώτιστον μὲν ξὺν ὅπλοισιν
ἀγοράζοντας καὶ μαινομένους.

ΣΤ. νῆ τὴν Παφίαν Ἀφροδίτην.

ΛΥ. νῦν μὲν γὰρ δὴ κὰν ταῖσι χύτραις κὰν τοῖς λαχάνοισιν ὁμοίως
περιέρχονται κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ξὺν ὅπλοις, ὥσπερ Κορύβαντες.

ΠΡΟ. νῆ Δία· χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνδρείους.

ΛΥ. καὶ μὴν τό γε πρᾶγμα γέλοιον,
ὅταν ἀσπίδ' ἔχων καὶ Γοργόνα τις κᾶτ' ὠνήται κορακίνους. 560

ΣΤ. νῆ Δρ' ἐγὼ γοῦν ἄνδρα κομήτην φυλαρχοῦντ' εἶδον ἐφ' ἵππου

*On with eager passion ; no yielding now ;
for still are ye running before favourable
winds.* τῆς νεῶς οὐριοδρομούσης.—Helio-
dorus v. 17.

554. *Λυσιμάχας*] There is no practical
difference between *Λυσιμάχη* and *Λυσι-
στράτη*, but the latter name could not be
brought into anapaests. There is a simi-
lar play on the former name in *Peace*
992, where Trygaeus, addressing the
Goddess Peace, says

λύσον δὲ μάχας καὶ κορκορυγὰς
ἵνα Λυσιμάχην σε καλῶμεν.

557. *χύτραις . . . λαχάνοισιν*] ἀντὶ τοῦ
χυτροπωλίου καὶ *λαχανοπωλίου*.—Scho-
liast. *the crockery and vegetable stalls*.
See the note on *Wasps* 789. Ever since
the occupation of Deceleia by the Spar-
tans the whole population of Athens
had been under arms; Thuc. vii. 28.
And this precaution would be even
more necessary after the Sicilian cata-
strophe; Id. viii. 69. It is no wonder
therefore that men were seen marketing
in full armour; "just as if they were
Corybants" *Lysistrata* says; for the Cory-

bants, the Phrygian priests of Cybele,
wore a complete set of armour, whence
they are called *ἔνοπλοι* by Strabo x. 3.
19, and *τρικόρυθες* by Euripides, *Bacchae*
123.

560. *Γοργόνα*] The Gorgon-head upon
his shield; the device attributed to
Lamachus, Ach. 574, 964, 1181. The
wearer of this terror-inspiring attire
is found bargaining for some worthless
little *κορακίνους*, diminutive gregarious
fish often used for bait, like our min-
nows, but of a darker colour. See
Knights 1053 and the Commentary
there.

561. *ἄνδρα κομήτην*] This gentleman
was a Knight, that is, a cavalry man;
therefore he wore long hair. See the
Commentary on *Knights* 580. But he
was not a mere private in the cavalry,
he was the commander of the contin-
gent of 100 men contributed by his tribe
to the Athenian cavalry. The cavalry
consisted of 1,000 men under two *ἵππαρ-
χοι*, each tribe contributing 100 men
under their own *φύλαρχος*. He is still
mounted on "the splendid charger

ἐς τὸν χαλκοῦν ἐμβαλλόμενον πῖλον λέκιθον παρὰ γραός·
 ἕτερος δ' αὖ Θραξῆ πέλτην σείων κάκόντιον, ὥσπερ ὁ Τηρεὺς,
 ἐδεδίσκετο τὴν ἰσχαδόπωλιν καὶ τὰς δρυπεπεῖς κατέπινε.

ΠΡΟ. πῶς οὖν ὑμεῖς πράγματα παῦσαι τεταραγμένα πολλὰ δύνασθε
 ἐν ταῖς χώραις καὶ διαλῦσαι; ΛΥ. φαύλως πάνν. 566

ΠΡΟ. πῶς; ἀπόδειξον.

ΛΥ. ὥσπερ κλωστήρ', ὅταν ἡμῖν ᾗ τεταραγμένος, ᾧδε λαβοῦσαι,
 ὑπενεγκοῦσαι τοῖσιν ἀτράκτοις τὸ μὲν ἐνταυθί, τὸ δ' ἐκείσε,

which he rode at the head of his troop'' ἵππον λαμπρὸν ἐφ' οὗ ἐφυλάρχησε, to use the words of Isaeus "Re the estate of Hagnias," 57 (p. 88) in a passage to which Blaydes refers. And what is this gallant equestrian doing? He is stowing away in his bronze helmet an omelet (λέκιθον) gotten from an old market-woman. As to λέκιθος see the notes on 457 supra, Eccl. 1177, and Plutus 427. The Scholiast here takes it to mean porridge in colour resembling the yolk of an egg, but it is doubtful if the word ever bears that meaning in Aristophanes.

563. Θραξῆ] A great contrast to the cavalry officer who would be a well-to-do and well-educated Athenian gentleman, but even more alarming to the stall-keepers in the agora, is the next soldier whom Stratyllis had observed. This is one of the semi-barbarous Thracians who were frequently engaged to serve as auxiliaries to the Athenian armies. He comes in shaking his targe and dart (the distinctive weapons of a Thracian, see the note on Ach. 160) in order to render himself more formidable, and with as much fuss and self-importance

as if he were Tereus the famous Thracian king.

564. ἐδεδίσκετο] *frightened away*. ἐξέ- φόβει.—Suidas. He frightened the fig-seller from her stall, and (in her absence) made a clean sweep of her fruit. δρυπεπεῖς means *fruit ripened on the tree* (δρῦς), as contrasted, I suppose, with fruit gathered while still unripe and subsequently exposed to the sun. The Scholiast says τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων πεπανθείσας ἐλαίας φασὶ δρυπεπεῖς· νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰσχαδῶν.

566. ἐν ταῖς χώραις] *in the several Hellenic states*. Lysistrata speaks with quiet contempt of the difficulty which the Magistrate considers insuperable. They can do it, φαύλως πάνν, *quite easily*.

567. κλωστήρ'] *a skein*, Frogs 1349. The word τεταραγμένα, *entangled*, used by the Magistrate two lines above, reminds Lysistrata of the manner in which Women disentangle and unravel a twisted ball of wool, and she at once proceeds to show him, both by her words and by the action of her fingers (ᾧδε), how easily women get over that sort of difficulty.

- οὕτως καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον διαλύσομεν, ἣν τις ἐάσῃ,
διενεγκοῦσαι διὰ πρεσβειῶν τὸ μὲν ἐνταυθί, τὸ δ' ἐκέϊσε. 570
- ΠΡΟ. ἐξ ἐρίων δὴ καὶ κλωστήρων καὶ ἀτράκτων πράγματα δεινὰ
παύσειν οἷεσθ', ὦ ἀνόητοι;
- ΛΥ. καὶ ὑμῖν γ' εἴ τις ἐνῆν νοῦς,
ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπολιτεύεσθ' ἂν ἅπαντα.
- ΠΡΟ. πῶς δὴ; φέρ' ἴδω.
- ΛΥ. πρῶτον μὲν ἐχρῆν, ὥσπερ πόκον ἐν βαλανείῳ,
ἐκπλύναντας τὴν οἰσπώτην ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπὶ κλίνης 575

569. ἣν τις ἐάσῃ] *if nobody interferes with us*; if the women are allowed to carry out their own schemes.

572. νοῦς] This word replies to the ἀνόητοι in the early part of the line. *Ye witless ones*, says the Man. *Why if ye yourselves had any wit*, retorts the Woman, *ye would manage the State altogether after the fashion of our wool-working*. "Ex nostro lanificio," as Bergler translates it, "sumto exemplo rempublicam administraretis."

574. πρῶτον μὲν κ.τ.λ.] The discussion has for the moment been switched off the question of the War to the consideration of the political situation at home. And Lysistrata proceeds to expound her views (that is to say, the views of Aristophanes) as to the right mode of arranging the internal politics of Athens. And here, as everywhere in these Comedies, there is an entire absence of political partisanship; there is merely a design of blending together all classes of the community in a bond of peace, unity, and concord; a happy condition, partially achieved for a brief period in the course of this very year,

411 B.C., when that μετρία ἐς τοὺς δλίγους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ξύγκρασις ἐγένετο, which Thucydides stamps with his emphatic approval. And just as in preparing the wool the first step is thoroughly to wash the fleece in the washing-tub, so the first step in the renovation of the State is to (purify it from all that is corrupt and offensive, so that the official wheels (to vary the metaphor) may work in a clean and wholesome manner, unclogged with personal greed and ambition. With the words ὥσπερ πόκον ἐν βαλανείῳ we must understand ἐκπλύνομεν in a sense somewhat different from that which it bears in the following line; since here, as in Plutus 1062, it means *to wash thoroughly*, while there, as in Plato's Republic iv. 7 (p. 430A), it means *to wash out a stain or the like*.

575. τὴν οἰσπώτην] τοῦ ἐρίου ὁ ῥύπος οἰσπώτη λέγεται.—Scholiast. In Ach. 1177 ξρία οἰσπηρὰ are *wools with the grease in, unwashed wool*. After washing the grease out of the wool, the next step was to remove the burrs adhering to the fleece. For this purpose the fleece would be stretched upon a bench (ἐπὶ

ἐκραβδίζειν τοὺς μοχθηροὺς καὶ τοὺς τριβόλους ἀπολέξαι,
καὶ τοὺς γε συνισταμένους τούτους καὶ τοὺς πιλοῦντας ἑαυτοὺς
ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖσι διαξῆναι καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτῖλαι·
εἶτα ξαίνειν εἰς καλαθίσκον, κοινὴν εὐνοίαν, ἅπαντας,
καταμιγνύντας τοὺς τε μετοίκους κεί τις ξένος ἢ φίλος ὑμῖν, 580
κεί τις ὀφείλει τῷ δημοσίῳ, καὶ τούτους ἐγκαταμίξαι·
καὶ νῆ Δία τὰς γε πόλεις, ὁπόσαι τῆς γῆς τῆσδ' εἰσὶν ἄποικοι,
διαγιγνώσκειν ὅτι ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ὥσπερ τὰ κατάγματα κεῖται

κλίης, cf. infra 732), and the burrs either picked out (ἀπολέξαι) by hand or struck off with sticks (ἐκραβδίζειν). In the State they are represented by the μοχθηροί, the vicious and idle class who hang on to the State for the provision and maintenance which they ought to acquire by their own industry.

577. συνισταμένους . . . πιλοῦντας] *banding and knotting themselves together*. πιλέω is a technical word in relation to wool. The fleece has been washed, the burrs removed, but there will still be some matted clots in the wool, which would render it useless for the wool-spinner. Analogous to these in the body politic are the ξυνωμοσῖαι ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς (Thuc. viii. 54), the political clubs and caucuses banded together to obtain verdicts in the dicasteries and offices in the State for themselves and their partisans. These caucuses were at the present moment particularly active. Peisander, Thucydides tells us (ubi supra), had approached them all, παρακελευσάμενος ὅπως ξυστραφέντες καὶ κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι καταλύσουσι τὸν δῆμον. They could not but be abhorrent to the soul of Aristophanes, not only because they

were in this crisis plotting against the Demus, but also as always tending to set class against class, his own dearest wish being to blend all classes together into one harmonious whole. These clots in the commonwealth, like the clots in the fleece, must be separated into their component parts by the carding-comb (διαξῆναι), and the nuclei (τὰς κεφαλὰς) which remain must be carefully plucked out.

579. κοινὴν εὐνοίαν] The fleece is now ready, and the wool can be carded into the basket, καλαθίσκον; see on 535 supra. In the body politic the καλαθίσκος is represented by κοινὴ εὐνοία, for in my judgement these words are in apposition to, and explanatory of, the καλαθίσκος or basket of wool; the sense being to card all the citizens into the work-basket, that is to say, into a condition of peace and goodwill. The ordinary translation "for all men to card goodwill into the work-basket" seems to me unmeaning both in itself and in relation to the metaphor which Lysistrata is elaborating. ἅπαντας is the object, not the subject, of ξαίνειν. Otherwise the citizens would be omitted altogether; and the contents of the

χωρὶς ἕκαστον· κᾶτ' ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων τὸ κατάγμα λαβόντας
 δεῦρο ξυνάγειν καὶ συναθροίζειν εἰς ἓν, κᾶπειτα ποιῆσαι 585
 τολύπην μεγάλην, κᾶτ' ἐκ ταύτης τῷ δήμῳ χλαῖναν ὑφῆναι.

ΠΡΟ. οὐκ οὐκ δεινὸν ταυτὶ ταύτας ῥαβδίζειν καὶ τολυπεύειν,
 αἷς οὐδὲ μετῇν πάνν τοῦ πολέμου;

ΛΥ. καὶ μὴν, ὦ παγκατάρατε,
 πλεῖν ἢ γε διπλοῦν αὐτὸν φέρομεν. πρῶτιστον μὲν γε τεκοῦσαι
 κάκπémψασαι παῖδας ὀπλίτας. 590

ΠΡΟ. σίγα, μὴ μνησικακήσης.

work-basket would be resident aliens, strangers, public debtors, and goodwill. But in fact the citizens, one and all, *ἅπαντες*, are to form the staple; the other ingredients are merely to be mingled with the citizens. It will be remembered that a debtor to the treasury lost all the privileges of a citizen: he was disfranchised, *ἄτιμος*. But Lysistrata will have no citizen disfranchised on a plea of this kind. Here, as more largely in the *Frogs*, Aristophanes is pleading with the people *τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιῆσαι*. And here, as there, his plea was carried into effect by the decree of Patrocleides. See the Introduction to the *Frogs*, pp. vi-viii. The accusative *τούτους* in line 581 comprehends the three classes introduced by the words *κεῖ τις*.

583. *τὰ κατάγματα*] *τὰ τῶν ἐρίων ἀποσπάσματα οὕτω ἐκάλουν*.—Scholiast. *κάταγμα*, a word frequently employed in connexion with wool-spinning, may be derived either from *κατάγω*, and so mean *wool drawn out*, or from *κατάγνυμι*, and so mean *a fragment*. It seems to be used in the former sense in Plato's *Politicus* 23 (p. 282 E) *τῶν περὶ ξαντικὴν ἔργων*

μηκυνθέν τε καὶ σχὸν πλάτος λέγομεν εἶναι κατάγμα τι. But in the present line it seems more naturally to mean "a fragment." These fragments are now lying each by itself, *χωρὶς ἕκαστον*, but they are all to be gathered in to the great harmonious conglomeration which Lysistrata is proposing.

586. *τολύπην*] *τολύπη* is a ball of worsted quite prepared for use. *τολύπη κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς ἐρίων σφαῖρα*.—Eustathius on *Iliad* xxiv. 7. The work of the wool-spinner is concluded, and the ball is now ready for the weaver.

589. *διπλοῦν*] First, as Mothers, whose sons are slain in the battle-fields, a grief unusually poignant at the present moment, when all the flower of the Athenian youth had perished on the fatal fields of Sicily. Secondly, as wives and maidens; wives whose husbands are always absent on military service; maidens doomed to perpetual maidenhood because all the young men are away at the war.

590. *μὴ μνησικακήσης*] Do not awake the memory of past sorrows; let there be, as regards *them*, a perpetual amnesty. See *Plutus* 1146.

ΛΥ. εἶθ' ἡνίκ' ἔχρην εὐφρανθῆναι καὶ τῆς ἡβης ἀπολαῦσαι,
μονοκοιτοῦμεν διὰ τὰς στρατιάς. καὶ θῆμέτερον μὲν ἔατε,
περὶ τῶν δὲ κορῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις γηρασκουσῶν ἀνῶμαι.

ΠΡΟ. οὐκ οὐν ἀνδρες γηράσκουσιν;

ΛΥ. μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶπας ὅμοιον.
ὁ μὲν ἡκὼν γὰρ, κὰν ἦ πολιὸς, ταχὺ παῖδα κόρην γεγάμηκεν·
τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς μικρὸς ὁ καιρὸς, κὰν τούτου μὴ 'πιλάβηται, 596
οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει γῆμαι ταύτην, ὀττευομένη δὲ κάθηται.

ΠΡΟ. ἀλλ' ὅστις ἔτι στῦσαι δυνατὸς

592. θῆμέτερον] *the case of us married women*. Sad as our lot may be, that of the unmarried girls growing old in their maiden apartments is still more deplorable than our own.

594. κἄνδρες] *men as well as women*. Reisig suggests *χἄνδρες* which is read by several modern editors, but the article is quite unnecessary.

595. κὰν ἦ πολιὸς] "She were an unworthy maiden," says Roswitha, in one of De la Motte Fouqué's exquisite tales (*The Oak of the Idols*), "who would not with her whole soul love a grey-haired hero, in all his rich full glory."

596. μικρὸς ὁ καιρὸς] As one of our own old poets, Cleveland, says rather brutally in his lines "To Julia, to expedite her promise,"

Think but how soon the market fails;
Your sex lives faster than the males.

597. ὀττευομένη] *consulting omens*, from ὄσσα, an ominous voice. The maiden will be seeking omens and fortune-tellers to divine her chances of marriage. ὀττευομένη· ἀντὶ τοῦ κληδοιζομένη, περὶ γάμου χρησμοδουμένη.—Scholiast.

598. ἀλλ' ὅστις κ.τ.λ.] The Magistrate

does not finish his sentence, for Lysistrata, finding that he is falling into gross and indelicate language, abruptly interrupts him, and she and her friends dress him up as a corpse. What he was going to say, therefore, we can only conjecture; and in my opinion he means *will soon find a girl ready to marry him*. And this is very much Bothe's opinion, who would supply *γαμήσει παῖδα κόρην κὰν ἦ πολιὸς*. Other explanations, such as Van Leeuwen's "*mecum istam invadite*," seem to go very wide of the mark.

600. χοῖριον ἔσται] This is Elmsley's emendation (at Ach. 788) for the *χωρίον* ἐστὶ of the MSS. He refers to Peace 374 where Hermes is threatening Trygaeus with instant death, and Trygaeus in reply asks Hermes to lend him three drachmas wherewith to purchase a *χοῖριον*, δέϊ γὰρ *μνηθῆναι με πρὶν τεθνηκέναι*. In the line of the Acharnians, though all the MSS. have *χοῖρος*, the older editions corrupt it into *χῶρος*.

601. μελιτοῦτταν] A honey-cake, *μάζα μελιτόσσα*, a cake very commonly used in religious ceremonies (cf. *Clouds* 507), was placed in the hand of the dead to

- ΑΤ. σὺ δὲ δὴ τί μαθὼν οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεις ;
 χοιρίον ἔσται· σορὸν ὠνήσει· 600
 μελιτοῦτταν ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ μᾶξω·
 λαβέ ταυτί· καὶ στεφάνωσαι.
 ΚΑ. καὶ ταυτασὶ δέξαι παρ' ἐμοῦ.
 ΜΤ. καὶ τοῦτον δὴ λαβέ τὸν στέφανον.
 ΑΤ. τοῦ δεῖ ; τί ποθεῖς ; χῶρει 'ς τὴν ναῦν· 605
 ὁ Χάρων σε καλεῖ,
 σὺ δὲ κωλύεις ἀνάγεσθαι.

serve as a sop for Cerberus. ἡ μελιτοῦττα ἐδίδοτο τοῖς νεκροῖς, says the Scholiast, ὡς εἰς τὸν Κέρβερον, καὶ ὀβολὸς μισθὸς τῷ πορθμεί, καὶ στέφανος ὡς τὸν βίον διηγωνισμένοις. These then—the honey-cake, Charon's fare, and the funeral wreaths—are the three things we should expect to find mentioned here, where the women are bedecking the Magistrate with the habiliments of a corpse, just as, at the termination of the first debate, they turned him into a spinning-maid and equipped him with spindle and work-basket. Lysistrata does not indeed now present the Magistrate with a μελιτοῦττα, for she has not yet prepared one. She will do so forthwith, as the words καὶ δὴ imply. But the other requisites will be furnished at once.

602. λαβέ ταυτί] She is giving him the small change, μικρὰ κέρματα (possibly ἡμισόλια), required to pay Charon's fare. For, as Lucian says (De Luctu 10), ἐπειδὴν τις ἀποθάνῃ τῶν οἰκείων, πρῶτα μὲν φέροντες ὀβολὸν, ἐς τὸ στόμα κατέθηκαν αὐτῷ, μισθὸν τῷ πορθμεί τῆς ναυτιλίας γενησόμενον. I will get you a honey-cake for Cerberus, she says in effect; and

here is the fare for Charon; and now you must have a crown. And two lines later the crown is duly presented to him. But all the Commentators suppose that when Lysistrata says λαβέ ταυτί, she is giving the Magistrate something where-with he can crown himself. Brunck translates the line "Sume hanc corollam, et cinge caput." Bothe too explains ταυτί by "corollas," and Blaydes by "ornamenta aliqua muliebria quae corollae loco sint." But this interpretation makes line 604 not merely surplusage but an actual absurdity.

603. καὶ ταυτασὶ] *the fillets or ribands.* τὰς ταινίας ἅς τοῖς νεκροῖς ἔπεμπον οἱ φίλοι, says the Scholiast.

604. στέφανον] *στεφανώσαντες τὸ σῶμα τοῖς ὀραίοις ἄνθεσι προτίθενται.*—Lucian, de Luctu 11. See Eccl. 537, 538, and the Commentary there, and also the Commentary on 131 of the same Play.

607. κωλύεις ἀνάγεσθαι] *You hinder him from putting off; you are delaying his voyage.* Aristophanes repeatedly refers to the Alcestis (Ach. 893, Knights 1251, Clouds 1415, Wasps 751, Birds 1244), and here he is probably thinking of the

ΠΡΟ. εἴτ' οὐχὶ ταῦτα δεινὰ πάσχειν ἔστ' ἐμέ;

νῆ τὸν Δί' ἀλλὰ τοῖς προβούλοις ἀντικρυσ

ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιδείξω βαδίξων ὡς ἔχω.

610

ΛΥ. μὴν ἐγκαλεῖς ὅτι οὐχὶ προὔθέμεσθά σε;

ἀλλ' ἐς τρίτην γοῦν ἡμέραν σοὶ πρὸ πάντων

death-bed scene where Alcestis, still lingering, pictures Charon, impatient, eager to be off, and chiding her "for being so unconscionable a time in dying."

ὄρῳ, δίκωπον ὄρῳ σκάφος·
νεκύων δὲ πορθμὲς,
ἔχων χέρ' ἐπὶ κοντῷ, Χάρων
μ' ἤδη καλεῖ, τί μέλλεις;
ἐπείγου' σὺ κατέρργεις τάδε.

Eur. Alc. 260. Bergler cites these lines, and also the call which Oedipus receives to hasten his tardy footsteps in Soph. Oed. Col. 1627. See also the opening scenes of Lucian's Cataplus.

610. ὡς ἔχω] that is, in his funeral habiliments. βεβρεγμένος is the Scholiast's comment, but there is not the slightest ground for supposing that he, like the Chorus of Men (supra 381-7), had been drenched with water. The Women Chorus, with their pitchers, are in the orchestra; the Magistrate is on the stage, and his opponents are not the Chorus of Women but Lysistrata and her friends, who have nothing to do with pitchers of water. Nor would the Magistrate have submitted to such treatment without an outcry, such as the Men had raised before.

611. προὔθέμεσθα] They have per-

formed *some* of the ceremonies due to a corpse, but they have not "laid him out," that is, swathed him in white raiment, and placed him on a bed with his feet towards the door. See Eccl. 537 and the note there. Lysistrata pretends to believe that this is why he is complaining; and, while acknowledging the omission, assures her victim that the other funeral ceremonies shall at all events be duly performed. The chief of these were the *τρίτα* and the *ἐνατα* (Pollux viii, chap. 14); and hence in the speech of Isaeus "In the matter of the estate of Menecles," 46, the speaker, in proof of his contention that he was the adopted son and recognized successor of Menecles; says *ἐθαψά τ' ἐγὼ αὐτόν, καὶ τὰ τρίτα καὶ τὰ ἐνατα ἐποίησα, καὶ τὰλλα τὰ περὶ τὴν ταφὴν*. The *τρίτα*, as the name implies, were celebrated on the third day after the death. For two clear days the immediate relatives were supposed to be giving themselves up to fasting and watching; but on the third morning a banquet was prepared in honour of the dead (*τῇ τρίτῃ τὸ τῶν νεκρῶν ἄριστον ἐκφέρεται*, Scholiast; *τὸ περίδειπνον*, Lucian, De Luctu 24), and the friends and kinsfolk came together to comfort the mourners and exhort them

ἤξει παρ' ἡμῶν τὰ τρίτ' ἐπεσκευασμένα.

ΧΟ. ΓΕ. οὐκ ἔτ' ἔργον ἐγκαθεύδειν, ὅστις ἔστ' ἐλεύθερος. [στρ.
 ἀλλ' ἐπαποδύμεθ', ἄνδρες, τουτῶι τῷ πράγματι. 615
 ἤδη γὰρ ὄζειν ταδὶ πλείονων καὶ μειζόνων
 πραγμάτων μοι δοκεῖ

to take part in the entertainment; which after their three days' fast, says Lucian, they did not require much pressing to do.

614-705. The Magistrate runs off to show to his fellow magistrates the manner in which the Women have treated him. Lysistrata and her friends withdraw into the Acropolis, and the stage is left empty. The two hostile Semichoruses, the Chorus of Men and the Chorus of Women, remain face to face in the orchestra, and resume the mutual recriminations which were interrupted by the entrance of the Probulus, supra 387. Each of the four choral systems which follow commences with a mixture of trochaic and cretico-paeonic lines, and passes into the ordinary trochaic tetrameters; and each concludes with a scuffle between the leaders of the two Semichoruses, Stratyllis and the Coryphaeus. It is strange that the Commentators should have overlooked these four little scuffles, for they constitute the very life and point of the systems.

614. οὐκ ἔτ' ἔργον] In the previous altercation the women enjoyed the privilege of their sex in having the last word, and they will do the same in this renewal of hostilities. The Men begin.

They belong, as we have heard supra 380, to the dicastic class who smell out "Tyranny" and "Conspirators" in everything (ὡς ἅπανθ' ἡμῖν τυραννὶς ἐστὶ καὶ ξυνωμότης); and in accordance with this tradition they at once accuse their adversaries of conspiring to reintroduce the tyranny of Hippias, the last Tyrant of Athens. This as free-born men (ὅστις ἔστ' ἐλεύθερος) they will resist to the uttermost; they will wreath their swords in myrtle, and stand beside the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton "who slew the tyrant," Hipparchus, the brother of Hippias; and again, they will act like the Alcmaeonidae who rose up against the Tyrants and were finally instrumental in expelling them.

615. ἐπαποδύμεθ'] *let us strip to the task*, that is, devote all our energies to it; just as we English speak of "taking off our coats to the task." "Take off your coat to it, Philip," says one student in Clough's "Bothie" to another who was commencing a rather heated argument. But no doubt these four choral systems were accompanied by dancing; and the members of each Semichorus, in turn, throw off their upper mantles for the purpose of the dance; see infra 637, 662, and 686.

καὶ μάλιστα' ὁσφραίνομαι τῆς Ἰππίου τυραννίδος·

καὶ πάννυ δέδοικα μὴ

τῶν Λακῶνων τινὲς

620

δεῦρο συνελλυθότες

ἄνδρες ἐς Κλεισθένους

τὰς θεοῖς ἐχθρὰς γυναῖκας ἐξεπαίρῳσιν δόλῳ

καταλαβεῖν τὰ χρήμαθ' ἡμῶν

τόν τε μισθόν

625

ἔνθεν ἔξω ἐγώ.

δεινὰ γάρ τοι τάσδε γ' ἤδη τοὺς πολίτας νοουθετεῖν,

καὶ λαλεῖν γυναῖκας οὔσας ἀσπίδος χαλκῆς πέρι,

618. Ἰππίου] See the note four lines above. But in the words τῆς Ἰππίου τυραννίδος, as applied to the women, there is here, as in Wasps 502, where see the note, an allusion to the σχῆμα συνουσίας which was known as κέλης.

622. Κλεισθένους] Cleisthenes, the perpetual butt of the Comic Poets for his gross effeminacy, is selected as a fitting intermediary between the Athenian women and the Laconian men, as partaking of the nature of both. In Thesm. 576 he is described as the πρόξενος of the women.

624. τὰ χρήμαθ' τὰ ἐν ἀκροπόλει.—Scholiast. From the treasury in the Acropolis had come that flow of public money from which, amongst other things, the dicastic fee of three obols was paid. From that fee, now as at the date of the Wasps, the poorer classes got their living. But the women have seized the treasury and cut off the supply. Here again the connexion of the Chorus of Men with the dicasteries is assumed. See the note

on 614 supra.

628. πρὸς] *besides*. The word is here used adverbially, as *infra* 1238.

629. λύκῳ κεχρηότι] Both Greeks and Romans were accustomed to picture the wolf as ravening with open jaws; "inhiat quasi esuriens lupus," Plautus, Stichus iv. 2. 25. As to these idle imputations on the good faith of the Spartans see Ach. 308 and the note there.

630. ἐπὶ τυραννίδι] *with a view to a Tyranny*, Wasps 495, 498, Hdt. v. 71.

632. φορήσω τὸ ξίφος] They are quoting the very words of the great Harmodius-scolium or scolia, which will be found in full in the Commentary on Wasps 1225.

ἐν μύρτου κλαδί τὸ ξίφος φορήσω,
ὥσπερ Ἀρμόδιος κ' Ἀριστογείτων
ὅτε τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην
ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποίησάτην.

633. ἐξῆς Ἀριστογείτονι] *beside Aristogeiton*. The expression exactly corresponds to the παρ' Ἀρμόδιῳ, *beside Harmodius*, of Eccl. 682. For the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were not

καὶ διαλλάττειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνδράσιν Λακωνικοῖς,
οἷσι πιστὸν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ περ λύκῃ κεχηνότι.
ἀλλὰ ταῦθ' ὕφηναν ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι. 630
ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ μὲν οὐ τυραννεύουσ', ἐπεὶ φυλάξομαι,
καὶ φορήσω τὸ ξίφος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν μύρτου κλαδί,
ἀγοράσω τ' ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐξῆς Ἀριστογείτονι,
ὧδέ θ' ἐστήξω παρ' αὐτόν· αὐτόθεν μοι γίγνεται
τῆς θεοῖς ἐχθρᾶς πατάξαι τῆσδε γραῶς τὴν γνάθον. 635

ΧΟ. ΓΥ. οὐκ ἄρ' εἰσιόντα σ' οἴκαδ' ἡ τεκοῦσα γνώσεται. [ἀντ.
ἀλλὰ θώμεσθ', ὦ φίλοι γραῆς, ταδὶ πρῶτον χαμαί.
ἡμεῖς γὰρ, ὦ πάντες ἄστοι, λόγων κατάρχομεν

distinct and separate statues, but formed one group of statuary representing the two friends in the act of attacking the tyrant. See the note on the Ecclesiastus ubi supra. This group was erected at the head of the Agora, not far from the Propylaea; and may possibly have been represented in the scenery of the stage. See Wordsworth's Athens and Attica, chap. xiv.

634. ὧδέ θ' ἐστήξω] He is probably assuming the very attitude in which Aristogeiton was represented in the sculpture delivering the blow "which slew the tyrant"; and so getting himself into the fittest position for the blow which he himself in the following line will plant on the cheek of this tyrannical Woman. For now, he goes on to say, the time has arrived for him to emulate the achievements of the Tyrannicides, and strike one blow upon that old hag's face. I have substituted αὐτόθεν from this place or forthwith for the αὐτὸς γὰρ of the MSS. and early editions, which

satisfies neither the sense nor the metre; and for the αὐτὸ γὰρ of later editions which gives no satisfactory meaning. μοι γίγνεται it falls to my lot.

635. τῆσδε γραῶς τὴν γνάθον] He suits the action to the word, and slaps old Stratyllison the cheek. She immediately retaliates, and apparently with striking effect, as is evidenced by the commencement of her reply.

636. ἡ τεκοῦσα γνώσεται] This is a common figure of speech. For example, when Don Quixote thinks himself bound, by the laws of chivalry, to go mad for the love of his Dulcinea Del Toboso in the heart of the Sierra-Morena, we are told that if Sancho had not speedily returned, "the Knight of the Sorrowful Figure would have been so disfigured that the very mother who bore him would not have known him." And see Sir Walter Scott's description of the Palmer in Marmion i. 28.

637. ταδί] their upper garments. See the note on 615 supra.

τῇ πόλει χρησίμων·
 εἰκότως, ἐπεὶ χλιδῶσαν ἀγλαῶς ἔθρεψέ με.
 ἐπτα μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ'
 εὐθὺς ἡρρηφόρου·

640

641. ἐπτα μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ'] *When I was seven years old.* We have here an interesting enumeration of the distinctions which a young Athenian girl might hope to attain. First, she might be chosen between the ages of seven and eleven (Et. Magn.) to be one of the four ἡρρηφόροι selected for their noble birth (δὲ εὐγένεια Harpocration) to serve Athene for a year in the Erechtheium. They were clad in white, and at the festival of the ἡρρηφόρια carried in caskets (ἐν κίσταις, Scholiast, Suidas s.v. χαλκεία) certain mysterious objects connected with the worship of the Goddess. Hence they derived their name of ἡρρηφόροι (as if ἡρρητόφοροι) ἐπεὶ δὴ τὰ ἄρρητα ἐν κίσταις ἔφερον τῇ θεῇ αἱ παρθέναι, Scholiast. Pausanias (Attica xxvii. 4) tells a curious tale of their carrying away these mysterious objects by an underground passage, and receiving others in exchange. And two of them assisted the priestesses in preparing the Peplus for the Panathenaic festival, Harpocration, Et. Magn., Suidas s.v. χαλκεία. And see Leake's Athens i. 156 note.

643. ἀλετρίδες] These ἀλετρίδες were young maidens of good birth and good repute, selected to grind on the holy mills, ἱεροὶ μύλωνες, the grain required for the sacrificial πόπανα. The Scholiast says γίνονται τινες τῶν εὖ γεγονυῶν ἀλετρίδες τῇ θεῇ παρθέναι, αἵτινες τὰ εἰς τὴν

θυσίαν πόπανα ἀλοῦσι· καὶ ἔστιν ἔντιμον τοῦτο. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἱεροὶ μύλωνες. Eustathius (on Odyssey xx. 105) quotes from ancient writers various accounts of these Mill-maidens, but they do not carry us beyond the Scholiast's statements. The Mystery-maidens as we have seen were little girls between seven and eleven. The Mill-maidens are rather older; damsels ten years old and upwards. For we may assume that when the speaker says that at ten years of age she became a Mill-maiden she means that she attained that distinction at the earliest possible age. But whom are we to understand by the words ἀρχηγέτι? The Scholiast, after explaining that the words are equivalent to τῇ δεσποίνῃ the *Sovereign Lady*, refers them to either Artemis or Demeter; while Tyrwhitt calls attention to the statement in Plutarch's Alcibiades, chap. 2, ἡμῶν δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς οἱ πατέρες λέγουσιν, ἀρχηγέτις Ἀθηνᾶ ἐστίν. Elmsley, in his note on Tyrwhitt, thinks that Athene is certainly meant; and this seems most probable.

645. ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους] After being a Mystery-maiden and a Mill-maiden, *I was a Bear-maiden in the festival of Brauronian Artemis.* Brauron, a town on the sea-coast of Attica, midway between Marathon and Sunium, claimed to be the possessor of the statue of

εἶτ' ἀλετρὶς ἦ, δεκέτις
 οὔσα, τάρχηγέτι·
 καὶ τ' ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίοις·
 κάκανηφόρου ποτ' οὔσα

645

Artemis which fell down from heaven into the Tauric Temple where, afterwards, Iphigeneia was priestess, and whence she brought it on her return to Hellas. She continued, it was believed, to be its custodian at Brauron to the end of her life; and the bear was so intimately, and so mysteriously, connected with the worship of the Brauronian Artemis that some supposed Brauron, and not Aulis, to have been the scene of the attempted sacrifice of Iphigeneia, and the victim substituted in her stead by Artemis to have been not a deer, but a bear. A tame bear belonging to the sanctuary was killed by some Athenian lads, and the wrath of Artemis at the sacrilegious act could be appeased only by a regulation that every Athenian maiden should before her marriage be required "to play the bear" (*ἀρκεύειν*), that is, to dress up as a bear, and in that guise take part in the Temple service. She wore on that occasion a yellow robe (*τὸν κροκωτὸν*) assimilated to the colour of a bearskin. But this, though doubtless a proud day for the bear-maiden, was a universal custom and not a distinctive honour; nor does it seem to have been connected with the quinquennial festival of the Brauronia of which the poet is here speaking; and if the somewhat questionable statement of a Scholiast here, whom Suidas copies,

be correct, and the maidens who took part in the ceremony were not older than ten, nor younger than five, this cannot be the bear-maidenship to which the speaker is referring. For at ten years of age she became the Mill-maiden, and it was not until later (*καὶ τ' ἔχουσα* κ.τ.λ.) that she became the Bear-maiden. Probably in the great quinquennial festival, some maiden of fifteen or thereabouts was selected as a special distinction to walk in the procession in yellow robes as one of the sacred bears. See as to this festival the authorities cited in the Commentary on Peace 874. The worship of the Brauronian Artemis was not confined to the little town of Brauron. There was a Temple in her honour in Athens itself not far from the Propylaea; and near its site a little stone bear has recently been found. See Percy Gardner's "New Chapters in Greek History," chap. 8.

646. *κάκανηφόρου*] She has been, in turn, a Mystery-maiden, a Mill-maiden, and a Bear-maiden; and she winds up with the *κνηφορία*, the crown of a Maiden's life; a distinction, the details of which have been sufficiently described in the Commentary on Ach. 242, Birds 1551, and Eccl. 730. The "wreath of figs" is not, I believe, elsewhere mentioned. The Scholiast says that besides bearing baskets of solid gold *ἐπόμπευον*

παῖς καλὴ 'χουσ'
 ἰσχάδων ὀρμαθόν.

ἄρα προὔφειλω τι χρηστὸν τῇ πόλει παραινέσαι ;
 εἰ δ' ἐγὼ γυνὴ πέφυκα, τοῦτο μὴ φθονεῖτέ μοι,
 ἣν ἀμείνω γ' εἰσενέγκω τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων. 650
 τοῦράνου γάρ μοι μέτεστι· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρας εἰσφέρω.
 τοῖς δὲ δυστήνοισι γέρουσιν οὐ μέτεσθ' ὑμῖν, ἐπεὶ
 τὸν ἔρανον τὸν λεγόμενον παππῶν ἐκ τῶν Μηδικῶν
 εἴτ' ἀναλώσαντες οὐκ ἀντεισφέρετε τὰς εἰσφορὰς,

καὶ ὀρμαθοὺς ἔχουσαι τῶν ἰσχάδων. This was doubtless the fact, but possibly his only authority for the statement is the present passage.

650. ἣν ἀμείνω κ.τ.λ.] *If I contribute better things than our present troubles, which, she means, are your contribution.* What those "better things" are she explains in the following line καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρας εἰσφέρω, I contribute MEN to the service of the State. εἰσφέρειν is the technical word for contributions made by citizens to the State. See the Commentary on Knights 924. And as to the ἔρανος, the family contributions for their poor and destitute relatives, see on Ach. 615.

653. παππῶν ἐκ τῶν Μηδικῶν] *The contribution assessed by our grandsires as a consequence of the Persian wars.* She means, as the Scholiast observes, the amount assessed by Aristides, as the contribution to be paid by the Allies to the treasury at Delos for continuing the maritime War against the Persian king. The transfer of the treasury from Delos to

Athens was one of the most striking symbols of the change from an Alliance to an Empire. Thenceforward it became a part, and indeed the larger part, of the ordinary revenue of Athens. But since the Sicilian catastrophe, such of the Allies as thought that they could safely do so were falling away and discontinuing their contributions, whilst the Athenians themselves were becoming unwilling, if not unable, to contribute their proper εἰσφορὰς to the State.

656. γρυκτόν] *Have ye a mind to grumble at my words?* "Numquid ergo mussitatis? Si molestus sis mihi | Hoc tuas duro cothurno verberaverim genas."—Florent Chretien.

657. ἀψήκτω] *unsmoothed*, and therefore hard and rough. The Scholiast explains it by σκληρῶ and ἀμαλάκτω, and as to the effect τοῦ μαλάττειν in making leather soft and supple see Knights 269, 389, and the notes there. And now, just as at the conclusion of the Men's speech the Coryphaeus dealt a blow with his hand upon the cheek

ἀλλ' ὕφ' ὑμῶν διαλυθῆναι προσέτι κινδυνεύομεν. 655
 ἄρα γρυκτόν ἐστιν ὑμῖν; εἰ δὲ λυπήσεις τί με,
 τῷδ' ἐγὼ ἀψήκτω πατάξω τῷ κοθόρνῳ τὴν γνάθον.

ΧΟ. ΓΕ. ταῦτ' οὖν οὐχ ὕβρις τὰ πράγματ' [στρ.
 ἐστὶ πολλή; κάπιδώσειν
 μοι δοκεῖ τὸ χροῖμα μάλλον. 660
 ἀλλ' ἀμυντέον τὸ πρᾶγμ' ὅστις γ' ἐνόρχης ἔστ' ἀνὴρ.
 ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξωμίδ' ἐκδυνάμεθ', ὥς τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖ
 ἀνδρὸς ὄζειν εὐθὺς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐντεθριῶσθαι πρέπει.

of Stratyllis, so here Stratyllis deals a blow with her hard rough slipper upon the cheek of the Coryphaeus. I say the "Coryphaeus" because the leader of the Men's Semichorus seems to be the Coryphaeus of the united Chorus.

658. ταῦτ' οὐχ ὕβρις κ.τ.λ.] The Men now have their second innings, full of resentment at the audacious language and action of Stratyllis. The insolence of these women, they say, does not diminish: it seems rather to augment; ἐπιδώσειν προσθήκην σχήσειν.—Scholiast. Therefore we must again strip to our task. See on 615 supra. The ἐξωμῖς, a garment which passed *under*, instead of *over*, the right shoulder, and so left the right arm and shoulder uncovered (whence indeed it derived its name), was most commonly worn by slaves and labourers, who were naturally able to perform their tasks more easily when their right arms were free. The old men of the Semichorus, though free-born Athenians, are wearing it here, to enable them to handle more effectively the

great fire-logs they were carrying on their entrance. It took the place of both ἱμάτιον and χιτῶν. ἐξωμῖς γάρ, says Eustathius on Iliad xviii. 595, χιτῶν ἅμα καὶ ἱμάτιον τὸ αὐτό. And so Hesychius s.v. ἐξωμῖς· χιτῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἱμάτιον . . . παρ' ὃ καὶ οἱ κωμικοὶ, ὅτε μὲν "Ἐνδυθι" (infra 1021) ὅτε δὲ "Περιβαλοῦ." This does not mean, as it is commonly taken to mean, that the ἐξωμῖς could be worn either as an ἱμάτιον or as a χιτῶν; it means that it did duty for *both*. The Men had already thrown it off at the commencement of the first system (supra 615) and had resumed it at its close; *now* they lay it aside again, and apparently do not resume it till the Women (infra 1020) tell them how absurd they look with the upper part of their bodies uncovered, and help them to put it on again.

663. ἐντεθριῶσθαι] *to be swaddled up in*. ἐνθριοῦν literally means "to wrap up in a fig-leaf," θρίον, as dainties were commonly served up. See Ach. 1101, Frogs 134, and the Commentary on both places.

ἀλλ' ἄγετε, λευκόποδες,
 οἵπερ ἐπὶ Λειψύδριον 665
 ἤλθομεν, ὅτ' ἤμεν ἔτι,
 νῦν δεῖ,
 νῦν ἀνηβῆσαι πάλιν, κάν-
 απτερωῶσαι
 πᾶν τὸ σῶμα κάποσείσας 670
 θαι τὸ γῆρας τοδί.

664. λευκόποδες] We must suppose that the old men are wearing λευκὰς ἐμβάδας. That these were commonly worn by courtesans (Pollux vii. 92) is no argument against their use by old men in a Comedy; and the contention of Bothe and others that λευκόποδες here means "barefoot" seems quite inadmissible. The veterans had thrown off their ἐξωμίδες, but not their shoes; and in truth "with bare white feet" would be an epithet suitable to young girls rather than to these old soldiers who would pride themselves on being μελάμποδες: compare infra 800-4. But whatever the exact signification of λευκόποδες, the word is here intended to be a play upon λυκόποδες, an epithet applied to the Alcmaeonidae and other exiles, in the days when they were rising against the "tyrant" house of the Peisistratidae. For the veterans are still thinking of the attempt of the women to impose upon them the "tyranny of Hippas" (supra 618), and of their own determination to resist that attempt to the uttermost. Why the insurgent Alcmaeonidae were called λυκόποδες is uncertain. The Scholiast thinks it was either because their feet were clad in wolfskin, or be-

cause they bore on their shields the figure of a wolf; but it seems more probable that it was a name given them by their enemies because, like wolves, they were always prowling about the frontier, seeking an opportunity to attack. But "the exiles of whom the Alcmaeonidae were the leaders," says Aristotle, Polity of Athens, chap. 19, "were unable by their own unassisted efforts to effectuate their own restoration, and invariably met with disaster. And amongst other failures was their fortification of Leipsydrium which is above Mount Parnes, where they were successfully besieged by the tyrants; whence came the Scolium:

Alas! Alas! Leipsydrium, comrade-betraying! what men valiant in fight, and noble of birth didst thou destroy! men who showed by their valour from what sires they sprang."

And he goes on to show how they ultimately called in the Lacedaemonians under Cleomenes, and so the Peisistratidae were expelled. See supra 273, infra 1151. The story is told by Hdt. v. 62-5, and the Scolium is found in many ancient authors. Possibly in the Scolium itself the words Λειψύδριον

εἰ γὰρ ἐνδώσει τις ἡμῶν ταῖσδε κὰν σμικρὰν λαβὴν,
οὐδὲν ἑλλείψουσιν αὐταὶ λιπαροῦς χειρουργίας.
ἀλλὰ καὶ ναῦς τεκτανοῦνται, κάπιχειρήσουσ' ἔτι
ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πλεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ Ἀρτεμισία· 675
ἦν δ' ἐφ' ἱππικὴν τράπωνται, διαγράφω τοὺς ἱππέας.
ἱππικώτατον γάρ ἐστι χρῆμα κάποχον γυνή,
κοῦκ ἂν ἀπολίσθοι τρέχοντος· τὰς δ' Ἀμαζόνας σκόπει,

προδωσέταιρον were intended to suggest the idea of neat wine, unmingled with water, which would treacherously overthrow the comrades who partook of it. See Mure's Greek Literature iii. 2. 13.

666. ὅτ' ἦμεν ἔτι] *when we still were Men*. For now, like the veterans in the Acharnians, they account themselves as οὐδὲν ὄντας, Ach. 681. The affair at Leipsydrium occurred about a century before the date of the Lysistrata. The grandfathers of the speakers may have taken part in it.

672. ἐνδώσει . . . λαβὴν] The same expression occurs in Knights 847. ἐνδιδόναι λαβὴν is to *lend a hold*, not without an idea of *giving way* on the part of him who lends it.

673. λιπαροῦς χειρουργίας] *of strenuous craftsmanship*. They will be behindhand, he means, in no handicraft, however difficult and laborious.

675. ὥσπερ Ἀρτεμισία] *as Artemisia did*. He means "the Carian Artemisia strong in war" who built her ships and led them across the Aegaean to fight on the side of the Persian invaders against the Hellenic fleet at Salamis. In the general rout of the Persians her trireme was vigorously, but unsuccessfully, pursued by Ameinias

the brother of Aeschylus, δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῦντο, γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι, Hdt. viii. 93. And that, says the speaker here, is exactly what these wretched women will do, if we only give them the chance.

676. διαγράφω] *I run my pen through; I strike them out*, as non-existent. So utterly, if the women attack them, will they be annihilated. The Scholiast fancies that there is some reference to the cancellation of an action at law (Clouds 774), but this does not seem very probable.

677. ἱππικώτατον] *excellent in horse-back exercise and keeps her seat well*. But in ἱππικώτατον there is the same allusion intended as in Ἰππίου supra 618.

678. Ἀμαζόνας] The great legendary invasion of Attica by the Amazons, their victorious progress, and their final defeat by Theseus under the very walls of the Acropolis became a familiar theme for Athenian artists, as well as for Athenian writers. Two large frescoes, one in the Poecile (Pausanias i. 15) and the other on the walls of the Temple of Theseus (Id. i. 17), represented the great battle to later generations; and with both these paintings Micon seems to have

ὡς Μίκων ἔγραψ' ἐφ' ἵππων μαχομένας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.
 ἀλλὰ τούτων χρῆν ἀπασῶν ἐς τετρημένον ξύλον 680
 ἐγκαθαρμόσαι λαβόντας τουτονὶ τὸν αὐχένα.

ΧΟ. ΓΥ. εἰ νῆ τῷ θεῷ με ζῶπυ- [ἀντ.
 ρήσεις, λύσω τὴν ἐμαντῆς
 ὅν ἐγὼ δὴ, καὶ ποιήσω
 τήμερον τοὺς δημότας βωστρεῖν σ' ἐγὼ πεκτούμενον. 685
 ἀλλὰ χῆμεις, ὦ γυναῖκες, θάπτον ἐκδυόμεθα,
 ὥς ἂν ὄζωμεν γυναικῶν αὐτοδᾶξ ὀργισμένων.
 νῦν πρὸς ἔμ' ἵτω τις, ἵνα

been concerned. The Scholiast here attributes to his brush the fresco in the Poecile; and see Pliny xxxv. 35; whilst Pausanias (i. 17) notices his connexion with the paintings in the Theseium. Micon was an Athenian painter of great distinction, and some of the finest paintings in Athens were the joint productions of himself and Polygnotus. There were other representations in Athens of the Amazons; but these were apparently the work of other artists.

680. ἐς τετρημένον ξύλον] Literally, *the perforated wood*, meaning either *the stocks* or *the pillory* or a combination of both. The Scholiast says τὸν κύφωνα λέγει. See the Commentary on Knights 367 and 1049. Down to the word λαβόντας we have merely a threat, which should have been completed by the words τοὺς αὐχένας, but the Coryphaeus, seeing Stratyllis handy to his grasp, says τουτονὶ τὸν αὐχένα, at the same time seizing her round the neck, and getting her for a moment (in wrestling phrase) “into

Chancery.” Her indignation at this outrage is shown by the very first words of her retort.

682. ζῶπυρήσεις] *kindle into flame*, and so *arouse, excite*. Cf. Peace 310.

683. τὴν ἐμαντῆς ὅν] τὴν φύσιν (that is, *my natural unrestrained wrath*) λέγει, τὴν ὀργήν.—Scholiast. She means (to quote from Tennyson’s *Princess*) that “wildbeast of force, Whose home is in the sinews of a man” or woman. No wild beast was more formidable to the Greeks than the wild boar; as witness the Erymanthian boar, and the boar of Calydon; the boar which slew Adonis, and that other boar “with bristling hair and eyes of flame” which inflicted the memorable scar upon the thigh of Odysseus. ὄζις is, of course, both masculine and feminine; it is used in the feminine here, because it represents, on a woman’s lips, a woman’s wrath.

685. τοὺς δημότας βωστρεῖν] *To shout to your fellow burghers*; to call them to your assistance. So Peace 1146 τὸν τε

μή ποτε φάγη σκόροδα
μηδὲ κυάμους μέλανας,

690

ὥς εἰ

καὶ μόνον κακῶς μ' ἐρεῖς, ὅ-
περχολῶ γὰρ,
αἰετὸν τίκτοντα κάνθα-

ρός σε μαιεύσομαι.

695

οὐ γὰρ ὑμῶν φροντίσαιμ' ἂν, ἣν ἐμοὶ ζῆ Λαμπιτῶ
ἦ τε Θηβαία φίλη παῖς εὐγενὴς Ἴσμηνία.
οὐ γὰρ ἔσται δύναμις, οὐδ' ἣν ἐπτάκις σὺ ψηφίσῃ,

Μανῆν ἢ Σύρα βωστηρσάτω, *Let Syra shout to Manes to call him in.* πεκτούμενον, *currycombed*, that is soundly beaten. It exactly answers to the "depexum" of Terence, *Heautontimorumenos* v. 1. 78, where Chremes says of his slave "Si vivo, adeo depexum dabo ut, dum vivat, meminert semper mei." *I will give him such a trimming that he shall remember me to the last day of his life.* πεκτεῖν is merely another form of πέκειν, and means either to *shear* or to *comb*.

687. αἰτοδᾶς ὀργισμένων] *angered even to biting point.* See Peace 607.

689. σκόροδα μηδὲ κυάμους] This may merely mean that he shall never eat anything again. The Scholiast, however, says ἵνα μὴ δικάσῃ μηδὲ πολεμήσῃ, εἰς γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον φέρουσι σκόροδα, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ τρώγουσι κυάμους. See supra 537 and the note there.

695. κάνθαρος] She is referring to Aesop's well-known fable (No. 223 in De Furia's edition, but perhaps more correctly given by the Scholiast on the

Peace) about the Eagle and the Beetle, to which allusion has already been made in Wasps 1448 and Peace 129, where see the notes. The fable told how the insignificant beetle, when injured by the mighty Eagle, contrived to break its adversary's eggs no matter where they were laid, even when they were laid in the bosom of Zeus. And as the beetle acted, so Stratyllis will act. However weak the women may appear, and however strong the men, she will find a way to repay them for all their wrongdoing and insolence. The term μαιεύσομαι is employed because it was always just as the Eagle had laid her eggs that the beetle, like a *μαῖα*, would make its appearance.

697. Ἴσμηνία] Here we find the name of the Boeotian delegate who accompanied Lampito, supra 86.

698. οὐ γὰρ ἔσται δύναμις] *Ye will not have power to carry out your threats, or to do as you propose, or to subdue us women.*

ὅστις, ὦ δύστην', ἀπήχθου πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν.
 ὥστε κάχθες θήκᾳ ποιούσα παιγνίαν ἐγὼ 700
 τοῖσι παισὶ τὴν ἐταίραν ἐκάλεσ' ἐκ τῶν γειτόνων,
 παῖδα χρηστὴν κἀγαπητὴν ἐκ Βοιωτῶν ἔγχελυν·
 οἱ δὲ πέμψειν οὐκ ἔφασκον διὰ τὰ σὰ ψηφίσματα.
 κούχῃ μὴ παύσῃσθε τῶν ψηφισμάτων τούτων, πρὶν ἂν
 τοῦ σκέλους λαβῶν τις ὑμᾶς ἐκτραχηλίσῃ φέρων. 705

ΧΟ. ΓΥ. ἀνασσα πράγους τοῦδε καὶ βουλευματος,

τί μοι σκυθρωπὸς ἐξελήλυθας δόμων ;

ΛΤ. κακῶν γυναικῶν ἔργα καὶ θήλεια φρὴν

699. τοῖς γείτοσιν] These words are not, I think, intended to describe a class already comprised in the more general πᾶσι, by a joke similar to those in Ach. 533 μήτε γῇ μήτ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ μήτ' ἐν ἡπείρῳ, and Thesm. 683 γυναιξὶ καὶ βροτοῖσιν. In my opinion πᾶσι means *all our people*, that is, all the Athenians: just as in 579 supra *ἅπαντας* means not "all men" but "all Athenian citizens." The γείτονες, on the other hand, are "our neighbours over the border," such as those mentioned in the following lines.

700. θήκᾳ ποιούσα παιγνίαν] *keeping a festal holiday in honour of Hecate*. For this festival she wants that prime delicacy, a Copaic eel, just as in Ach. 962 Lamachus wanted one for the Dionysian festival. As to the Copaic eel see the Commentary on 36 supra. It is here described as if it were a virtuous and well-loved maiden, a worthy companion of "the boys." The Scholiast says τὸ χ ὅτι τὴν γυναῖκα ἐταίραν εἶπεν ὡς ἐταῖρον τὸν συνήθη καὶ φίλον. The ex-

pression τὸ χ seems to have puzzled the editors of the scholia, but it stands for "the epithet χρηστὴν." And the Scholiast means that the epithet is employed for the purpose of showing that ἐταίραν is to be taken in a good, and not in a bad, sense.

703. τὰ σὰ ψηφίσματα] For Athens, under the influence of her demagogues, was gradually becoming a democracy of that unhappy type, in which the actions of the State are directed not by settled law, but by the ill-considered and offhand "resolutions" of the popular Assembly. "Ἐτερον εἶδος δημοκρατίας, says Aristotle, τᾶλλα μὲν εἶναι ταῦτα (as in a well-governed state), κύριον δ' εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μὴ τὸν νόμον. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται, ὅταν τὰ ψηφίσματα κύρια ᾖ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὁ νόμος. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τοὺς δημαγωγούς.—Politics iv. 4, §§ 3, 4. Some instances of these hasty resolutions are given in Eccl. 813. But a more deplorable instance is that of the trial of the victorious generals after the battle

- ποιεῖ μ' ἄθυμον περιπατεῖν ἄνω κάτω.
 ΧΟ. ΓΥ. τί φῆς; τί φῆς; 710
 ΛΥ. ἀληθῆ, ἀληθῆ.
 ΧΟ. ΓΥ. τί δ' ἐστὶ δεινόν; φράξε ταῖς σαυτῆς φίλαις.
 ΛΥ. ἀλλ' αἰσχρὸν εἰπεῖν καὶ σιωπῆσαι βαρύν.
 ΧΟ. ΓΥ. μή νύν με κρύψῃς ὃ τι πεπόνθαμεν κακόν.
 ΛΥ. βινητιῶμεν, ἦ βράχιστον τοῦ λόγου. 715
 ΧΟ. ΓΥ. ἰὼ Ζεῦ.
 ΛΥ. τί Ζῆν' ἀντεῖς; ταῦτα δ' οὖν οὕτως ἔχει.
 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτὰς ἀποσχεῖν οὐκέτι
 οἷα τ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποδιδράσκουσι γάρ.
 τὴν μὲν γε πρώτῃν διαλέγουσαν τὴν ὀπῆν 720

of Arginusae; when those who wished them to be tried according to law were shouted down, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐβόα, δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ μή τις ἑάσει τὸν δῆμον πράττειν ὃ ἂν βούληται (Xen. Hell. i. 7. 12), the familiar language of demagogues in every age. In the present case we do not know the nature of the ψηφίσματα which had roused the hostility of the Boeotians, but no doubt they were consequent on the renewal of the War.

705. τοῦ σκέλους λαβών] As she says this, Stratyllis catches the Coryphaeus by the leg and topples him over. After these four little skirmishes there is a pause in the action of the Play, and an interval of five clear days (infra 881) is supposed to have elapsed between this line and the next. Had there been a Parabasis, this would have been the place for it. For this is the turning-point of the drama. Hitherto the women have been revolting, and establishing themselves in the Acropolis; but now the spell is beginning

to work; the separation of the sexes has become intolerable to both; the men are ready to yield, and to make peace with Sparta on any terms; and the only danger is that the women may anticipate them in yielding. It is this danger which brings Lysistrata out upon the stage, with evident signs of perturbation and anxiety.

706. ἄνασσα πράγους κ.τ.λ.] The Scholiast says ἐκ Τηλέφου Εὐριπίδου, but it does not appear whether this statement is confined to the first two lines or should be extended to what follows. Again on 713 he says ἐξ Εὐριπίδου. Anyhow it is plain that the first twelve lines of this dialogue are either borrowed or parodied from Euripides, or are a happy imitation of his style.

720. διαλέγουσαν] διορύττουσαν.—Scholiast. It means *picking out* or *clearing out* τὴν ὀπῆν which had been partially filled up. In the Classical Review xi. 415, Mr. G. F. Hill, after stating that Pan's grotto, mentioned in the

κατέλαβον ἢ τοῦ Πανός ἐστι ταῦλινον,
 τὴν δ' ἐκ τροχιλίας αὖ κατειλυσπωμένην,
 τὴν δ' αὐτομολοῦσαν, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ στρουθοῦ μίαν
 ἤδη πέτεσθαι διανοομένην κάτω
 εἰς Ὀρσιλόχου χθὲς τῶν τριχῶν κατέσπασα.
 πάσας τε προφάσεις ὥστ' ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε
 ἔλκουσιν. ἡδὲ γοῦν τις αὐτῶν ἔρχεται.
 αὕτη σὺ ποῖ θεῖς ;

725

next line and infra 911, had been identified with "a group of passages in the rock on the north-west face of the Acropolis, to which two openings admit," goes on to say, "In front of one of the two openings into Pan's grotto begins a steep path leading up the face of the rock to a doorway (now built up) through the Acropolis wall. This is the *ὀπή* through which one of Lysistrata's women passed, Aristoph. Lys. 720." For "passed" Mr. Hill should have written "was trying to pass"; but I assume that the identification is correct. Only I imagine that there could have been no actual "doorway" in Lysistrata's time. The expression *διαλέγουσα τὴν ὀπὴν* seems to imply the clearing out of some irregular or overgrown aperture; and the term *ὀπή* itself would naturally here, as in *Wasps* 350, 352, point to a diminutive hole, through which the woman would find it difficult to creep.

722. ἐκ τροχιλίας κατειλυσπωμένην] *wriggling down* [the rope] *from the pulley*. *τροχιλία* (said to be derived from *τροχός* and *ἔλω*) is the roller or pulley round which the rope is wound whereby buckets are lowered into, or raised from,

the well: *ὁ τροχὸς τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ φρέατος, δι' οὗ ἰμῶσι*.—Scholiast. *εἰλυσπᾶσθαι* is *to wriggle* or *crawl* like a worm or a snake; *κυρίως τὸ ἐπὶ γῆς ἔρπειν, ὥσπερ οἱ ὄφεις καὶ οἱ σκώληκες*.—Scholiast. The woman is letting herself down from the top of the Acropolis by means of a well-rope.

723. αὐτομολοῦσαν] In a sense they are all deserting. The special application of the term to this third woman seems to imply that she was on active service, a scout perhaps, or a sentry on outpost duty, who was deserting to the enemy. The fourth woman is attempting to fly over the wall ἐπὶ στρουθοῦ *on sparrow back*, *παρ' ὅσον*, says the Scholiast, *τὸ ὄρνειον θερμὸν εἰς συνουσίαν*. The *στρουθός* here is not the ostrich, as Florent Chretien supposes, but the pert and forward little sparrow which was accounted the most amorous of birds. *οἱ στρουθοὶ ὀχευτικοὶ εἰσιν*, observes Athenaeus (ix. 46); and he adds that Aphrodite herself is said by Sappho ἐπὶ στρουθῶν ὀχεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ὀχευτικὸν τὸ ζῶον, καὶ πολύγονον. The passage of Sappho to which he refers is from her well-known hymn to Aphrodite composed in the metre to which she gives her name;

ΓΤ. Α. οἴκαδ' ἐλθεῖν βούλομαι.

οἴκοι γάρ ἐστιν ἑριά μοι Μιλήσια

ὑπὸ τῶν σέων κατακοπτόμενα.

730

ΛΥ. ποίων σέων ;

οὐκ εἶ πάλιν ;

ΓΤ. Α. ἀλλ' ἤξω ταχέως νῆ τῷ θεῷ,

ὅσον διαπετάσας' ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης μόνον.

ΛΥ. μὴ διαπετάννυ, μὴδ' ἀπέλθης μὴδαμῇ.

χρύσειον ἦλθες
ἀρμ' ὑποξέυσασα· κάλοι δέ σ' ἄγον
ώκειες στρουθοί.

the stage, coming out of the Acropolis.
Lysistrata stops, and interrogates, them
all.

Cf. Cicero, de Finibus ii. 23; Pliny x. 52; Beaumont and Fletcher's Philaster iii. 1, &c. A bird which was harnessed to Aphrodite's car might well serve as a steed for a lovesick woman; and if Trygaeus could fly to heaven on a beetle, she might well hope to fly over the Acropolis wall on a sparrow. But, as they are rising for the flight, Lysistrata pulls her down (*κατέσπασα*) by her hair. The word *μῖαν* at the end of the line is peculiar, but it seems used in much the same way as *εἷς* in Birds 1292.

725. *χθές*] They had held out heroically for four days, see the Commentary on 705 *supra*; but then the limits of their endurance had been reached, and they must, by hook or by crook, escape from an insupportable position. Orsiloehus, the Scholiast tells us, was a *πορνοβοσκός*.

726. *προφάσεις ἔλκουσιν*] This was the regular phrase. *οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι προφάσις ἐλκον*.—Hdt. vi. 86. *προφάσεις πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἔλκεις*.—Herondas v. 5. During the ensuing scene women keep crossing

729. *οἴκοι . . . Μιλήσια*] The "*Milesia vellera*" were highly esteemed in the ancient world, Frogs 542; Cicero in Verrem, Orat. vi. 34; Virgil's Georgics iii. 306, iv. 334; Pliny viii. 73; Martial viii. 28. 10. I suspect that the proverb *οἴκοι τὰ Μιλήσια* was derived from this line, though the proverb collectors—Bodleian 726, Zenobius v. 57 (Gaisford, pp. 88, 362), Alexandrine 1, and so Suidas s. v. *οἴκοι*—give it an entirely different origin. It was used, they say, of persons who make a display of luxury out of place. And they explain it by alleging that when Aristagoras came to Sparta, seeking aid against the Persians (Hdt. v. 49–51), he was clothed in sumptuous Milesian raiment, whereupon an Ephor called out *οἴκοι τὰ Μιλήσια, keep your Milesian luxury for home*. But many of the proverbs are really witticisms of Aristophanes, with whom the collectors do not seem to have been well acquainted.

732. *ὅσον διαπετάσας'*] *having only just spread the wools out over the couch; to get rid of the moths, τῶν σέων*.

ΓΥ. Α. ἀλλ' ἐὼ πολέσθαι τᾶρι; ΛΥ. ἣν τούτου δέη.

ΓΥ. Β. τάλαιν' ἐγὼ, τάλαινα τῆς ἀμοργίδος, 735
ἣν ἄλοπον οἴκοι καταλέλοιφ'.

ΛΥ. αὐτῇ 'τέρα
ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμοργιν τὴν ἄλοπον ἐξέρχεται.
χώρει πάλιν δεῦρ'.

ΓΥ. Β. ἀλλὰ νῆ τὴν Φωσφόρον
ἔγωγ' ἀποδείρασ' αὐτίκα μάλ' ἀπέρχομαι.

ΛΥ. μὴ μάποδείρης. ἣν γὰρ ἄρξῃ τοῦτο σὺ, 740
ἐτέρα γυνὴ ταῦτὸν ποιεῖν βουλήσεται.

ΓΥ. Γ. ὦ πότνι' Εἰλείθυι, ἐπίσχος τοῦ τόκου,
ἔως ἂν εἰς ὄσιον μόλω 'γὼ χωρίον.

ΛΥ. τί ταῦτα ληρεῖς; ΓΥ. Γ. αὐτίκα μάλα τέξομαι.

ΛΥ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκύεις σὺ γ' ἐχθές. 745

ΓΥ. Γ. ἀλλὰ τήμερον.

736. ἄλοπον] *unpeeled*, with the bark still on; from *λεπῶ*, to *peel*. The flax filaments are covered with a thin bark, which is removed by steeping and bruising the plant, and then drawing it through a machine armed with steel teeth like a comb. This latter process, which is called *hackling* or *heckling*, removes the rotted fragments of the bark and separates the fibres into distinct threads for spinning. As to ἀμοργίς, the fine flax brought from the island of Amorgos (near Naxos), see *supra* 150.

739. ἀποδείρασ'] *having removed the bark*, that is, having heckled the flax. δηλοῖ δὲ, as the Scholiast observes, καὶ τὸ κακέμφατον as *infra* 953.

742. ὦ πότνι' Εἰλείθυια] The same invocation occurs in Eccl. 369. ἐπίσχος τοῦ τόκου, *stay my travail*. So Birds 1200 ἐπίσχος τοῦ δρόμου, *stay your course*.

743. ὄσιον] a place where I may lawfully give birth to a child, ὄσιον εἰς τοκετὸν, Scholiast. ὄσιον is the opposite to ἱερὸν, being applied to a place or thing which may be used without profanation for the ordinary purposes of life. In Scotland it is, or recently was, common to see advertisements that a coach will run, or an exhibition be open, "on every *lawful* day," meaning every day not kept sacred to divine uses. The Acropolis was not ὄσιον εἰς τοκετὸν, not merely because, as the Scholiast observes, παρθένος ἡ θεὸς, but because it was all holy ground (see on 345 *supra*), one sacred temple, and, as Bergler says, "in nullo templo fas erat parere; unde Euripides reprehenditur in Ran. 1080 quod tragoediis suis fecisset τικτούσας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς."

751. τὴν ἱερὰν κυνῆν] By the sacred

ἀλλ' οἴκαδέ μ' ὥς τὴν μαῖαν, ὧ Λυσιστράτη,
ἀπόπεμψον ὥς τάχιστα.

ΛΥ. τίνα λόγον λέγεις;
τί τοῦτ' ἔχεις τὸ σκληρόν; ΓΥ. Γ. ἄρρεν παιδίον.

ΛΥ. μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐ σύ γ', ἀλλ' ἡ χαλκίον
ἔχειν τι φαίνει κοῖλον· εἴσομαι δ' ἐγώ. 750
ὧ καταγέλαστ', ἔχουσα τὴν ἱερὰν κυνὴν
κυνεῖν ἔφασκες; ΓΥ. Γ. καὶ κυῶ γε νῆ Δία.

ΛΥ. τί δῆτα ταύτην εἶχες;

ΓΥ. Γ. ἵνα μ' εἰ καταλάβοι
ὁ τόκος ἔτ' ἐν πόλει, τέκοιμ ἐς τὴν κυνὴν
ἐσβᾶσα ταύτην, ὥσπερ αἱ περιστεραί. 755

ΛΥ. τί λέγεις; προφασίζει· περιφανῇ τὰ πράγματα.
οὐ τὰμφιδρόμια τῆς κυνῆς αὐτοῦ μενεῖς;

helmet, Lysistrata means, in my judgement, the great bronze helmet of Athene *Πρόμαχος*. The article shows that this is *the* helmet of Athene, and not some offering taken from her treasury, as Paulmier and Enger suppose. And although, apparently, Lysistrata had not actually seen the helmet when she pronounced it to be *χαλκίον τι*, yet we must, I think, understand that her surmise was correct, and therefore that it was not, when exposed to view, discovered to be the *golden* helmet of the *Παρθένος*. The circumstance that the bronze helmet was irremovable would not affect its removability in a Comic Play. And Paulmier's objection that the bronze statue was of colossal size is sufficiently answered by Bothe, who refers to 755 as showing that such must also have been the case with the helmet in question.

755. ὥσπερ αἱ περιστεραί] *ὅτι ἐν κοιλώμασι τίκτουσιν*.—Scholiast. She means that she will nest in the helmet like a pigeon; not that pigeons really nested in the helmet of the *Πρόμαχος*. The words *ἔτ' ἐν πόλει* in the preceding line mean *while I am still in the Acropolis*.

757. τὰμφιδρόμια] *ἡ δεκάτη ἡμέρα τῶν τικτομένων παιδίων, ἐν ἣ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτοῖς τιθέασι περιδραμόντες [κειμένους]*.—Scholiast. The *ἀμφιδρόμια* or "running-round" ceremony consisted in carrying the child about the hearth at a running pace; a great feast was held; see the lines of Ehippus cited by Athenaeus ix. 10 (p. 370 C); and presents were given by relatives and friends. In the *Theaetetus*, chap. 15, Socrates compares himself to a midwife, and the dogma of which *Theaetetus* has, by his manipulation, been delivered, to a new-born child; and

ΓΥ. Δ. ἀλλ' οὐ δύναμαι ἴγωγ' οὐδὲ κοιμᾶσθ' ἐν πόλει,
 ἐξ οὗ τὸν ὄφιν εἶδον τὸν οἰκουρὸν ποτε.

ΓΥ. Ε. ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν γλαυκῶν γε τάλαιν' ἀπόλλυμαι 760
 ταῖς ἀγρυνπνίαισι κακκαβίζουσῶν ἀεί.

ΛΥ. ὦ δαιμόνιαι, παύσασθε τῶν τερατευμάτων.
 ποθεῖτ' ἴσως τοὺς ἄνδρας· ἡμᾶς δ' οὐκ οἶε
 ποθεῖν ἐκείνους; ἀργαλέας γ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι
 ἄγρουσι νύκτας. ἀλλ' ἀνάσχεσθ', ὦγαθαί, 765
 καὶ προσταλαιπωρήσατ' ἕτ' ὀλίγον χρόνον,
 ὥς χρησμός ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἐπικρατεῖν, ἔαν

adds μετὰ δὲ τὸν τόκον τὰ ἀμφιδρόμια αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν κύκλῳ περιθρεκτέον τῷ λόγῳ. But as to the day on which the ceremony took place the authorities are not agreed. The Scholiast here, as we see, places it on the tenth day after birth (which was undoubtedly the name-day, Birds 922, 923); and Hesychius, s. v., also identifies it with the name-day. But the same lexicographer, s. v. δρομάμφιον ἡμαρ, places it on the seventh day, whilst the Platonic Scholiast and Suidas, s. v., place it on the fifth, the former identifying it with, and the latter distinguishing it from, the name-day. It seems most probable that the ἀμφιδρόμια took place on the name-day, that is, on the tenth day after birth: for we know that on that day a great festival was held (Birds 493, 494, and the note there); and it is unlikely that there were *two* festivals held within a few days of each other in honour of the child.

759. τὸν ὄφιν] This is the famous serpent which dwelt in the Erechtheum,

and was accounted the home-keeper, οἰκουρὸς, and Warder of the Temple itself (ὁ φύλαξ τοῦ ναοῦ, Scholiast; ὁ φύλαξ τῆς Πολιάδος, Hesychius s. v. οἰκουρὸς, Eustathius at Od. i. 357), and also, generally, the Warder of the Acropolis (ὁ φύλαξ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως Hdt. viii. 41, Hesychius ubi supra). Every month a honey-cake, μελιτοῦττα, was set out for its consumption, and was regularly consumed. But when Xerxes was approaching Athens, and it was desirable that all Athenians should quit the city, the priestess announced that the cake had not been touched, and at the instigation of Themistocles declared that by this sign it was evident that the divine protection had left the city, and that the citizens too were intended to leave it. Lysistrata's young friend should have been flattered at obtaining an actual sight of the serpent, which apparently nobody else in historic times had ever been privileged to see.

761. κακκαβίζουσῶν] *hooting*. The ser-

μὴ στασιάσωμεν· ἔστι δ' ὁ χρησμὸς οὐτοσί.

ΓΥ. λέγ' αὐτὸν ἡμῖν ὃ τι λέγει.

ΛΥ. σιγᾶτε δῆ.

ἀλλ' ὁπότεν πτήξωσι χελιδόνες εἰς ἓνα χῶρον, 770
τοὺς ἔποπας φεύγουσαι, ἀπόσχονται τε φαλήτων,
παῦλα κακῶν ἔσται, τὰ δ' ὑπέρτερα νέρτερα θήσει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης,

ΓΥ. ἐπάνω κατακεισόμεθ' ἡμεῖς ;

ΛΥ. ἦν δὲ διαστῶσιν καὶ ἀναπτῶνται πτερύγεσσιν 775
ἐξ ἱεροῦ ναοῖο χελιδόνες, οὐκέτι δόξει
ὄρνειν οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν καταπυγνέστερον εἶναι.

pent was legendary, the owls were real. There would doubtless be always a large colony of Athene's birds dwelling about her Temples in the Acropolis. How common they were in Athens generally is evidenced by the proverb γλαῦκ' Ἀθήναζε : see Birds 301 and the note there. And about a century ago Dodwell observed that the γλαῦξ is "the most common owl at Athens, and is very small and tame." And he tells us that these birds "have a particular note, of which their Greek name *Koukoubagia* is perfectly expressive"; Travels ii. 43. Morris (British Birds i. 164) says that the note "resembles the syllables keu, keu, keewit, or koowit." Aristophanes in Birds 261 imitates it by κικκαβαῦ.

762. *τεραπευμάτων*] *tricks, impostures*. τῶν προφάσεων καὶ πλασμάτων.—Scholiast.

768. ἔστι δ' ὁ χρησμὸς οὐτοσί] Brunck translates this *Sic autem habet oraculum*. But I think that οὐτοσί is employed δεικτικῶς, Lysistrata producing the document which the women then call upon

her to read. Cf. Birds 1029. The oracle would naturally be in writing, like Cleon's oracles in the opening scene of the Knights.

770. *χελιδόνες*] The women are represented by the swallows, and the men by the hoopoes; in accordance with the old Attic legend in which the swallow was Procne (or Philomela) pursued by her husband, Tereus the hoopoe. In the name *φαλῆς* (the phallus personified, Ach. 263) there is an allusion to another bird, the *φαληρίς* or *φαλαρίς*, our *coot*; see Birds 565 and the note there. The "holy Temple" is, of course, the Acropolis. See on 345 *supra*.

772. τὰ ὑπέρτερα νέρτερα] τὰ ἐπικρατέστερα εὐτελέστερα ποιήσει, τοὺς ἄνδρας δηλονότι, Scholiast; who adds that the woman, in the following line, κακεμφάτως ἐδέξατο.

774. ἦν δὲ διαστῶσιν] if they split up into factions; if they do not hold firmly together.

776. καταπυγνέστερον] μαλακώτερον καὶ πορνικώτερον.—Scholiast. Their conduct

ΓΥ. σαφής γ' ὁ χρησμός νῆ Δί. ὦ πάντες θεοί,
μή νυν ἀπείπωμεν ταλαιπωρούμεναι,
ἀλλ' εἰσίσωμεν. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν τουτογί,
ὦ φίλταται, τὸν χρησμόν εἰ προδώσομεν.

780

ΧΟ. ΓΕ. μῦθον
βούλομαι λέξαι τιν' ὑμῖν, ὃν ποτ' ἤκουσ'
αὐτὸς ἔτι παῖς ὢν.
οὕτως
ἦν ποτε νέος Μελανίων τις, δς
φεύγων γάμον ἀφίκετ' ἐς ἐρημίαν,

[στρ.

785

will prove the truth of Lysistrata's complaint, supra 137.

778. *μή ἀπείπωμεν ταλαιπωρούμεναι* let us not weary of, give over, our exertions. *ἀπειπεῖν* is to give up, cry off, Peace 306. So *ἀπεροῦσι* supra 165.

780. With this line the women retire into the Acropolis, and we hear of no further attempt on their part to desert the cause. Henceforth the overtures come from the men.

781. *μῦθον*] The stage being empty, the two Semichoruses in the orchestra again turn their attention to each other. But even on them the spell is beginning to work, and they are not so desperately in earnest as they were before. They now content themselves with telling each a little nursery tale reflecting on the opposite sex; and their language and ideas are studiously simple and childish. *οὕτως*, like our "Once upon a time," was the recognized commencement of such a tale as they are about to tell. See Wasps 1182 and the Commentary there.

785. *Μελανίων*] *Μήποτε παρὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν εἴρηκεν' οὐ γὰρ Μελανίων ἔφευγε μάλλον, ἀλλ' ἡ Ἀταλάντη ἐπίτηδες δὲ τοῦτο ὁ τῶν ἀνδρῶν χορὸς ἱστορεῖ.*—Scholiast. Atalanta was so beautiful that men came from all lands to woo her; so fleet of foot that no man could outrun her; so averse to men that she would marry no suitor unless he could win a race against her, and if he failed, he must die. Many failed, and died. Melanion won the race, and so won Atalanta, by dropping in the course three golden apples which she, being a woman, must needs turn aside to pick up. The story is told by Apollodorus iii. 9. 6; and is familiar to English readers as the first tale in Morris's "Earthly Paradise." Atalanta was a hater of men, but we nowhere hear of Melanion as a hater of women, and the Scholiast evidently thinks that the story was concocted by the old men for this particular occasion. That he dwelt for some period in the forests all agree, and

κὰν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ᾠκει·

καὶ τ' ἐλαγοθήρει

πλεξάμενος ἄρκυς,

790

καὶ κύνα τιν' εἶχεν,

κοῦκέτι κατήλθε πάλιν οἴκαδ' ὑπὸ μίσους.

οὔτῳ

τὰς γυναῖκας ἐβδελύχθη

κείνος, ἡμεῖς τ' οὐδὲν ᾔττον

795

τοῦ Μελανίωνος οἱ σῶφρονες.

ΧΟ. ΓΕ. βούλομαί σε, γραῦ, κύσαι,

ΧΟ. ΓΥ. κρόμμυόν τᾶρ οὐκ ἔδει.

the simple statement of the old men, worded as in a nursery tale, that "he had a dog," is illustrated by Xenophon's reference to him as a mighty hunter, fond of dogs and the chase, *κυνῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ*, *De Venatione* i. 5 and 7. But according to the Roman poets he endured the hardships of a homeless life not from his hatred of women, but for love of Atalanta, and won from her in return that pity which is akin to love; Ovid, *Art of Love* ii. 185-97; Propertius i. 1. 9-15.

795. *ἡμεῖς τ'*] *τὰς γυναῖκας βδελυγτόμεθα*. The words *οἱ σῶφρονες* are in apposition to *ἡμεῖς*.

797. *βούλομαι* κ.τ.λ.] The Coryphaeus winds up his little apologue by proposing to kiss Stratyllis; but that this does not indicate a more friendly feeling on his part is shown by his still addressing her with the offensive appellation *ὦ γραῦ*, and his real object is disclosed by his next words. Under pretence of kissing her, he meant to approach close to her,

κἀνατείνας λακτίσαι, and to lift his foot and kick her. And it is plain from what follows that he made as though he would carry this threat into execution.

798. *κρόμμυόν τᾶρ* κ.τ.λ.] *Then you shall never eat onions again*. "Non ergo cepam comedes."—Bergler. This is a threat of the same character as the *ἵνα μὴ φάγη σκόροδα* of 689 supra; and here, as there, the Scholiast's explanation is *οὐ πολέμησεις*. So in Peace 1129 the Chorus, rejoicing in the advent of Peace, congratulate themselves on being quit *τυροῦ καὶ κρομμύων*. The Scholiast gives an alternative interpretation *κλαύσει καὶ χωρὶς κρομμύων*, treating *ἔδει* as coming not from *ἐσθίω*, *ἔδομαι*, but from *δέω* *to be in want of*; "there is no need of an onion to make you weep; you will weep without that." This is accepted by several commentators, and is represented in my translation; but it requires the substitution of *κρομμύον* or *κρομμύων* for *κρόμμυον* which is found in all the MSS. and gives a satisfactory meaning.

- ΧΟ. ΓΕ. *κἀνατείνας λακτίσαι.*
 ΧΟ. ΓΓ. *τὴν λόχμην πολλὴν φορεῖς.* 800
 ΧΟ. ΓΕ. *καὶ Μυρωνίδης γὰρ ἦν*
τραχὺς ἐντεῦθεν μελάμπυ-
γός τε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἄπασιν,
ὧς δὲ καὶ Φορμίον.
- ΧΟ. ΓΓ. *κἀγὼ* [ἀντ.
βούλομαι μῦθόν τιν' ὑμῖν ἀντιλέξει 806

800. *λόχμην*] *λόχημ*, which properly means a *copse* or *thicket* (Birds 202), is here used of the dense growth of hair visible on the veteran's uplifted leg. This would be particularly obnoxious to Athenian women who were careful to eradicate every superfluous hair on their own persons. The word is used in a similar sense in Eccl. 61, where the Woman who has been training herself to pass off as a man describes her arm-pits as *λόχμης δασυτέρας*. See the note there.

801. *Μυρωνίδης*] The peculiarity to which the women object is a sign of manly strength and hardihood; and the Men reply that in this respect they resemble the noblest of their race. Of all the national heroes who flourished after the termination of the Persian War, Myronides—whose remarkable victories (1) over the Corinthians, and (2) over the Boeotians, B.C. 459–456, extended the Athenian supremacy by land to the utmost limits it ever attained—and Phormio—whose brilliant achievements in the Corinthian gulf at the commencement of the Peloponnesian War established the Athenian supremacy by sea—appear to be the two who

appealed most strongly to the mind of Aristophanes. Myronides is mentioned again Eccl. 304, where he is styled *ὁ γεννάδας*; and Phormio has already been mentioned in Knights 562, Peace 348.

802. *μελάμπυγος*] This also was esteemed a sign of robust manhood; *μελάμπυγος· ἀνδρείος*.—Hesychius. *μελαμπύγους· ἀνδρείους*.—Photius. It was a special epithet of Heracles, and all the grammarians and proverb-collectors tell the well-known story of “Heracles and the two rascals.” The two had been accustomed to prey upon the passers by; and their mother used to warn them to desist, lest they should one day meet with *τινὸς μελαμπύγου* (merely meaning as Zenobius v. 10, Gaisford, Paroem, p. 342 explains it *τινὸς ἀνδρείου καὶ ἰσχυροῦ*), and get the worst of it. However they continued their practices and became such a pest to the neighbourhood that Heracles had to suppress them. He tied their feet together, and suspended them, head downwards, on a pole which he carried over his shoulder. Hanging in this position they had a clear view of his “nigerrimas nates.” Remembering their mother's warning and seeing how

τῷ Μελανίωνι.

Τίμων

ἦν τις αἰδρυτος ἀβάτοισιν ἐν

σκώλοισι τὰ πρόσωπα περιειργμένος,

810

Ἐρινύος ἀπορρώξ.

οὗτος ἄρ' ὁ Τίμων

[ἄθλιος ἀφ' ὑμῶν]

ᾗχθε' ὑπὸ μίσους

completely it was fulfilled, not only in the sense in which she spoke it, but also in its most literal sense, they both suddenly burst into fits of laughter. Heracles, surprised at their mirth, inquired what the joke might be. They told him, and he, being always at heart a good fellow, joined in the laughter, and finally let them go. The incident is versified by Charles Lamb in a poem of no great merit included in his *Eliana*. Here the expression means that Myronides was a very Heracles to his foes.

806. ἀντιλέξαι] *to say in opposition to*. I too, says the Woman, am fain to tell you a little tale, as a counterblast to your Melanion.

808. Τίμων ἦν τις] *There was one Timon*. She speaks in this vague way because she is making up a nursery story; for at this time the name of the famous misanthrope was very well known at Athens. See *Birds* 1549 and the Commentary there. The strange phraseology in which he is here described is probably intended to burlesque some expressions in the *Μονότροπος* of Phrynichus, a Comedy which competed with the "*Birds*." The only fragment of

that Play bearing on Timon which has reached us is full of quaint epithets,

ὄνομα δέ μοι

ἔστιν Μονότροπος· ζῶ δὲ Τίμωνος βίον,
ἄγαμον, ἀπρόσοδον, ὀξύθυμον, ἄζυγον,
ἀγέλαστον, ἀδιάλεκτον, ἰδιογνώμονα.

Here αἰδρυτος seems to mean *without settled habitation; homeless*. τὰ πρόσωπα περιειργμένος *encompassed as to his person, ἀβάτοισιν ἐν σκώλοισι amidst impenetrable thorns*. σκῶλος is said to mean a *thorn* by all the grammarians, Hesychius, Photius, Eustathius and the Scholia minora at *Iliad* xiii. 562, 564, the Scholiast here, and Suidas; though they also give as an alternative a *pointed stake*; and that seems to be the sense in which Homer used it. ἀπορρώξ is an *offshoot, a chip* of the Erinyes.

814. ὑπὸ μίσους] The words are introduced in a somewhat unconnected manner, but Stratyllis is adopting the language of the Men, supra 792. It is apparent from the strophe that a line, consisting of a paeon and a spondee, has fallen out either before or after the present line. The words in brackets are inserted merely to complete the sense and the metre, and not as being really what Aristophanes wrote.

- πολλὰ καταρασάμενος ἀνδράσι πονηροῖς. 815
 οὕτω
 κείνος ὑμᾶς ἀντεμίσει
 τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀνδρας αἰεῖ,
 ταῖσι δὲ γυναιξὶν ἦν φίλτατός. 820
- ΧΟ. ΓΥ. τὴν γνάθον βούλει θένω;
 ΧΟ. ΓΕ. μηδαμῶς· ἔδεισά γε.
 ΧΟ. ΓΥ. ἀλλὰ κρούσω τῷ σκέλει;
 ΧΟ. ΓΕ. τὸν σάκανδρον ἐκφανεῖς.
 ΧΟ. ΓΥ. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἂν οὐκ ἴδοις 825
 καίπερ οὔσης γραδὸς ὄντ' αὐ-

815. ἀνδράσι πονηροῖς] Neither here, nor three lines below, is the epithet *πονηροὶ* intended to restrict the universality of the word *ἄνδρες*. If the Scholiast's observation, ἐπεικὴς ἦν καὶ ἔφενγε τοὺς πονηροὺς means that Timon did not shun *all* men, it is certainly wrong. To the speaker all men are *πονηροί*.

822. ἔδεισά γε] ἡ εἰρωνεία φησὶν, ἢ ἀληθῶς ἐφοβήθη.—Scholiast. This is not very illuminating, but I quote it as showing that even the old grammarians did not know whether the Coryphaeus is speaking in jest or in earnest.

824. ἐκφανεῖς] *you will expose*. τὸν σάκανδρον· τὸ γυναικείον αἰδοῖον.—Scholiast. In the woman's final retort the words οὐ κομήτην are intended to contrast with the *λόχμη πολλή* of line 800. And as to ἀπεψιλωμένον τῷ λύχνῳ see Praxagora's address to the *λύχνος* Eccl. 12, 13. ἀποψιλῶ means *to denude of hair*. Cf. Thesm. 538, and lines 227, 232 of the same Play.

829. *ιοῦ, ioῦ γυναῖκες*] The pause which ensues is broken by a cry from the battlements of the Acropolis. Hitherto the whole business of the stage has been conducted outside the Propylaea. If Lysistrata wishes to parley with the Men, she comes out of the Acropolis; when the parley is over, she retires into the Acropolis, and so on. But now for the first and only time in the Play we see the defenders not outside the Propylaea, but standing on the wall itself, and thence conversing with those outside. It is possible that during the little interchange of amenities which has just passed between the two Choruses, the Acropolis had, by means of the machine called the *ἐξώστρα*, been pushed forward on the stage, whence at the conclusion of the scene, perhaps during the final banter between the Choruses, *infra* 1014-42, it is withdrawn in the same manner. Anyhow Lysistrata is now visible standing on the wall, at first alone, and calling

τὸν κομήτην, ἀλλ' ἀπεψι-
λωμένον τῷ λύχνῳ.

ΛΤ. ἰοὺ ἰοὺ, γυναῖκες, ἵτε δεῦρ' ὥς ἐμὲ
ταχέως.

830

ΓΤ. Α. τί δ' ἔστιν; εἰπέ μοι, τίς ἡ βοή;

ΛΤ. ἄνδρ' ἄνδρ' ὁρῶ προσιόντα παραπεπληγμένον,
τοῖς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ὀργαῖς εἰλημμένον.

ΓΤ. Α. ὦ πότνια, Κύπρου καὶ Κυθήρων καὶ Πάφου
μεδέουσ', ἴθ' ὁρβὴν ἤνπερ ἔρχει τὴν ὁδόν.
ποῦ δ' ἔστιν, ὅστις ἐστί;

835

ΛΤ. παρὰ τὸ τῆς Χλόης.

to her friends inside, some of whom immediately join her. A man is seen approaching in a frenzied state; with him is a servant carrying a baby.

831. παραπεπληγμένον] *ina frantic state*.
μαυρόμενον τῷ ἔρωτι.—Scholiast. εἰλημ-
μένον is seized as by a disease, *smitten with the mystic frenzies of Aphrodite*.

833. Κύπρου κ.τ.λ.] Cythera and Cyprus were Aphrodite's favourite haunts, the scenes of her earliest appearance "when she came From barren deeps to conquer all with love." πρῶτον δὲ Κυθήρουσι θαθείουσιν | "Ἐπλετο ἔνθεν ἔπειτα περιέρρυτον ἵκετο Κύπρον.—Hesiod, Theog. 192, 193. ἐς Κύπρον δ' ἔλθοῦσα θυώδεα νηὸν ἔδυνεν | "Ἐς Πάφον (Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite i. 58), whence she is called in the same hymn, 293, θεὰ Κύπρου εὐκτιμένης μεδέουσα. And of all her appellations none were more common than θεὰ Κύπρις (infra 1290, cf. supra 551), Παφία Ἀφροδίτη (supra 556), and Κυθήρεια (Κυπρογενὴ Κυθήρεια, Hymn to Aphrodite iii. 1, Theognis 1386), or in Latin "Diva

potens Cypri," Regina Paphi," and the like. But it is rather surprising to find the island coupled, as here, with one of its own towns, Κύπρου καὶ Πάφου μεδέουσα. She is the Goddess on whose aid and influence the women rely; the appearance of Cinesias is a proof that she is working actively in their favour; and she has only to go on in the same way (that is, inflaming the men with love), and success is assured. The Κυπρογενεὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ is acting as they hoped she would act, supra 551-4. And accordingly at the close of the Play when Peace is established, they call it the Peace ἣν ἐποίησε θεὰ Κύπρις.

835. Χλόης] by the chapel of Demeter Chloë, which was very near the Propylaea. Pausanias (i. 22) notices it just as he reaches the Acropolis; ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς κουροτρόφου καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης, he says, when describing that locality. See the Commentary on Thesm. 300. Demeter, who was really Γῆ exalted into an Olympian divinity, was called Χλόη

ΓΥ. Α. ὦ νῆ Δί' ἐστὶ δῆτα. τίς κάστιν ποτε;

ΛΥ. ὁράτε· γινώσκει τις ὑμῶν;

ΜΥ. νῆ Δία,
ἔγωγε· κάστιν οὐμὸς ἀνὴρ Κινησίας.

ΛΥ. σὸν ἔργον εἶη τοῦτον ὀπτᾶν καὶ στρέφειν,
κάξηπεροπεύειν, καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ μὴ φιλεῖν, 840
καὶ πάνθ' ὑπέχειν πλὴν ὧν σύνοιδεν ἡ κύλιξ.

ΜΥ. ἀμέλει, ποιήσω ταῦτ' ἐγώ.

ΛΥ. καὶ μὲν ἐγὼ
συνηπεροπεύσω παραμένουσά γ' ἐνθαδὶ,
καὶ ξυσταθεύσω τοῦτον. ἀλλ' ἀπέλθετε.

ΚΙ. οἷμοι κακοδαίμων, οἶος ὁ σπασμὸς μ' ἔχει 845

after the fresh green cornshoots, ἐκ τῆς τῶν κήπων (qy. καρπῶν) χλόης, says the Scholiast on Oed. Col. 1671.

838. Κινησίας] The Scholiast supposes that this was the notorious dithyrambic poet, who has already made his appearance in the "Birds," and was a perpetual object of ridicule to the Athenian wits. See Birds 1372 and the Commentary there. But Aristophanes would hardly have brought the dithyrambist on the stage without making some allusion to his musical and personal absurdities. The Scholiast himself says πέπαιχε παρὰ τὸ κινεῖν. And Bergler seems to be right in saying that Κινησίας and Μυρρίνη are not intended as names of real characters, but are simply concocted from κινεῖν and μύρτον (infra 1004) respectively.

839. ὀπτᾶν κ.τ.λ.] ὀπτᾶν, στρέφειν, and (five lines below) σταθεύειν are all metaphors from the culinary art to denote

the process of *roasting*, tormenting and making a fool of, a person; and ἡπεροπεύειν is the regular term for describing the *cajoleries* of a lover. This little speech is explained by Suidas (s.v. ἡπεροπεύειν) rather more fully than it is by the Scholiast; ἐξαπατᾶν, παραλογίζεσθαι, καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ἐπακολουθοῦντα, πλὴν ὧν συνωμοσάμεθα μὴ ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς κυλίκος· τουτέστι, συνουσιάζειν.

844. ἀπέλθετε] The other women now retire, leaving Lysistrata alone on the wall to parley with Cinesias below.

846. ἐπὶ τροχοῦ στρεβλούμενον] This was a well-known form of torture at Athens, Peace 452, Frogs 620, Plutus 875. According to Plutarch (Nicias ad fin.) it was the punishment inflicted, about a year and a half before the date of the Lysistrata, on the unhappy barber who, having spread about the news of the Sicilian catastrophe, was unable to produce his authority for that state-

χὼ τέτανος ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τροχοῦ στρεβλούμενον.

ΛΥ. τίς οὗτος οὐντὸς τῶν φυλάκων ἐστώς; ΚΙ. ἐγώ.

ΛΥ. ἀνὴρ; ΚΙ. ἀνὴρ δῆτ'.

ΛΥ. οὐκ ἄπει δῆτ' ἐκποδών;

ΚΙ. σὺ δ' εἰ τίς ἡ 'κβάλλουσά μ'; ΛΥ. ἡμεροσκόπος.

ΚΙ. πρὸς τῶν θεῶν νυν ἐκκάλεσόν μοι Μυρρίνην. 850

ΛΥ. ἰδοῦ, καλέσω 'γὰ Μυρρίνην σοι; σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ;

ΚΙ. ἀνὴρ ἐκείνης, Παιονίδης Κινησίας.

ΛΥ. ὦ χαῖρε φίλτατ'· οὐ γὰρ ἀκλεὲς τοῦνομα
τὸ σὸν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶν οὐδ' ἀνώνυμον.

αἰεὶ γὰρ ἡ γυνή σ' ἔχει διὰ στόμα, 855

κἂν ᾧδὼν ἢ μῆλον λάβῃ, “ Κινησία

ment; ἐς τὸν τροχὸν καταθεθεὶς ἐστρεβλοῦτο πολὺν χρόνον, ἕως ἐπῆλθον οἱ τὸ πᾶν κακόν, ὡς εἶχεν, ἀπαγγέλλοντες· οὕτω μάλιστα ὁ Νικίας ἐπιστεύθη παθὼν ἅ πολλὰκίς αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν. According to Andocides (De Mysteriis 43, 44) Peisander proposed, amidst general applause, ἀναβιβάζειν ἐπὶ τὸν τροχὸν 42 persons, some of them senators. For the metaphorical use of the word to describe the torments and paroxysms of love, Bergler refers to Plautus, Cist. ii. 1. 4 “factor, crucior, agitor, stimulator, versor in amoris rota miser.”

847. ἐντὸς τῶν φυλάκων] There were, of course, no sentries stationed outside the Acropolis, but Lysistrata, being, as it were, the commander of a besieged fortress, is careful to use the strict, though unsuitable, military terms. In the same spirit she calls herself, two lines below, an ἡμεροσκόπος.

852. Παιονίδης] Παιονίδαι was really the name of an Attic deme, belonging

to the tribe Leontis. See Harpocration s.vv. Παιανίεις καὶ Παιονίδαι. But here, just as Κινησίας involves the idea of κινεῖν, so does Παιονίδης the idea of παίειν, a verb of the same signification.

856. Κινησία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ, Here's to Cinesias. This was the established formula with which lovers, when absent, toasted and pledged each other. And this they did, not merely, as our custom is, over their wine, but also on various other occasions. Cf. Thesm. 403, 404. It was in this sense that the dying Theramenes, playing cottabus-fashion with the dregs of his hemlock, exclaimed Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ, Here's to my beautiful Critias, Xen. Hell. ii. 3 ad fin.; Cicero, Tusc. Disp. i. 40. He speaks of his enemy as a lover of his love; for καλὸς is the lover's recognized epithet. See Ach. 144, Wasps 97-9. We may be reminded of Romeo's exclamation “Here's to my love” as he drank the poison.

- τουτὶ γένοιτο," φησίν. ΚΙ. ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν.
 ΛΥ. νῆ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην· καὶ περὶ ἀνδρῶν γ' ἐμπέσῃ
 λόγος τις, εἴρηκ' εὐθέως ἢ σὴ γυνή
 ὅτι λῆρός ἐστι τᾶλλα πρὸς Κινησίαν. 860
- ΚΙ. ἴθι νυν, κάλεσον αὐτήν.
 ΛΥ. τί οὖν; δώσεις τί μοι;
 ΚΙ. ἔγωγέ σοι νῆ τὸν Δί', ἣν βούλῃ γε σύ·
 ἔχω δὲ τοῦθ'· ὅπερ οὖν ἔχω, δίδωμί σοι.
 ΛΥ. φέρε νυν καλέσω καταβᾶσά σοι.
 ΚΙ. ταχύ νυν πάνυ,
 ὥς οὐδεμίαν ἔχω γε τῷ βίῳ χάριν,
 ἐξ οὐπερ αὕτη' ἐξήλθεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας·
 ἀλλ' ἄχθομαι μὲν εἰσιῶν, ἔρημα δὲ
 εἶναι δοκεῖ μοι πάντα, τοῖς δὲ σιτίοις
 χάριν οὐδεμίαν οἶδ' ἐσθίων· ἔστυκα γάρ.
 ΜΥ. φιλῶ φιλῶ γὼ τοῦτον· ἀλλ' οὐ βούλεται 870
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φιλεῖσθαι. σὺ δ' ἐμὲ τούτῳ μὴ κάλει.

857. ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν] We are not intended, as Bothe thinks, to supply ἐκκάλεσον αὐτήν. The words are an ejaculation of love and pleasure drawn from his excited passions by Lysistrata's gratifying intelligence.

860. λῆρός ἐστι τᾶλλα] *That all the rest are mere trash by the side of, that is, compared with, Cinesias.* See Frogs 809.

863. τοῦθ'] The Scholiasts give two explanations of this word, τὸ αἰδοῖον and ἀργύριον. The Commentators all adopt the former interpretation, referring it, I presume, to the δερμάτινον αἰδοῖον with which Cinesias, and henceforth all the men on the stage, are undoubtedly furnished; τοὺς φάλητας εἰσέγαγεν ἐν τῇ Λυσιστράτῃ, says the Scholiast on Clouds 542. But it is quite clear from

the ensuing scene that he retains this appendage; and it is equally clear from his use of the present tense δίδωμι, and from Lysistrata's immediate acquiescence, that he does at once give her ὅπερ ἔχει. It seems to me therefore that the Scholiast's second interpretation is the correct one, and that Cinesias throws up to Lysistrata a βαλλάντιον or money-bag of some kind.

864. καταβᾶσα κ.τ.λ.] With these words Lysistrata descends from the Wall into the interior of the Acropolis, and we see no more of her until she emerges from the Propylaea infra 1106. Cinesias, left alone on the outside of the wall, indulges in a brief soliloquy.

870. φιλῶ κ.τ.λ.] Myrrhina now makes her appearance on the wall, speaking;

- KI. ὦ γλυκύτατον Μυρρινίδιον, τί ταῦτα δρᾷς;
κατάβηθι δεῦρο. ΜΥ. μὰ Δί' ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτόσ' οὔ.
KI. ἐμοῦ καλοῦντος οὐ καταβήσει, Μυρρίνη;
ΜΥ. οὐ γὰρ δεόμενος οὐδὲν ἐκκαλεῖς ἐμέ. 875
KI. ἐγὼ οὐ δεόμενος; ἐπιτετριμμένος μὲν οὔν.
ΜΥ. ἄπειμι.
KI. μὴ δῆτ', ἀλλὰ τῷ γοῦν παιδίῳ
ὑπάκουσον· οὔτος, οὐ καλεῖς τὴν μαμμίαν;
ΠΑ. μαμμία, μαμμία, μαμμία.
KI. αὕτη, τί πάσχεις; οὐδ' ἐλεεῖς τὸ παιδίον 880
ἄλουτον ὃν κᾶθελον ἔκτην ἡμέραν;
ΜΥ. ἔγωγ' ἐλεῶ δῆτ'. ἀλλ' ἀμελῆς αὐτῷ πατὴρ
ἔστιν. KI. κατάβηθ', ὦ δαιμονία, τῷ παιδίῳ.
ΜΥ. οἶον τὸ τεκεῖν· καταβατέον. τί γὰρ πάθω;
KI. ἐμοὶ γὰρ αὕτη καὶ νεωτέρα δοκεῖ 885
πολλῷ γεγενῆσθαι κάγανώτερον βλέπειν·
χὰ δυσκολαίνει πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ βρενθύεται,

as she is coming, to Lysistrata and the women behind her. What she says is supposed to be spoken aside, but of course she intends Cinesias to overhear.

873. αὐτόσ' οὔ] *not thither; not in that direction*. She will not descend from the wall on the *outside*, where Cinesias is; she contemplates descending from it (ἄπειμι, four lines below) in the opposite direction.

876. ἐπιτετριμμένος] ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος δηλονότι.—Scholiast. *Not desiring you? nay rather, consumed with desire*. So ἐπιτρίβει τῷ πόθῳ infra 888 and cf. 1090 infra.

879. ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ] The child in this case is probably a mere puppet; unlike the children of the Megarian in the Acharnians: see the note on line 735 of that

Play. *They* had to move and eat. This is a mere baby lying in its nurse's arms, save for the utterance of the word μαμμία, which of course could be easily managed.

881. ἔκτην ἡμέραν] See the note on 705 supra.

884. οἶον τὸ τεκεῖν] *δεινὸν τὸ τίκειν*, says Euripides, in the same sense, in Iph. Aul. 917. And again in Phoenissae 355 *δεινὸν γυναιξιν αἱ δι' ὠδίνων γοναὶ* | καὶ φιλότεκνόν *πὸς πᾶν γυναικείον γένος*. After this speech Myrrhina descends from the wall into the Acropolis, and four lines later comes out through the Propylaea. Cinesias has another soliloquy.

887. χὰ δυσκολαίνει] *the way she flouts me*. *ἄ* is the accusative after *δυσκολαίνει*, an idiom not reproducible in English.

- ταῦτ' αὐτὰ δὴ 'σθ' ἂ καμ' ἐπιτρίβει τῷ πόθῳ.
- ΜΥ. ὦ γλυκύτατον σὺ τεκνίδιον κακοῦ πατρὸς,
φέρει σε φιλήσω γλυκύτατον τῇ μαμμῖα. 890
- ΚΙ. τί, ὦ πονήρα, ταῦτα ποιεῖς χἀτέραις
πέιθει γυναιξί, κάμέ τ' ἄχθεσθαι ποιεῖς
αὐτὴ τε λυπεῖ; ΜΥ. μὴ πρόσαγε τὴν χεῖρά μοι.
- ΚΙ. τὰ δ' ἔνδον ὄντα τὰμὰ καὶ σὰ χρήματα
χεῖρον διατιθεῖς. ΜΥ. ὀλίγον αὐτῶν μοι μέλει. 895
- ΚΙ. ὀλίγον μέλει σοι τῆς κρόκης φορουμένης
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλεκτρύνων; ΜΥ. ἔμοιγε νῆ Δία.
- ΚΙ. τὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱέρ' ἀνοργίαστά σοι
χρόνον τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν. οὐ βαδιεῖ πάλιν;
- ΜΥ. μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἦν μὴ διαλλαχθῇτέ γε 900

Florent Chretien gives "Sed quod superbit et mihi est morosula | Hoc plus amore pectus exercet meum." For δυσκολαίνειν to be δύσκολος, *fretful, ill-disposed*, see Clouds 36, and for βρενθίεσθαι to give oneself airs, Clouds 362, Peace 26.

893. αὐτὴ τε λυπεῖ] *And you make yourself miserable*. Jason, as Brunk observes, uses the same words to Medea, Eur. Med. 1361. Assuming the old relations between himself and Myrrha to be now re-established, Cinesias lays hold of her in a familiar manner, αἰσχροῦς the Scholiast says; an act which calls forth an immediate rebuke.

896. κρόκης] *that your wool is being pulled to pieces by the fowls*. κρόκη is properly the woof or cross-thread which is shot through the threads of the warp by the shuttle, κερκίς. Then it came to signify woollen threads, generally.

φορουμένης is explained by the Scholiast to mean διαφορουμένης, *disappointed*.

901. ἦν δοκῇ] *if such is your determination*. "si tibi ita placet."—Brunck. Van Leeuwen's interpretation "si visum fuerit, si populus iusserit" seems destructive of the wit of the passage. Cinesias is in a mood to promise anything if only he can get Myrrha home again; and to say "the people will make peace if they so decree," so far from being conciliatory, would be intentionally provocative.

903. ἐκέισε] *to our home*, which was implied in the question οὐ βαδιεῖ πάλιν; to which this is an answer. ἀπόμνημι means *to swear off, to swear not to do a thing*.

904. διὰ χρόνου] *after so long a separation*. See the Commentary on Wasps 1476. For κατακλίθῃτι most recent

καὶ τοῦ πολέμου παύσῃσθε.

KI. τοιγάρ, ἦν δοκῇ,
ποιήσομεν καὶ ταῦτα.

MY. τοιγάρ, ἦν δοκῇ,
κᾶγωγ' ἄπειμ' ἐκείσε· νῦν δ' ἀπομώμοκα.

KI. σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ κατακλίθητι μετ' ἐμοῦ διὰ χρόνου.

MY. οὐ δῆτα· καίτοι σ' οὐκ ἐρῶ γ' ὥς οὐ φιλῶ. 905

KI. φιλεῖς; τί οὖν οὐ κατεκλίνης, ὦ Myρρίνιον;

MY. ὦ καταγέλαστ', ἐναντίον τοῦ παιδίου;

KI. μὰ Δί', ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γ' οἴκαδ', ὦ Μανῆ, φέρε.

ἰδοὺ, τὸ μέν σοι παιδίον καὶ δὴ 'κποδών·

σὺ δ' οὐ κατακλίνει; 910

MY. ποῦ γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ, τάλαν,
δράσειε τοῦθ'; KI. ὅπου τὸ τοῦ Πανὸς, καλόν.

editors, following Elmsley, read *κατακλίνθητι*, but though the second aorist is the more common, it seems unreasonable to ban the first aorist when it is supported by the whole weight of the MSS.

905. *ὥς οὐ φιλῶ*] She is loyally carrying out Lysistrata's instructions *καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ μὴ φιλεῖν*. Here the *φιλεῖν* is allowed to peep out.

906. *ὦ Myρρίνιον*] With the best MSS. and all editions before Brunck I have retained the tribrach in the last foot of the line, a usage very rare indeed, but absolutely necessary in *Frogs* 1203, and see *Id.* 979. And here it seems permissible for the purpose of introducing a pet name, the diminutive of affection.

908. *Μανῆς*] a very common name in these Comedies for a slave. See *Peace* 1146, *Birds* 523, 1311, 1329, *infra* 1212.

911. *τὸ τοῦ Πανός*] sc. *αἰλίου*, see *supra* 721 and the note there. Pan's grotto was to be the nuptial chamber, and she was to purify herself in the adjoining spring, the Clepsydra; see the Commentary on 328 *supra*. "The excavations show that between Pan's grotto and the Clepsydra in which Myrrhina is told to bathe there cannot have been any wall such as some have supposed to exist."—G. F. Hill in the *Classical Review*, xi. 415. It was in this cave, round which the nightingale was always singing, that Apollo wronged Creusa, and that Ion, the fruit of that wrong, was afterwards exposed by his mother. But it was not Pan's cave then; see *Hdt.* vi. 105. Pan, says Hermes (in Lucian's *Bis Accusatus* 9), originally dwelt in Arcady, but came unsummoned to assist the Athenians at

- ΜΥ. καὶ πῶς ἔθ' ἀγνὴ δῆτ' ἂν ἔλθοιμ' ἐς πόλιν ;
 ΚΙ. κάλλιστα δῆπου, λουσαμένη τῇ Κλεψύδρᾳ.
 ΜΥ. ἔπειτ' ὁμόσασα δῆτ' ἐπιорκήσω, τάλαν ;
 ΚΙ. εἰς ἐμὲ τράποιτο· μηδὲν ὄρκου φροντίσης. 915
 ΜΥ. φέρε νυν ἐνέγκω κλινίδιον νῶν.
 ΚΙ. μηδαμῶς.
 ἀρκεῖ χαμαὶ νῶν.
 ΜΥ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω μὴ σ' ἐγὼ,
 καίπερ τοιοῦτον ὄντα, κατακλινῶ χαμαί.
 ΚΙ. ἦ τοι γυνὴ φιλεῖ με, δῆλη' στὶν καλῶς.

Marathon; and thenceforward τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει σπήλυγγα ταύτην ἀπολαβόμενος οἰκεῖ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ. And in Lucian's twenty-second Dialogue of the Gods, where Hermes, a comely and beardless youth, dismayed at the grotesque appearance of Pan his alleged offspring, exclaims γέλῳτα ὀφλήσω παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τῇ εὐπαιδίᾳ (cf. Wasps 1512), "O you need not be ashamed of me," says Pan, "for I am quite a musician, and can play the syrinx beautifully; and Dionysus can do nothing without me, ἀλλὰ ἐταῖρον καὶ θιασώτην πεποιήκέ με, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι αὐτῷ τοῦ χοροῦ. And besides this," he adds, "I am very brave, and fought so well at Marathon that the Athenians gave me τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει σπήλαιον as the prize of valour." "Well, well," says Hermes, "let us be good friends in future; but one thing I charge you as a dutiful son; never call me father when any one is within hearing." The words ἐς πόλιν in the following line mean *into the Acropolis*.

915. εἰς ἐμὲ τράποιτο] *The sin upon my head.*

917. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω] Why does Myrrhina use an oath which is proper only for men? οὐκ ἔστιν ὄρκος γυναικῶν, says the Scholiast, truly; cf. Eccl. 160 and the note there. Possibly she is thinking of his connexion with Pan's grotto, as mentioned in a preceding note.

918. κατακλινῶ χαμαί] *I will not let you lie (literally, I will not lay you) on the ground, καίπερ τοιοῦτον ὄντα.* The Commentators give various interpretations of τοιοῦτον, none of which seem to me accurate. In my opinion it means *such a man, so loveable and dear to me.* In the Fourteenth Iliad Zeus is so enamoured of Hera as (to use the language of Plato, Republic iii. 4, p. 390 C) μηδ' εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ βουλόμενον χαμαὶ ξυγγίγνεσθαι. But Myrrhina, though equally enamoured of Cinesias, will not follow the example of Zeus. We see by the next line that Cinesias takes her language as a proof of her love for himself. She now returns into the Acropolis, but immediately re-emerges, carrying a bare bed without any bedding.

- ΜΤ. ἰδοῦ, κατὰ κεισ' ἀνύσας τι· κἀγὼ 'κδύομαι
καίτοι, τὸ δεῖνα, ψίαθος' ἐστ' ἐξοιστέα. 920
- ΚΙ. ποία ψίαθος; μή μοι γε.
- ΜΤ. νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν,
αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τόνου γε. ΚΙ. δὸς μοί νυν κύσαι.
- ΜΤ. ἰδοῦ. ΚΙ. παπαιάξ. ἡκέ νυν ταχέως πάννυ.
- ΜΤ. ἰδοῦ ψίαθος· κατὰ κεισο, καὶ δὴ 'κδύομαι. 925
καίτοι, τὸ δεῖνα, προσκεφάλαιον οὐκ ἔχεις.
- ΚΙ. ἀλλ' οὐ δέομ' οὐδὲν ἔγωγε. ΜΤ. νῆ Δί' ἀλλ' ἐγώ.
- ΚΙ. ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ πέος τόδ' Ἡρακλῆς ξενίζεται.

921. τὸ δεῖνα] *What was it?* So again five lines below and 1168 infra. The force of this dilatory ejaculation is sufficiently explained and illustrated in the Commentary on Peace 268 and Wasps 524. I will here only add one other example taken from the twelfth of Lucian's *Courtesan-Dialogues*. There Lysias finds his ladylove in a very compromising situation with a young person whom he supposes to be a man, but who in reality is a girl named Pythias. Pythias had been obliged, in an illness, to have her head shaved, and her hair was now as short as a boy's, of which she was grievously ashamed. Usually to hide her disgrace she wore a wig, but she was not wearing it when Lysias caught her with his ladylove. So, in order to exculpate her friend, she allows her sex to be revealed, and the loss of her hair to be explained; but concludes by saying πλὴν, τὸ δεῖνα, ὅρα, ὦ Λυσία, μή τι νιν εἶπῃς τὸ περὶ τῆς κόμης, *But, what was I going to say?—O yes, but pray, Lysias, don't tell anybody about my hair.* Ψίαθος is a rush-mat, often used

as a mattress. τὰς ἐγκοιμητηρίας ψίαθους χαμεύνας ἐκάλουν.—Pollux vi. 11. ψίαθος· ἢ χαμεύνη.—Hesychius.

923. ἐπὶ τόνου] *on the bare bed-cords.* τόνος is used collectively for τόνοι, the bed-cords on which the bed-clothes would be spread. τὸ τῇ κλίνῃ ἐντεταμένον ὡς φέρειν τὰ τυλεῖα (*the bed-clothes*), says Pollux x. 36, is σπαρτία, τόνος, κειρία. Herodotus (ix. 118) says that the Persians besieged in Sestos by the Athenians under Xanthippus were reduced by famine to such straits ὥστε τοὺς τόνους ἔψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο.

924. παπαιάξ] An exclamation of delight at the sweetness of Myrrhina's kiss. So in the next year's Comedy, the Scythian, kissed by Elaphium, cries out ὃ δὲ παπαπαπαί, Thesm. 1191.

928. Ἡρακλῆς ξενίζεται] is having the entertainment of Heracles; that is, is kept waiting for his supper. Bergler refers to Wasps 60 Ἡρακλῆς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐξαπατῶμενος, where the Scholiast tells us that in some earlier Comedies Heracles was represented as a guest invited to a supper party, and in a

- ΜΥ. ἀνίστασ', ἀναπήδησον. ΚΙ. ἤδη πάντ' ἔχω.
 ΜΥ. ἅπαντα δῆτα; ΚΙ. δεῦρό νυν, ὦ χρύσιον. 930
 ΜΥ. τὸ στρόφιον ἤδη λύομαι. μέμνησό νυν·
 μὴ μ' ἐξαπατήσης τὰ περὶ τῶν διαλλαγῶν.
 ΚΙ. νῆ Δί' ἀπολοίμην ἄρα. ΜΥ. σισύραν οὐκ ἔχεις.
 ΚΙ. μὰ Δί' οὐδὲ δέομαί γ', ἀλλὰ βινεῖν βούλομαι.
 ΜΥ. ἀμέλει, ποιήσεις τοῦτο· ταχὺ γὰρ ἔρχομαι. 935
 ΚΙ. ἄνθρωπος ἐπιτρίψει με διὰ τὰ στρώματα.
 ΜΥ. ἔπαιρε σαντόν. ΚΙ. ἀλλ' ἐπῆρται τοῦτό γε.
 ΜΥ. βούλει μυρίσω σε; ΚΙ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω μὴ μέ γε.
 ΜΥ. νῆ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἣν τε βούλη γ' ἦν τε μή.
 ΚΙ. εἴθ' ἐκχυθείη τὸ μύρον, ὦ Ζεῦ δέσποτα. 940
 ΜΥ. πρότεινε δὴ τὴν χεῖρα καλέϊφου λαβών.

terrible way, because the feast was so long in making its appearance.

929. ἀνίστασ'] He is already lying on the ψάβος, and she tells him to lift himself up that she may slip the pillow underneath him. ἵνα προσκεφάλαιον αὐτῷ θῇ.—Scholiast.

933. σισύραν] a blanket, coverlet to wrap over him. ἄκναπτον ἱμάτιον καὶ παχὺ ἢ σισύρα.—Scholiast. In these Comedies it generally, though not invariably, signifies a bed-wrap, Clouds 10, Birds 122, Eccl. 347.

936. ἄνθρωπος] ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡ γυνὴ ἢ ἄνθρωπος εἶπε.—Scholiast. She'll be the death of me with this bed-clothes business.

937. ἔπαιρε σαντόν] This is equivalent to the ἀνίστασο of eight lines above, and to the ἐπανάριον of Knights 784. In the reply τοῦτο is of course the penis scorteus.

938. βούλει μυρίσω σε;] As if he were a bridegroom. See Peace 862 and the note there.

943. εἰ μὴ διατριπτικόν] εἰ μὴ *sed contra*, see Thesm. 898 and the Commentary there. διατριπτικόν, *smacking of delay*, διατριπτῆς γέμον καὶ βραδυτήτος as the Scholiast says. It seems to have had a somewhat similar flavour to that of the Ten Years' Treaty-sample in Ach. 193. The objection which Cinesias takes to this unguent gives Myrrhina a further opportunity for delay, and she now pretends that she has brought the wrong ointment-box.

944. τὸ Ῥόδιον] οὐ τὸ Σύριον.—Scholiast. We must, I think, understand Myrrhina to be apologizing to her husband for having brought him an unguent which was οὐχ ἡδὺ (deliberately misunderstanding him), and to mean that she had brought the worse kind by mistake; she intended to bring the Syrian, and by some error has brought the Rhodian. Yet the Rhodian was in later times highly esteemed. "Crocinum in Solis

- KI. οὐχ ἡδὺ τὸ μύρον μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτογί,
εἰ μὴ διατριπτικόν γε, κοῦκ ὄζον γάμων.
- MY. τάλαιν' ἐγὼ, τὸ Ῥόδιον ἤνεγκον μύρον.
- KI. ἀγαθόν' ἔα αὐτ', ὦ δαιμονία. MY. ληρεῖς ἔχων. 945
- KI. κάκιστ' ἀπόλοιθ' ὁ πρῶτος ἐψήσας μύρον.
- MY. λαβὲ τόνδε τὸν ἀλάβαστον.
- KI. ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἔχω.
ἀλλ' ὧς ῥα κατάκεισο καὶ μή μοι φέρε
μηδέν.
- MY. ποιήσω ταῦτα νῆ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν.
ὑπολύομαι γοῦν. ἀλλ' ὅπως, ὦ φίλτατε,
σπονδὰς ποιείσθαι ψηφιεῖ. 950
- KI. βουλεύσομαι—

Ciliciae," says Pliny xiii. 2, "diu maxime laudatum; mox Rhodi"; or, as Philemon Holland translates it, "the ointment of saffron confected at Soli in Cilicia imported for a good while and carried the praise alone; but soone after that of Rhodes was every man's money." On the other hand, perfumery unguents originally came from the East. The Persians, according to Pliny xiii. 1, invented them. And as regards the Syrian in particular, we know from the Gospel narratives what "very costly" perfumes were used in the Holy Land. If indeed it were true, as Van Leeuwen thinks, that Rhodes had lately revolted from Athens, we could well understand that the Athenians might have enjoyed any remark tending to depreciate, however unjustly, the island and its products; but it is, to say the least, extremely doubtful if the revolt had taken place when the *Lysistrata* was written, Thuc. viii. 44.

945. ληρεῖς ἔχων] *You keep talking nonsense.* The same words are used in *Birds* 341, and also in *Frogs* 512 where see the note. Myrrhina now re-enters the Acropolis, and at once returns with the right ointment. During her short absence Cinesias relieves himself by invoking a curse on the inventor of unguents. As to ἀλάβαστον see *Ach.* 1053 and the note there. By ἕτερον in line 947 he means *penem scortum*.

949. ποιήσω ταῦτα] that is κατακείσομαι. And to show that she is in earnest she adds that she is already taking off her shoes.

951. βουλεύσομαι] *consilium inibo*. But what he means we cannot say, for before he has gone further Myrrhina disappears into the Acropolis, and he finds that she has been playing him false throughout. The jade is gone με ἀποδείρασα "me nudata glande relinquens." See *supra* 739.

ἀπολώλεκέν με κάπιτέτριφεν ἡ γυνή,
τά τ' ἄλλα πάντα ἀποδείρασ' οἴχεται.

οἴμοι τί πάθω; τίνα βινήσω, [στρ.
τῆς καλλίστης πασῶν ψευθεῖς; 955
πῶς ταυτηνὶ παιδοτροφήσω;
ποῦ Κυναλώπηξ;
μίσθωσόν μοι τὴν τιτθὴν.

ΧΟ. ΓΕ. ἐν δεινῷ γ', ὦ δύστηνε, κακῷ

τείρει ψυχὴν ἐξαπατηθεῖς. 960
κᾶγωγ' οἰκτείρω σ' αἰ, αἰ, αἰ.
ποῖος γὰρ ἂν ἦ νέφρος ἀντίσχοι,

956. πῶς ταυτηνὶ παιδοτροφήσω;] He speaks of his ψωλὴν (infra 979) as if it were a motherless daughter. Its own mother has deserted it; he must hire a nurse for it from the πορνοβοσκός, Philostratus, who was nicknamed Κυναλώπηξ. See Knights 1069 and the Commentary there.

959. ἐν δεινῷ γ'] Cinesias is alone on the stage. The old men in the orchestra condole with him in approved Tragic style.

962. ποῖος γὰρ ἂν κ.τ.λ.] παρὰ τὰ ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας "ποῖαι λιβάδες, ποῖα Σειρήν"; —Scholiast. The Scholiast's language does not mean that Aristophanes is parodying the passage in the Andromeda, but merely that there is a resemblance between that passage and this. So on Wasps 1326 the Scholiast says ὁ δὲ νοῦς παρὰ τὴν ἐν Τρωάσι Κασάνδραν "ἀνεχε πάρεχε." οὕτω πάντες. ὁμῶς ὅστερ' αἱ τῶν Τρωάδων κάθεσις ἔτεσιν ἐπτά. The Andromeda was in fact exhibited

in the same year as the Lysistrata. See the Introduction to the Thesmophoriazusae, pp. xxxvii, xxxviii. In the line quoted from the Andromeda we should probably read λιβάδες for λιβάδες. The speaker seems to be wondering at the rocks of the sea-coast, and the Siren-like figure of Andromeda exposed among them.

966. τοὺς ὄρθρους] of a morning with κατὰ understood. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὄρθροις.—Scholiast. Compare Hdt. iv. 181 τὸν μὲν ὄρθρον (in the morning) γίνεται χλιαρόν.

970. ΧΟ. ΡΥ. The Men's Chorus naturally side with the man, and condole with him on the treatment he has received from a vile and abominable woman. The Women's Chorus as naturally side with the woman, and in the present line express their affection and admiration of her conduct. Thereupon the Men reiterate their abuse of the woman, and add an elaborate imprecation.

ποία ψυχῇ, ποῖοι δ' ὄρχεις,
ποία δ' ὀσφύς; ποῖος δ' ὄρρος
κατατεινόμενος, 965
καὶ μὴ βινῶν τοὺς ὄρθρους.

KI. ὦ Ζεῦ, δεινῶν ἀντισπασμῶν. [ἀντ.

XO. ΓΕ. ταυτὶ μέντοι νυνὶ σ' ἐποίησ'
ἡ παμβδελυρὰ καὶ παμμυσαρά.

XO. ΓΥ. μὰ Δεῖ' ἄλλα φίλη καὶ παγγλυκερά. 970

XO. ΓΕ. ποία γλυκερά;
μιαρὰ μιαρὰ δῆτ'. ὦ Ζεῦ Ζεῦ,
εἴθ' αὐτὴν, ὥσπερ τοὺς θωμοὺς,
μεγάλῳ τυφῶ καὶ πρηστῇρι

tion, praying that she may be carried away by a whirlwind, and presently be dashed to earth again. The imprecation, however, concludes with four words, introduced *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, which en-

tirely change its character. Perhaps the following lines (they can hardly be called a translation) may give the English reader a general idea of the turn which the dialogue takes.

MEN. All this woe she has wrought you, she only, the
Utterly hateful, the utterly vile.

WOMEN. Not so; but the darling, the utterly sweet.

MEN. Sweet, sweet, do you call her? Vile, vile, I repeat.
Zeus, send me a storm and a whirlwind, I pray,
To whisk her away, like a bundle of hay,
Up, up, to the infinite spaces,
And toss her and swirl her, and twist her, and twirl her,
Till, tattered and torn, to the earth she is borne,
To be crushed—in my ardent embraces.

973. *θωμούς*] *heaps*, of stubble, corn, sticks, or the like. *θωμούς* σφοδρὸς ξύλων. *θωμοὶ δὲ λέγονται οἱ τῶν πυρῶν σωροί*.—Scholiast, Suidas. *θωμοί* οἱ τῶν σπερμάτων σωροί.—Photius. *θωμός* σφοδρὸς σταχύων.—Hesychius. Aeschylus (Ag. 286) uses it of a heap of dry heather.

974. *τυφῶ καὶ πρηστῇρι*] *tornado and thunderstorm*. Aristotle in his *Meteoro-*

logy promises to treat *περὶ κεραυνῶν πτώσεως, καὶ τυφῶνων, καὶ πρηστῆρων* (i. 1. 2). And he reaches that topic at the commencement of ii. 9 *περὶ δ' ἀστραπῆς καὶ βροντῆς, ἔτι δὲ περὶ τυφῶνος καὶ πρηστῆρος καὶ κεραυνῶν λέγωμεν*. καὶ γὰρ τούτων τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ πάντων. And in the treatise *περὶ κόσμου* (if that be his), chap. iv, he distinguishes be-

ξυστρέψας καὶ ξυγγογγυλίσας
 οἶχοιο φέρων, εἶτα μεθείης,
 ἥ δὲ φέροιτ' αὖ πάλιν εἰς τὴν γῆν,
 κᾶτ' ἐξαίφνης
 περὶ τὴν ψωλὴν περιβαίη.

975

ΚΗ. πᾶ τᾶν Ἀσανᾶν ἐστὶν ἡ γερωχία

980

tween the three; τὸ δ' ἀστράψαν ἀναπυ-
 ρωθὲν, βιαίως ἄχρι τῆς γῆς διεκθέον, κεραυ-
 νὸς καλεῖται· ἐὰν δὲ ἡμίπυρον ᾖ, σφοδρὸν
 δὲ ἄλλως καὶ ἀθρόον, πρηστήρ· ἐὰν δὲ
 ἥμιπυρον ᾖ παντελῶς, τυφών. The meaning
 seems to be that κεραυνὸς signifies forked
 lightning, or what we call a thunder-
 bolt; πρηστήρ a thunderstorm with only
 sheet lightning; and τυφὼν a tornado
 without any lightning at all. But the
 distinction is not always kept up. Here
 we have τυφὼν and πρηστήρ combined.
 Erycius in his fourteenth epigram says
 of a shepherd killed by lightning that
 the cattle will hear his pipe no more;
 ὤλεσε γὰρ πρηστήρ σε κεραύνιος. Dio-
 genes Laertius (Zeno 154), giving the
 opinions of Zeno and others on meteorol-
 ogical questions, says that some define
 κεραυνὸν as ἔξαψιν σφοδρὰν μετὰ πολλῆς
 βίας πίπτουσαν ἐπὶ γῆς· τυφῶνα δὲ, κεραυνὸν
 πολὺν, βίαιον καὶ πνευματώδη, ἢ πνεῦμα
 καπνῶδες ἐρρωγώτος νέφους. πρηστήρα δὲ
 νέφος περιχυθὲν πυρὶ μετὰ πνεύματος εἰς
 τὰ κοιλώματα τῆς γῆς. But most of the
 old grammarians describe a τυφῶνα as
 a vaporous whirlwind which precedes
 a thunderstorm; the Scholiast here,
 Suidas, Photius, Etym. Magn.

975. ξυστρέψας καὶ ξυγγογγυλίσας]

having twisted up and rolled into a ball.
 The words are repeated in Thesm. 61.

980. πᾶ τᾶν Ἀσανᾶν] ἀντὶ τοῦ, ποῦ τῶν
 Ἀθηνῶν ἐστὶν ἡ γερουσία; ποῦ εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ
 πρυτάνεις, οἷς θέλω τι νέον εἰπεῖν.—Scho-
 liast. μυσιδδεν for μυθίζεν as supra 94,
 infra 1076. Cinesias has left the stage,
 and now enter on the one side the
 Lacedaemonian herald, and on the other
 the Magistrate whom we have not seen
 since line 614. Hitherto the contro-
 versy has been between the Athenian
 men and the Athenian women; but the
 spell has been working at Sparta too,
 as well as amongst the Athenian hus-
 bands; and now the two protagonists
 of the War—Athens and Sparta—both
 suffering under the same misfortune,
 are equally anxious to come to terms.
 γερωχία (that is γερουσία) was the cus-
 tomary name of the Senate in Dorian
 states.

982. Κονίσσαλος] δαίμων πριαπώδης.—
 Scholiast. He seems to have been
 a local Priapus, peculiar to Attica.
 Strabo (xiii. 1. 12), speaking of the city
 Priapus (near Cyzicus), says that the
 deity Priapus was of comparatively re-
 cent introduction, οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἡσίοδος οἶδε
 Πρίαπον, ἀλλ' ἔοικε τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς Ὀρθάνη

ἢ τοὶ πρυτάνεις; λῶ τι μυσίξαι νέον.

ΠΡΟ. σὺ δὲ τίς; πότερον ἄνθρωπος, ἢ Κονίσσαλος;

ΚΗ. κάρυξ ἐγὼν, ὦ κυρσάνιε, ναὶ τῷ σιῶ
ἐμολον ἀπὸ Σπάρτας περὶ τῶν διαλλαγῶν.

ΠΡΟ. κάππειτα δόρυ δῆθ' ὑπὸ μάλης ἤκεις ἔχων;

985

ΚΗ. οὐ τὸν Δί' οὐκ ἐγώνωγα.

ΠΡΟ. ποῖ μεταστρέφει;

καὶ Κονισάλφ. Both Orthanes and Conisalus are mentioned by Plato Comicus in his "Phaon," as deities of the Priapean order; Athenaeus x. 58. Hesychius explains Κονίσσαλος by *κοινορτός*, *σκίρτησις σατυρική* ἢ τῶν ἐντεταμένων τὰ αἰδοῖα. In Homer it is always equivalent to *κοινορτός*. It has already been noticed that all the men on the stage are now wearing the *penem scortum*. The Herald appears to be endeavouring to conceal his underneath his garments.

983. ὦ κυρσάνιε] The herald is an important personage and the flippant language of the Athenian is calculated to cheapen his dignity. He shows his resentment by addressing the elderly magistrate as ὦ κυρσάνιε, *my lad*, a term which, though properly applicable only to a youth, was employed, irrespective of age, to show the slight regard in which the person addressed was held by the speaker. It occurs again *infra* 1248, where the Scholiast says *κυρσανίου καλοῦσιν οἱ Λάκωνες τὰ μεράκια, καὶ τοὺς εὐτελεῖς ἀνθρώπους*. And to the same effect the Ravenna Scholiast here; *ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐτελέστατε*. The "twa' Gudes," τῷ σιῶ, in the mouth of a Spartan are Castor and Polydeuces.

985. ὑπὸ μάλης] *under your armpit*, μάλη being an abbreviated form of *μασχάλη*, as, in Latin, *ala* of *axilla*. The phrase is quite a common one, generally in reference to a dagger concealed under the left armpit, whence the bearer could most easily pluck it out with his right hand, Merivale's "Romans under the Empire," chap. 26. Thus, when Critias had determined on the destruction of Theramenes, he brought into the Council-chamber a number of young men *ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοντας*, Xen. Hell. ii. 3. 23. And when the mutually suspicious triumvirs—Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus—met, unaccompanied, on the islet of the Reno near Bologna, ἀλλήλους διηρεύνησαν μὴ καὶ ξιφιδίον τις ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοι, Dio Cassius xlv. 55 (p. 326). But in Heliodorus (ii. 30) it is a jewel-case, and in Alciphron (iii. 26) a purloined garment, that is carried ὑπὸ μάλης. Here the expression δόρυ ὑπὸ μάλης is intentionally grotesque; for a spear could not, as a dagger might, be concealed beneath the armpit; nor was the protuberance to which the Magistrate is alluding anywhere in that direction.

τί δὴ προβάλλει τὴν χλαμύδ' ; ἢ βουβωνίᾱς
ὑπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ ;

ΚΗ. παλαιόρ γα ναὶ τὸν Κάστορα
ἄνθρωπος. ΠΡΟ. ἀλλ' ἔστυκας, ὦ μιαρῶτατε.

ΚΗ. οὐ τὸν Δί' οὐκ ἐγώνωγα· μηδ' αὖ πλαδδίη. 990

ΠΡΟ. τί δ' ἐστὶ σοι τοδί ; ΚΗ. σκυτάλα Λακωνικά.

ΠΡΟ. εἴπερ γε χαῦτῃ 'στὶ σκυτάλη Λακωνική.

987. προβάλλει τὴν χλαμύδ' ;] *hold out your robe in front of you.* The chlamys was a riding or military garment (Pollux x. 124) apparently much in vogue at Sparta; Juvenal viii. 101. The herald holds it out before him to conceal the tell-tale protuberance. The Magistrate suggests that possibly his hurried journey from Sparta may have brought on swellings in the groin. See Wasps 277 and the note there.

988. παλαιόρ γα] Doric for παλαιός. *The man's an old fool.* παλαιόρ· μωρός, Hesychius; who also explains παλαιός by ὁ ταῖς φρέσιν ἐξεφθαρμένος ἥδη, ἄφρων, ὁ καὶ ἡλίθιος. The mid-syllable is short as in Eur. El. 497.

990. μηδ' αὖ πλαδδίη] *Don't keep playing the fool.* Cf. supra 171.

991. σκυτάλα Λακωνικά] The "Laconian scytale" has been described by many writers, but by none more lucidly than by Plutarch in his Life of Lysander, chap. 19. ἔστι δὲ ἡ σκυτάλη τοιοῦτον, he says: "when a general is dispatched on active service, the Ephors take two round rods, of exactly the same size, and corresponding in every particular. One of these they give to the general, and the other they retain themselves.

These are the scytales. And when they want to send a private message to the general, they take a long and narrow strip of parchment and wind it spirally round and round the retained scytale so as to cover the entire surface without leaving any gap. On the parchment while so wound round the scytale they write the message, and then taking the parchment off they send it to the general without the scytale. It is then a quite illegible scrawl of disconnected letters till the general, winding it round his own scytale, restores the continuity of the writing." It is surprising that two such eminent scholars as Colonel Mure and Mr. Grote, in their interesting controversy (originally in pamphlet form, but also given as appendices to the later editions of Colonel Mure's History, vol. iii, and of Mr. Grote's, vol. ii) as to the knowledge possessed by the Spartans of the art of writing, should have drawn any inference from the present passage as to the mode in which the scytale was carried. They might as well have inferred from the reference to the δόρυ above that the Spartans were accustomed to carry spears under their armpits. The al-

ἀλλ' ὥς πρὸς εἰδότη' ἐμὲ σὺ τάληθ' ἔλεγε.
τί τὰ πράγμαθ' ὑμῖν ἐστι τὰν Λακεδαίμονι;

KH. ὁρσὰ Λακεδαίμων πᾶσα, καὶ τοὶ σύμμαχοι 995
ἅπαντες ἐστύκαντι. Πελλάνας δὲ δεῖ.

ΠΡΟ. ἀπὸ τοῦ δὲ τουτὶ τὸ κακὸν ὑμῖν ἐνέπεσεν;
ἀπὸ Πανός;

KH. οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἄρχε μὲν, οἶώ, Λαμπιτῶ,

lusion to the σκυτάλη here is a mere joke. The Magistrate is a wag, and keeps driving the herald into a corner by his impertinent questions, till the latter, at a loss how to meet the other's prying curiosity, attributes the protuberance to a σκυτάλη. "It is no more a σκυτάλη than this is," says the Magistrate pointing to his own σκίτινον αἰδοῖον, where αὔτη is employed either as agreeing with ψωλή understood, or (more probably) as the feminine by attraction to σκυτάλη.

995. ὁρσὰ Λακεδαίμων πᾶσα] that is, ὁρθή Λακεδαίμων πᾶσα. In ordinary language this would mean that all the Lacedaemonians were on the tiptoe of excitement. Many instances of this usage are given in the Lexicons. ὁρθή δὲ ἦν ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν (the defeat at Chaeroneia), Lycurgus against Leocrates 39 (p. 152). ὁρθή καὶ περίφοβος ἦν ἡ πόλις (whilst the opposing armies were preparing for the battle of Cannae), Polybius iii. 112, and so on. But here it means that the Spartans are in the condition which in the next words is predicated of the allies. ἐστύκанти for ἐστύκασιν.

996. Πελλάνας δὲ δεῖ] ὄνομα γυναικὸς ἑταίρας. ἐπιθυμοῦσιν οὖν τῆς πόρνης, ἥγουν

τῆς πόλεως Πελλήνης. ἀντεποιοῦντο γὰρ αὐτῆς οἱ Λάκωνες.—Scholiast. Some recent Commentators have cast doubt on the Scholiast's statement, but in my opinion it is quite accurate. Even if it is merely an inference from the present passage, it is a natural and I think a correct inference. As to the city Pellene, the most easterly of the Achaean cities, we know that at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War it was the only one of them which sided with Sparta, Thuc. ii. 9. Though itself at some distance from the sea, it was nevertheless a naval power, and we are told that at this very time the Spartans were requisitioning Pellene to contribute, in conjunction with Sicyon and Arcadia, a detachment of ten vessels to the confederate fleet which was mustering for the downfall of Athens, Thuc. viii. 3. And possibly the anxiety of Sparta to obtain the aid of so petty a state may have given some occasion for ridicule.

998. ἀπὸ Πανός;] The Commentators think it sufficient to observe that Pan was "libidinosus et ἐρωτικός"; but that is a very inadequate explanation. The suggestion that this strange upset was caused by Pan is due to the fact that

ἔπειτα τᾶλλαι ται κατὰ Σπάρταν ἄμα
 γυναιῖκες ἄπερ ἀπὸ μιᾶς ὑσπλαγίδος 1000
 ἀπήλαον τὼς ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῶν ὑσσάκων.

ΠΡΟ. πῶς οὖν ἔχετε ;

ΚΗ. μογίομες. ἂν γὰρ τὰν πόλιν

ἄπερ λυχνοφορίοντες ἀποκεκύφαμες.
 ται γὰρ γυναιῖκες οὐδὲ τῷ μύρτῳ σιγῇν
 ἐῶντι, πρίν χ' ἅπαντες ἐξ ἑνὸς λόγῳ 1005
 σπονδὰς ποιησώμεσθα ποττὰν Ἑλλάδα.

all sudden commotions and disturbances of the mind were attributed to his influence; see Erasmus's Adages "Panicus casus." The Herald, however, takes a more prosaic view, and ascribes the epidemic not to Pan but to Lampito, who had been vigorously carrying out the policy determined upon by herself, Lysistrata, and the rest at the commencement of the Play.

1000. ἄπερ ἀπὸ μιᾶς ὑσπλαγίδος] *as at a given signal.* ὥσπερ ἀπὸ μιᾶς ὑσπληγος, cf. Plato Phaedrus 35 (p. 254 E). The barrier from which racers started was formed by an outstretched rope which kept the competitors in an even line, and fell when the signal was given. This rope was called ὑσπληξ and is frequently mentioned by ancient writers. Antipater Sidonius (Epigram 39) speaks of a runner so fleet that he was visible only at the ὑσπληξ and at the winning post, and could not be seen while passing from one to the other; and Lucian introduces the same idea into his Timon (20), where Πλοῦτος says that he approaches a man with such tardy and halting footsteps that may-

hap the man grows old before his arrival; but when he leaves him he makes himself wings, and has hardly left the starting-place before he is at the goal, moving with such speed that no eye can behold him; ἄμα γοῦν ἔπεσεν ἡ ὑσπληξ, κἀγὼ ἤδη ἀνακηρύττομαι νενικηκώς, ὑπερπηδήσας τὸ στάδιον, οὐδὲ ἰδόντων ἐνίστε τῶν θεατῶν.

1001. ἀπήλαον κ.τ.λ.] For ἀπήλαον τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικείων αἰδοίων.

1002. μογίομες' ἂν] For μογέομεν' ἀνά. *We are in sore trouble; we go up and down the streets twisting ourselves round, like people carrying lighted lamps.* Such people cannot walk in an upright position, but must needs stoop and bend themselves about to shelter the lights from the wind. The words τῷ μύρτῳ σιγῇν are explained by the Scholiast to mean *θιγείν τοῦ γυναικείου μορίου*, and ἐῶντι stands for ἐῶσι. The concluding words of the speech, ποττὰν Ἑλλάδα, are rather strange, but must mean "with our Hellenic antagonists," so as to make a general cessation of war throughout Hellas.

1013. ποτάομαι] *I'll fly like the wind.* δραμοῦμαι, πετήσομαι.—Scholiast. The

ΠΡΟ. τουτὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα πανταχόθεν ξυνομόμοται
 ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν· ἄρτι νυνὶ μανθάνω.
 ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα φράζε περὶ διαλλαγῶν
 αὐτοκράτορας πρέσβεις ἀποπέμπειν ἐνθαδί.
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐτέρους ἐνθένδε τῇ βουλῇ φράσω
 πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι, τὸ πέος ἐπιδείξας τοδί.

1010

ΚΗ. πωτάομαι· κράτιστα γὰρ παντὰ λέγεις.

ΧΟ. ΓΕ. οὐδέν ἐστι θηρίον γυναικὸς ἀμαχώτερον,

word is Homeric. The Spartan herald now hastens out to return to Sparta; the πρόβουλος retires in the opposite direction to advise the Athenian βουλή. The stage being empty, the two Semichoruses in the orchestra once more, and for the last time, direct their attention to each other. But a change has come over the spirit of the Women. They have already come down from fierce denunciation to playful banter, and now they set themselves to win over their opponents with little tricks of coquetry which the Men are unable to resist. The twenty-two lines which follow are in a compound or disjointed (ἀσυνάρτητος) metre; the first half being a trochaic dimeter, ὡς ἐγὼ μισῶν γυναικάς; and the second a paeonic dimeter (a

paeon and cretic) οὐδέποτε παύσομαι. It differs from the ordinary trochaic tetrameter only by having the eleventh syllable short instead of long; as for example, if in line 1025 κἂν με μὴ λυπῆς, ἐγὼ σου κἂν τόδε τὸ θηρίον we substitute τοδί for τόδε, we have a perfect trochaic tetrameter. And in line 1036 the compound metre does in truth change into the simple trochaic.

1014. ἀμαχώτερον, οὐδὲ πῦρ] This weapon again the Men appear to have drawn from the great armoury which the Tragedies of Euripides supply for the vituperation of women. Stobaeus, under the head of *Passages in censure of women*, Ψόγος γυναικῶν (Anthology, Title 73), gives, amongst many others, the following quotations from Euripides,

- (23) Εὐριπίδου Ἱππολύτη.
 ἀντὶ πυρὸς γὰρ ἄλλο πῦρ μείζον ἐκβλαστοῦμεν
 γυναῖκες πολὺ δυσμαχώτερον.

And again—

- (1) Εὐριπίδου.
 δειναὶ . . . πυρὸς θερμαὶ πνοαί,
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτω δεινὸν, ὡς γυνή, κακόν.

And again—

- (5) Εὐριπίδου Οἰδίποδος.
 ἄλλως δὲ πάντων δυσμαχώτατον γυνή.

- οὐδὲ πῦρ, οὐδ' ὧδ' ἀναιδῆς οὐδεμία πόρδαλις. 1015
- ΧΟ. ΓΥ. ταῦτα μέντοι σὺ ξυνιείς εἴτα πολεμεῖς ἐμόν,
ἐξόν, ὧ πόνηρε, σοὶ βέβαιον ἔμ' ἔχειν φίλην;
- ΧΟ. ΓΕ. ὥς ἐγὼ μισῶν γυναικάς οὐδέποτε παύσομαι.
- ΧΟ. ΓΥ. ἀλλ' ὅταν βούλῃ σὺ νυνὶ δ' οὐ σε περιόψομαι
γυμνὸν ὄνθ' οὕτως. ὁρῶ γὰρ ὥς καταγέλαστος εἶ. 1020
ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξωμίδ' ἐνδύσω σε προσιοῦσ' ἐγώ.
- ΧΟ. ΓΕ. τοῦτο μὲν μὰ τὸν Δι' οὐ πονηρὸν ἐποιήσατε·
ἀλλ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς γὰρ πονηρᾶς καὶ τότ' ἀπέδυν ἐγώ.
- ΧΟ. ΓΥ. πρῶτα μὲν φαίνει γ' ἀνήρ' εἶτ' οὐ καταγέλαστος εἶ.
κἄν με μὴ λυπῆς, ἐγὼ σοῦ κἄν τόδε τὸ θηρίον 1025
τοῦπὶ τῷφθαλμῷ λαβοῦσ' ἐξεῖλον ἄν, ὃ νῦν ἔνι.
- ΧΟ. ΓΕ. τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν με τοῦπιτρῖβον, δακτύλιος οὐτοσί·

1018. μισῶν. γυναικάς] This again has the genuine Euripidean ring. ὄλοισθε μισῶν δ' οὐποτ' ἐμπλησθήσομαι | γυναικάς.—Hipp. 664. For the ὥς at the commencement of the line see the note on Wasps 416.

1019. ἀλλ' ὅταν βούλῃ σὺ] *That you can do when you like.* The sentence is left imperfect, and we can supply either, with the Scholiast, *you can have me as a friend*, or, with Blaydes, *you can give over hating us.* They are putting aside the general argument, and are going to show, by their actions, how indispensable they are to the men.

1023. ὀργῆς πονηρᾶς] *ill-temper*, Wasps 243. The epithet refers to πονηρὸν in the preceding line. There is no πονηρία in *your* action; the πονηρία was in *my* temper when I threw off my ἐξωμῖς; see the Commentary on 658 supra. As to τότε then, when I threw it off, see on Thesm. 13.

1027. δακτύλιος οὐτοσί] The Scholiast's explanation that the speaker is giving Stratyllis a ring wherewith to scoop out (ἐκσκαλεῖν, literally, *to hoe out*, from σκαλῖς, a hoe) the insect from his eye—δίδωσιν αὐτῇ δακτύλιον ἵνα ἐξενέγκῃ τὴν ἐμπίδα τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ—although adopted by many Commentators, seems to me foreign to the ordinary style and phraseology of Aristophanes. And I entirely agree with Bergler and Brunck that the name δακτύλιος, with a play on δάκνειν, is given to the gnat itself. "Culicem δακτύλιον appellat," says the latter, "derivato nomine a δακεῖν, quare reddidi *mor'daculus ille*." The conversation is carried on by Stratyllis and the Coryphaeus, but I apprehend that each of the twelve men who form the Men's Chorus simultaneously submits his eye to the inspection of one of the twelve women who form the Chorus of Women.

1032. ἐμπὶς Τρικουρσία] ὥς ἐν Τρικουρῳ

ἐκσκάλευσον αὐτὸ, κᾶτα δείξον ἀφελούσά μοι·

ὥς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν γέ μου νῆ τὸν Δία πάλαι δάκνει.

XO. ΓΥ. ἀλλὰ δράσω ταῦτα· καίτοι δύσκολος ἔφυς ἀνήρ. 1030

ἦ μέγ', ὦ Ζεῦ, χρῆμ' ἰδεῖν τῆς ἐμπίδος ἔνεστί σοι.

οὐχ ὀρᾶς; οὐκ ἐμπίς ἐστιν ἦδε Τρικουρσία;

XO. ΓΕ. νῆ Δί' ὠνησάς γέ μ', ὥς πάλαι γέ μ' ἐφρεωρύχει,

ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ ἔξηρέθη, ῥεῖ μου τὸ δάκρυον πολύ.

XO. ΓΥ. ἀλλ' ἀποψήσω σ' ἐγὼ, καίτοι πάνυ πονηρὸς εἶ, 1035

καὶ φιλήσω. XO. ΓΕ. μὴ φιλήσης.

XO. ΓΥ. ἦν τε βούλη γ' ἦν τε μή.

XO. ΓΕ. ἀλλὰ μὴ ὥρασ' ἵκοισθ'. ὥς ἐστὲ θωπικαὶ φύσει,

κᾶστ' ἐκείνο τοῦπος ὀρθῶς κοῦ κακῶς εἰρημένον,

οὔτε σὺν πανωλέθροισιν οὔτ' ἄνευ πανωλέθρων.

πολλῶν ἐμπίδων γινομένων. ἔστι γὰρ ἀλσώδης [perhaps we should read ἐλώδης, Pausanias i. 32. 6] καὶ κάθυγρος.—Scho-liast. Tricorythus was one of the four villages of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, supra 285. Τρικόρυθον πόλιν, ἣτις ἐστὶ μία τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Τετραπόλεως.—Diod. Sic. iv. 57. The region was noted for its marshes; in one of which indeed the greatest slaughter of the Persians took place at the battle of Marathon (Pausanias ubi supra): an incident portrayed in the battle-frescoes of the Poecile, Id. i. 15. 4. As a natural result of this marshy soil the district was haunted by mosquitoes (cf. Birds 244-6) which still drive the inhabitants, in summer, to the higher grounds, Leake ii. 87; Wordsworth's Athens and Attica, chap. vi. The ruins of the village are still visible in the plain of Suli. This allusion to the marshes of Marathon is probably intended as

a covert compliment to the old Μαραθωνομάχαι.

1033. ἐφρεωρύχει] ὥς φρέαρ ἀνῶρυττεν. ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν τὰ φρέατα ὀρυττόντων εἰς βάθος.—Scholiast.

1036. ἦν τε βούλη γ' ἦν τε μή] Will you, will you. Cf. supra 939, Eccl. 981, 1097, Plato, Theaetetus, chap. 20 (p. 167 D), and frequently elsewhere. She is using a sort of coaxing compulsion.

1037. μὴ ὥρασ' ἵκοισθ'] "Male pereatis, ut estis ingenio ad blandiendum composito," Brunck, slightly altered from Bergler. The phrase is sufficiently illustrated in the Commentary on 391 supra.

1039. οὔτε σὺν πανωλέθροισιν] English readers will remember the comments in Lytton's "My Novel," Book IV, chap. 1, on the "damnable doctrine of Metellus Numidicus," who, with all the dignity and authority of a Roman Censor, declared "Si sine uxore, Quirites, possemus esse,

ἀλλὰ νυνὶ σπένδομαί σοι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκέτι 1040
οὔτε δράσω φλαῦρον οὐδὲν οὔθ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν πείσομαι.
ἀλλὰ κοινῇ συσταλέντες τοῦ μέλους ἀρξώμεθα.

ΧΟ. οὐ παρασκευαζόμεσθα [στρ.
τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδέν', ὦνδρες,
φλαῦρον εἰπεῖν οὐδέέν·
ἀλλὰ πολὺ τοῦμπαλιν 1045
πάντ' ἀγαθὰ καὶ λέγειν
καὶ δρᾶν· ἱκανὰ γὰρ τὰ κακὰ

omnes ea molestia careremus; sed
quoniam ita Natura tradidit, ut nec cum
illis satis commode, nec sine illis ullo
modo vivi possit, salutis perpetuae potius

quam brevi voluptati consulendum."
Aulus Gellius i. 6. It was probably
from this source that Martial derived
his well-known epigram (xii. 47):

Difficilis, facilis, iucundus, acerbus es idem:

Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te.

The notion was a favourite one with
our comic dramatists; see for example
the song in Act I, Scene 2 of Prince
Hoare's "Lock and Key." Brunck refers
to Susarion's lines cited in the Commen-
tary on Thesm. 787; and Dindorf to
Strabo xiv. 2. 24 (p. 659), where speak-
ing of the two orators, contemporary
with himself, of Mylasa, he tells us that
Hybreas wound up one of his speeches
by saying to Euthydemus, Εὐθύδημε,
κακὸν εἰ τῆς πόλεως ἀναγκαῖον· οὔτε γὰρ
μετὰ σοῦ δυνάμεθα ζῆν, οὔτ' ἄνευ σοῦ.

1042. συσταλέντες] *closing our ranks,*
combining our forces. Cf. Wasps 424.
Henceforth there is no Semichorus of
Men or Semichorus of Women. The
two are combined into one Chorus.
They make, in the language of the

Greek Argument, ἓνα χορὸν ἐκ τῆς διχορίας.

1043. οὐ παρασκευαζόμεσθα] The two
Choruses inaugurate their union by
commencing a series of four stanzas,
two here and two infra 1189, which
like those in Birds 1470, 1553, and 1694
are entirely disconnected with the
general plot of the Comedy, and are all
linked together by the conjunctive
particle δέ. Each stanza consists of
seventeen lines, of which eleven are
trochaic (nine dimeters and two dipod-
ies), and the remaining six (the fourth
to the ninth inclusive in each stanza)
cretico-paeonic dimeters, the third hav-
ing a monosyllabic base. And the same
vein of pleasantry runs through the
four, consisting of large and liberal
offers made by the Chorus, with an

καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα.
 ἀλλ' ἐπαγγελλέτω
 πᾶς ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή, 1050
 εἴ τις ἀργυρίδιον δεῖ-
 ται λαβεῖν, μνᾶς ἢ δύο ἢ τρεῖς,
 πόλλ' ἔσω γὰρ
 κέν' ἔχομεν βαλλάντια.
 κἄν ποτ' εἰρήνη φανῇ, 1055
 ὅστις ἂν νυνὶ δανείση-
 ται παρ' ἡμῶν,

intimation that they have no power or no intention of fulfilling them. Each stanza, in effect, contains what school-boys call "a sell." *Come and help yourselves to our money*, they say in the first stanza, *only our purses are all empty. Come to our house and feast*, in the second, *only you will find the door barred against you. Come and share our treasures*, in the third, *only if you find any, you must have sharper eyes than we. And come to our house for bread*, in the last, *only beware of the dog, and don't approach the door.*

1047. τὰ κακὰ καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα] τὸν πόλεμον λέγουσιν. ἱκανῶς γὰρ ἑκακοπράγουν ἤδη μετὰ τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν στάσιν λέγει τὰ παρακείμενα.—Scho-liast. "Sat multa enim sunt mala, et haec praesentia."—Bergler. The Scholiast's explanation of τὰ παρακείμενα is not very satisfactory, but on the whole I think it must be accurate. The Chorus wish to put a stop to two things: (1) the War, and (2) the discord between the men and the women. The position of καὶ between τὰ κακὰ and τὰ παρακείμενα shows that it

must have its usual conjunctive force of connecting two distinct things and cannot here be used in the sense of "even."

1049. ἐπαγγελλέτω] *let him, or her, tell it out.* λεγέτω τίνος δείται.—Scholiast. *If any man or woman wants to get any money let him, or her, proclaim the fact.*

1053. πόλλ' ἔσω γὰρ κέν' ἔχομεν] κενὰ βαλλάντια, *empty purses.* κενὰ προσερ-ρίπτουν βαλλάντια.—Plutarch, Lucullus, chap. 35. I have substituted the words given above for the unmetrical and unmeaning reading of the MSS. ὡς πόλλ' ἔσω 'στὶν κᾶχομεν. The statement that the purses are *empty*, and that therefore there is no money for the applicants to receive seems necessary; otherwise this stanza, unlike all the rest, would contain no "sell," but would be a bona fide offer of a money-gift. This too would destroy the humour of the last words of the stanza, and make them not a joke but a further boon. And Burges's emenda-tion, which most editors adopt, ὡς πλέα 'στὶν ᾄχομεν, instead of removing, merely accentuates the absurdity.

ἂν λάβῃ μηκέτ' ἀποδοῶ.

ἐστιᾶν δὲ μέλλομεν ξέ-
νους τινὰς Καρυστίους, ἄν-
δρας καλοὺς τε κἀγαθοὺς.

κᾶστιν ἔτ' ἔτνος τι, καὶ

δελφάκιον ἦν τί μοι,

καὶ τοῦτο τέθυχ', ὥστε κρέ' ἔ-

δεσθ' ἀπαλὰ καὶ καλὰ.

ἤκετ' οὖν εἰς ἔμοῦ

τῆμερον· πρὸ δὲ χρῇ

[ἀντ.

1060

1065

1057. μηκέτ' ἀποδοῶ] As they would have received nothing, there was nothing to repay. The words are introduced, as the Scholiast says, παρ' ὑπόνοιαν.

1058. Καρυστίους] διαβάλλονται ὡς μοιχοὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι.—Scholiast both here and again on 1181 *infra*. The description καλοὺς τε κἀγαθοὺς is merely ironical. The people of Carystus, a considerable town in the south of Euboea, were supposed to be a remnant of one of the old pre-Hellenic populations, Thuc. vii. 57, Diod. Sic. iv. 37. That a large number of these aboriginal allies were at this very time stationed within the walls of Athens we know from Thucydides (viii. 69), who tells us that 300 of them were in the service of the Four Hundred. And it may perhaps be inferred, from the way in which they are mentioned here and again in 1182 *infra*, that they had rendered themselves notorious by their uncouth manners and their gross and licentious behaviour.

1060. κᾶστιν ἔτ' ἔτνος] ἔτι, omitted in

the MSS., was restored by Reisig, and it is obvious that it might readily have dropped out before ἔτνος. The meaning seems to be we have *still* these provisions at home, notwithstanding the long struggle that has for so many days been going on between the men and the women.

1065. τῆμερον· πρὸ δὲ χρῇ] This is the sort of invitation which Euelpides wished to receive, Birds 129-32. But if we are to take πρὸ in the sense of the *early morning* the present invitation is one which it would be impossible to accept, for Comedies were acted in the *afternoon*.

1071. κεκλείσεται] παρ' ὑπόνοιαν, δέον ἀνεωχθήσεται.—Scholiast. With this word the Chorus conclude their second stanza, and the plenipotentiaries whom the Herald had gone to fetch from Sparta are seen approaching.

1072. ἔλκοντες ὑπῆνας] ἔχοντες πώγωνας.—Scholiast. And this is no doubt the meaning, for ὑπῆνη, though sometimes confined to the *moustache*, the hair on

τοῦτο δρᾶν λελουμένους, αὐ-
τούς τε καὶ τὰ παιδί', εἴτ' ἔ-
σω βαδίζειν,
μηδ' ἐρέσθαι μηδένα,
ἀλλὰ χωρεῖν ἀντικρυς,
ὥσπερ οἴκαδ' εἰς ἑαυτῶν,
γεννικῶς, ὡς
ἢ θύρα κεκλείσεται.

1070

καὶ μὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης οἰδὶ πρέσβεις ἔλκοντες ὑπήνας
χωροῦσ', ὥσπερ χοιροκομεῖον περὶ τοῖς μηροῖσιν ἔχοντες.

the upper lip, and so contrasted with *πώγων*, is more commonly used for the beard generally, and so is undistinguishable from *πώγων*. Ὑπήνη μύσταξ, τὸ γένειον, πώγων, ἢ ἡ τοῦ ἄνω χειλὸς τρίχῳσις. —Photius, Suidas. Ὑπήνη τὸ γένειον, ἦτοι πώγων, ἄλλοι μύσταξ. —Hesychius. On the overgrowth of the Spartan beards see Wasps 476 and the note there. The participle ἔλκοντες, probably from its use in this passage, is frequently found in later Greek writers in connexion with *ὑπήνας* or *πώγωνας*. It is generally employed in a sort of contemptuous sense with reference to philosophers who in this, as in other points, were accustomed to ape the habits and attire of the ancient Lacedaemonians. καὶ ἔγωγ' ἠδέως ἂν ἐροίμην τοὺς τὰς βαθείας ὑπήνας ἔλκοντας. —Aristeides "In Defence of the Four" (Miltiades, Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles), Oration xl (p. 212). ποῦ νῦν οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ τοὺς βαθείς πώγωνας ἔλκοντες; —St. Chrysos. Hom. iii in Rom. 443 B. ταῦτα, ἃ μηδὲ ὄναρ ἐφάντασθησαν

οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὸν πώγωνα ἔλκοντες. —Id. Hom. viii. 1 (one of the "hactenus non editae" Homilies of the Benedictine edition).

1073. χοιροκομεῖον] a pig-cage, literally a place for tending pigs in. Compare ἵπποκομεῖν Peace 74. It was a sort of hurdlework, probably forming three sides of a square, the fourth side being formed by the wall against which it was placed. In Wasps 844 it is used as the Court railing, δρύφακτος, within which Philocleon is to carry on his judicial duties. The meaning of the word is given quite rightly by the Scholiast on the Wasps and here, Pollux x. 159, Hesychius, and Suidas. The other signification suggested by the Scholiast and Suidas, viz. πάτταλος ἐν ᾧ δεσμεύουσι τοὺς χοίρους, arises merely from a faulty interpretation of the passage before us. The tunics of the plenipotentiaries are distended to such an extent that the Chorus liken the distention to the familiar pen within which their pigs were confined.

- ἄνδρες Λάκωνες πρῶτα μὲν μοι χαίρετε,
εἴτ' εἴπαθ' ἡμῖν πῶς ἔχοντες ἦκετε. 1075
- ΛΑ. τί δεῖ ποθ' ὑμὲ πολλὰ μυσίδδεν ἐπη;
ὀρῆν γὰρ ἔξεσθ' ὥς ἔχοντες ἦκομες.
- ΧΟ. βαβαί· νενεύρωται μὲν ἦδε συμφορὰ
δεινῶς· τεθερμῶσθαί γε χεῖρον φαίνεται.
- ΛΑ. ἄφατα. τί κα λέγοι τις; ἀλλ' ὅπα σέλει 1080
παντὰ τις ἐλσὼν ἅμιν εἰράναν σέτω.
- ΧΟ. καὶ μὴν ὀρῶ γε τούσδε τοὺς αὐτόχθονας
ὥσπερ παλαιστὰς ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῶν γαστέρων
θαίματί· ἀποστέλλοντας· ὥστε φαίνεται

1076. ποθ' ὑμὲ μυσίδδεν] πρὸς ὑμᾶς
μυθίζειν.

1078. νενεύρωται] *is high-strung*. τὴν
ἔντασιν τοῦ αἰδοίου λέγει.—Scholiast.
τεθερμῶσθαι means *to be inflamed*; but
it is possible that on the stage the
speaker was instructed so to pronounce
the word as if the division were not
τεθερμῶσθαι, but τεθέρμῶσθαι, so as to
recall to the minds of the audience the
famous Ἑρμαῖ which are more particu-
larly mentioned a little later in the
dialogue; infra 1094. And this is prob-
ably what the Scholiast meant by his
explanation of the present line, ἀντὶ τοῦ
χεῖρον τῆς τάσεως τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ φαίνεται,
τουτέστι χεῖρον τέταται τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ· ἐπειδὴ
ὁ Ἑρμῆς πριαπῶδες ἔχει τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ
ἐντέταται μεγάλως. Some have thought
that the Scholiast must have had a dif-
ferent reading before him; but it seems
to me probable that he considered, and
quite possible that he rightly considered,
the word τεθερμῶσθαι to involve a play
on the name Ἑρμῆς with which of course
it really had nothing whatever to do.

1080. ὅπα σέλει κ.τ.λ.]. “Pro ὅπη θέλει

πάντη τις ἐλθὼν ἡμῖν εἰρήνην θέτω.”—
Bergler. *Let somebody come, and get us
Peace in whatever way he pleases.*

1082. καὶ μὴν ὀρῶ] To the Lacedae-
monian plenipotentiaries waiting on the
stage, enter from the opposite side the
Athenian plenipotentiaries whom the
Magistrate had bidden the Council to
send. The Chorus give them the name
of αὐτόχθονες, a name always pleasant
to Athenian ears. See Wasps 1076 and
the note there. They make their ap-
pearance holding out their garments
before them “just like wrestlers” say
the Chorus. In Peace 34 the beetle,
attacking his food, κύψας and παραβαλὼν
τοὺς γομφίους, is similarly compared to
a wrestler. In the present passage we
are, I suppose, intended to understand
that the Athenians bending forward and
gripping their garments are somewhat
in the attitude of wrestlers gripping,
or preparing to grip, their immediate
antagonists. But in truth the compari-
son seems to be introduced merely for
the purpose of leading up to the expres-
sion ἀσκητικὸν νόημα, which, as Bentley

- ἀσκητικὸν τὸ χρεῖμα τοῦ νοσήματος. 1085
- AΘ. τίς ἂν φράσειε ποῦ ὅστιν ἡ Λυσιστράτη ;
ὥς ἄνδρες ἡμεῖς οὐτοὶ τοιουτοί.
- XO. χαῖτη ξυνάδει χᾶτέρα αὐτῇ νόσφ.
ἧ που πρὸς ὄρθρον σπασμὸς ὑμᾶς λαμβάνει ;
- AΘ. μὰ Δί', ἀλλὰ ταυτὶ δρῶντες ἐπιτετρίμμεθα. 1090
ὥστ' εἴ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ διαλλάξει ταχὺ,
οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ Κλεισθένη βινήσομεν.
- XO. εἰ σωφρονεῖτε, θαίμάτια λήψεσθ', ὅπως
τῶν Ἑρμοκοπιδῶν μὴ τις ὑμᾶς ὄψεται.

pointed out (at Peace 1176), is intended as a play upon ἀσκητικὸν νόσημα or ἀσκήτης νόσος, *the dropsy*.

1088. χαῖτη ξυνάδει] *And this other disease from which you are suffering is on all fours with this*, from which the Laconians are suffering. You have the ἀσκητικὸν νόσημα as well as they. And to ascertain the facts, the speaker proceeds in the following line to inquire into the symptoms, asking whether the sufferers feel the attack most keenly of a morning, πρὸς ὄρθρον. Cf. supra 966, Ach. 256. The fact that the same demonstrative pronoun (αὕτη, αὐτή) is applied to both sides, as in Eccl. 1070, would create no difficulty in the acting, where the speaker would point first to the one and then to the other. See the note on Eccl. 1053.

1090. ταυτὶ δρῶντες] *faring thus*. The last two words of this speech are introduced παρὰ προσδοκίαν. About Cleisthenes, who for his gross effeminacy was the constant butt of Aristophanes for twenty years, from Acharnians 117, 118 to Frogs 422, see the Commentary on

those passages. The Scholiast here says of him, οὗτος Σιβυρτίου παῖς, ἐπὶ θηλύτητι κωμωδούμενος, but the statement as to his parentage is in all probability derived merely from the passage in the Acharnians.

1093. θαίματια λήψεσθε] The Athenians, we know, are using their ἱμάτια to conceal their woful plight; but it would seem that the Laconians have discarded theirs, and that this warning is specially addressed to *them*; see infra 1096, 1098, 1099.

1094. Ἑρμοκοπιδῶν] He means the persons who effected the famous mutilation of the Hermæ shortly before the departure of the great armament for Sicily. These Hermæ were quadrangular busts of stone (Thuc. vi. 27) with a rudely-shaped head at the top, and the phallus emblem protruding in front; see Hdt. ii. 51. And the mutilation was effected by cutting off the head and the phallus emblem of each bust. Ἰστέον, says the Scholiast on Thucydides ubi supra, ὅτι Πανσανίας, ἐν τῇ διαπεπονημένῃ αὐτῷ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων συναγωγῇ, τοὺς

- AΘ. νῆ τὸν Δί' εὖ μέντοι λέγεις. 1095
 ΛΑ. ναὶ τὸ σιῶ
παντᾶ γα. φέρε τὸ ἔσθος ἀμβαλώμεθα.
 ΑΘ. ὦ χαίρετ', ὦ Λάκωνες· αἰσχροῖ γ' ἐπάθομεν.
 ΛΑ. ὦ πουλυχαρίδα, δεινὰ τὰν πεπόνθεμες,
αἶ κ' εἶδον ἅμὲ τῶνδρες ἀναπεφλασμένως.
 ΑΘ. ἄγε δὴ, Λάκωνες, αὐθ' ἕκαστα χρή λέγειν. 1100
ἐπὶ τί πάρεστε δεῦρο;
 ΛΑ. περὶ διαλλαγᾶν
πρέσβεις.
 ΑΘ. καλῶς δὴ λέγετε· χῆμεις ταῦτογί.

τραχήλους καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς περικοπῆναι φησὶ, καὶ τοὺς τοῦτο δρᾶσαντας Ἑρμοκοπίδας καλεῖσθαι.

1098. ὦ πουλυχαρίδα] The same address occurs infra 1242. And as it is applied to two different persons, here to the foremost Athenian plenipotentiary and there apparently to one of the Laconians themselves, it seems plain that it is used not as a proper name, but as a term of affection, *sweetheart, charmer*, doubtless a well-known Spartan mode of address.

1099. τῶνδρες] *The men* of whom the Chorus were speaking, that is, as the Scholiast says, the Ἑρμοκοπίδαι. He also explains ἀναπεφλασμένως by ἐκδεδαρμένους, τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀνατεταμένους.

1101. περὶ διαλλαγᾶν πρέσβεις] It is interesting, more for the coincidence of the language than for the fact, to observe that very shortly after the exhibition of this Play, the Council of Four Hundred were, Thucydides tells us, sending to Sparta περὶ ξυμβάσεως πρέσβεις, βουλόμενοι διαλλαγῆναι, Thuc. viii. 71. The lan-

guage is not quite in the historian's ordinary manner.

1105. κἂν λῆτε, τὸν Λυσίστρατον] *And, if you like, Lysistratus as well.* He is playing on the meaning of the name; not only Lysistrata (the *woman* who will end the war), but also, if you will, Lysistratus (the *man* who will do so). He will welcome *anybody*, man or woman, who will be "a disbander of armies," and restore Peace to Hellas. "Non tam ad personam respicit," says Bergler, "quam ad significationem vocis." It is not likely that there is any allusion to the Lysistratus of Ach. 855, Knights 1267, and Wasps 787, 1302-8 or to any other individual.

1107. αὐτῇ] *of herself, of her own accord.* Cf. Peace 638, Thesm. 66, Plutus 965. It is like the ἐξέρχομαι γὰρ αὐτομάτῃ of 431 supra. For the use of ὥς as equivalent to ἐπεὶ see Elmsley on Bacchae 178.

1108. Lysistrata comes out of the Acropolis, accompanied by a female attendant. And as the Mistress is Λυσιστράτη, the *Disbander of Armies*, so

τί οὐ καλοῦμεν δῆτα τὴν Λυσιστράτην,
ἥπερ διαλλάξειεν ἡμᾶς ἂν μόνη;

ΛΑ. ναὶ τῷ σιωῶ, κἂν λῆτε, τὸν Λυσίστρατον. 1105

ΑΘ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς, ὥς ἔοικε, δεῖ καλεῖν.
αὐτὴ γὰρ, ὥς ἤκουσεν, ἥδ' ἐξέρχεται.

ΧΟ. χαῖρ', ὦ πασῶν ἀνδρειοτάτη· δεῖ δὴ νυνὶ σε γενέσθαι
δεινὴν, ἀγαθὴν, φαύλην, σεμνὴν, [χαλεπὴν,] ἀγανὴν, πολύπειρον.
ὥς οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῇ σῇ ληφθέντες ὕγγι 1110

the Handmaiden is Διαλλαγή, the *Reconciler of friends estranged*. In the present scene she fulfils her natural function by bringing up, first one combatant, and then the other, to listen to the words of peace. Fourteen years before, in the *Acharnians* (988-99), the Chorus had addressed Διαλλαγή in the most endearing terms, as the bride in whose company they would fain pass all their days. On *ἀνδρειοτάτη* as applied to a woman see *Wasps* 1090 and the note there.

1109. *δεινὴν* κ.τ.λ.] A word, obviously an epithet of Lysistrata, has dropped out of this line; and we have no means of restoring it. The only guess which has obtained any acceptance is that of Bentley, who suggested that *δειλὴν* might be inserted after *δεινὴν*; "ut omnia contraria sint; ut etiam τὸ σεμνὸν est τῷ ἀγανῶ." But *δειλὴ* is not a very apt word to form a contrast with *δεινὴ*; *σεμνὴ* is more naturally opposed to *φαύλη* (*Eccl.* 617) than to *ἀγανὴ*; and it seems inconceivable that Lysistrata should in any sense be called upon to become *δειλὴ*.

I have therefore, as a makeshift, inserted the word *χαλεπὴν* (in brackets) between *σεμνὴν* and *ἀγανὴν*, so that *δεινὴν* is contrasted with *ἀγαθὴν*, *φαύλην* with *σεμνὴν*, and *χαλεπὴν* a *severe* judge (*Wasps* 942) with *ἀγανὴν* a *gracious* one.

1110. ὕγγι] *love-charm*. ὕγγ· φίλτρον, ἀπὸ ὕγγος τοῦ ὀρνέου. . . . ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὀρνέου καὶ τὰ κατασκευαζόμενα εἰς ἔρωτας ὕγγας καλοῦσιν.—Hesychius. That the ὕγγξ is our *wryneck* (*Iynx torquilla*) is certain from the excellent account which Aristotle gives of the bird in his *History of Animals* ii. 8. 2. Most birds, he says, have three toes in front and one behind; but some have two in front and two behind, οἷον ἡ καλουμένη ὕγγξ. This bird, he goes on to explain, is somewhat larger than a finch, and has τὴν γλῶτταν ὁμοίαν τοῖς ὄφεσιν. ἔχει γὰρ ἐπὶ μῆκος ἔκτασιν καὶ ἐπὶ τέτταρας δακτύλους, καὶ πάλιν συστέλλεται εἰς ἐαυτήν. ἔτι δὲ περιστρέφει τὸν τράχηλον εἰς τοῦπίσω, τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἡρεμούντος, καθάπερ οἱ ὄφεις. ὄνυχας δ' ἔχει μεγάλους μὲν, ὁμοίως μέντοι πεφυκὸς τοῖς τῶν κολιῶν (*woodpeckers*). τῇ δὲ φωνῇ τρίζει.

συνεχώρησάν σοι καὶ κοινῇ τάγκλήματα πάντ' ἐπέτρεψαν.

ΛΥ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ χαλεπὸν τοῦργον, εἰ λάβοι γέ τις
ὀργῶντας ἀλλήλων τε μὴ ἑκπειρωμένους.
τάχα δ' εἴσομαι ἰγώ. ποῦ 'στιν ἡ Διαλλαγή;
πρόσαγε λαβοῦσα πρῶτα τοὺς Λακωνικοὺς, 1115
καὶ μὴ χαλεπῇ τῇ χειρὶ μὴδ' αὐθαδικῇ,
μὴδ' ὥσπερ ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμαθῶς τοῦτ' ἔδρων,

This is a very accurate description of our common wryneck, which has (to quote from Newton's Yarrell, and Morris) "two toes before and two behind; claws much hooked and very sharp." "It obtains its food by its long projectile tongue, two inches and a quarter in length, which is darted forward and retracted with unerring aim and with great velocity." "Its name comes from its habit of rolling its head and neck in a wonderful way, throwing its head from side to side, or twisting it round over its back." Modern naturalists class it among the woodpeckers (*Picidae*). The wryneck when bound to a slowly revolving wheel was supposed to act as a magical philter or love-charm, attracting to the operator the love of the person upon whom the spell was directed. Then the wheel itself, without the wryneck, was called ἰγξ. And finally the word came to be applied generally, as in the present passage, to any charm or natural attractiveness, and is very frequently employed in that sense by the best writers, from Pindar downwards. "ἰγξ· τὸ ἐφέλκον τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ ἔρωτα. . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄργανόν τι ἰγξ

καλούμενον, ὅπερ εἰώθασιν αἱ φαρμακίδες στρέφειν ὡς κατακαλούμεναι τοὺς ἀγαπωμένους· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄρνεόν τι ᾧ πρόκειται τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχειν· ὅθεν δεσμεύουσι τοῖς τροχίσκοις.—Photius. The Second Idyll of Theocritus, commonly called the Pharmaceutria, shows us a deserted lady endeavouring to recall her faithless lover by turning her magic wheel and repeating her magic incantation with its constantly recurring refrain "ἰγξ, ἔλκε τὸ τήνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα. But we hear nothing there of a bird upon the wheel.

1111. ἐπέτρεψαν] *they submit to your arbitration all their charges and counter-charges*, that is, all their disputes. Lysistrata at once accepts their submission and summons the disputants to stand before her.

1113. ὀργῶντας] Though the word conveys no idea of anger, it can hardly be rendered more accurately than by Shakespeare's "in the very *wrath* of love," As You Like It, v. 2. ἀλλήλων τε μὴ ἑκπειρωμένους, *and not having made full trial of each other*, that is, as the Scholiast explains it, μὴ συνόντας ἀλλήλοις. For, as Lucian says (*De Mercede conductis* 7),

ἀλλ' ὥς γυναικάς εἰκὸς, οἰκείως πάνν.
 ἦν μὴ διδῶ τὴν χεῖρα, τῆς σάθης ἄγε.
 ἴθι καὶ σὺ τοὺτους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἄγε· 1120
 οὐ δ' ἂν διδῶσι, πρόσσαγε τούτου λαβομένη.
 ἄνδρες Λάκωνες, στήτε παρ' ἐμὲ πλησίον,
 ἐνθ' ἐνδεθ' ὑμεῖς, καὶ λόγων ἀκούσατε.
 ἐγὼ γυνὴ μὲν εἰμι, νοῦς δ' ἔνεστί μοι·
 αὐτὴ δ' ἐμαντῆς οὐ κακῶς γνώμης ἔχω· 1125

ἴσασιν ἐν τῷ τυχεῖν τὴν διάλυσιν τοῦ ἔρωτος γενησομένην.

1117. ἀμαθῶς] *in a tactless manner*, as one who is ignorant of the ways of polite society. οἰκείως in a friendly, considerate manner, as one familiar with them. τῆς σάθης the Scholiast explains by τοῦ αἰδοίου.

1121. οὐ δ' ἂν διδῶσι] ἂν σοι δόξη ἢ τὴν χεῖρα ἢ ἄλλο τι.—Scholiast.

1123. ὑμεῖς] ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι.—Scholiast. She will have the Laconians stand together on one side and the Athenians on the other, that when she pleases she may address each party in turn.

1125. ἐμαντῆς] *of myself*, that is, in respect of my own native wit (ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως, Bisetus) as distinguished from what had been derived from others. I am not badly off, she means, οὐ κακῶς ἔχω, in respect of my original genius; and in addition to that, I have not been badly trained, οὐ μεμούσμαι κακῶς. This line is taken, the Scholiast tells us, from "Melanippe the Philosopher," a once famous Play of Euripides; and it is generally agreed that the preceding line, and also the two which follow, are in substance borrowed from the same

singular composition. They come, no doubt, as Wagner suggests (Fragm. Frag. Graec. ii. 254), from the opening sentences of Melanippe's celebrated oration, which formed the central feature of the Play and gave it its distinctive name, Μελανίππη ἢ ΣΟΦΗ. Melanippe, so the story ran, had borne twin sons, the fruit of an illicit intercourse with Poseidon, and had hidden them in the cowhouse. Her father, finding them there, and supposing them to be the monstrous progeny of his cows, was minded to purge his house from the pollution by committing them both to the flames. Thereupon Melanippe, eager to save her children, comes forward and delivers a long philosophic oration, thoroughly characteristic of Euripides but, as Aristotle (Poetics xv) observes, utterly inappropriate on the lips of Melanippe. She commences with the commencement of the world when, according to Anaxagoras (of whom Euripides had been a follower in his youth), the whole universe, earth and sky, formed one uniform homogeneous mass which gradually severed itself into varieties of life, trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and human

τοὺς δ' ἐκ πατρός τε καὶ γεραιτέρων λόγους
πολλοὺς ἀκούσας' οὐ μεμύσσωμαι κακῶς.
λαβοῦσα δ' ὑμᾶς λοιδορῆσαι βούλομαι
κοινῇ δικάως, οἷ μίᾳς ἐκ χέρνιβος
βωμοὺς περιρραίνοντες, ὥσπερ ξυγγενεῖς,
'Ολυμπίασιν, ἐν Πύλαις, Πυθοῖ—πόσους
εἵποιμ' ἂν ἄλλους, εἴ με μηκύνειν δέοι ;—

1130

beings. All these variations of species, she argues, are consequently mere accidents of form, overlying an absolute identity of essence; and there is nothing to surprise a philosopher (however strange it might seem to ordinary mortals) if one species should occasionally interchange with another, and cows give birth to human children as well as to calves. Why then condemn to death these innocent babes, who are no ill-omened portent, but merely what on high philosophic principles a cow might well be expected naturally to produce.—If the other lines are drawn from the same source they are in all probability considerably altered by Aristophanes, and the wisdom which Lysistrata attributes to her father's teaching was by Melanippe ascribed to her mother. See the lines quoted from the same speech in the Commentary on Thesm. 14. After all this eloquence we can hardly wonder that the *Μελανίππη σοφή*, "the philosophic Melanippe," of the first Tragedy became the *Μελανίππη δεσμώτις*, "the imprisoned Melanippe," of the second.

1130. *βωμούς*] The Scholiast says *τοὺς αὐτοὺς Θεοὺς τιμῶντες*, but Lysistrata's language goes far beyond that. Not

only do they worship the same Gods, they worship them at the selfsame altars, and sprinkle those altars as they walk around them with lustral water from one and the selfsame laver. (For this circumambulation of the altar with the laver see Peace 956–8, Birds 850, 896, 958.) And this they do *ὥσπερ ξυγγενεῖς*, for these Panhellenic festivals were based on the idea of a common kinship. "Ye little know the Athenians," was their answer to Sparta, "if ye think that they could betray to the Barbarians τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὼν δμαιομένον τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίας, ἥθεά τε ὁμότροπα," Hdt. viii, last chapter.

1131. *᾽Ολυμπίασιν κ.τ.λ.*] The Olympian and Pythian festivals are too well known to require any comment. *Πύλαις* refers to the *Πυλαία*, the annual autumnal meeting of the Amphictyonic Council in the neighbourhood of Thermopylae; to which the Athenians sent every year a deputation consisting of one *Ἱερομνήμων* and three *Πυλαγόραι*. The Scholiast tells us that this whole line is taken from the Erechtheus of Euripides; and another grammarian ascribes line 1135 to the same poet. Some have thought there-

ἐχθρῶν παρόντων βαρβάρων στρατεύματι

Ἑλληνας ἄνδρας καὶ πόλεις ἀπόλλυτε.

εἶς μὲν λόγος μοι δεῦρ' ἀεὶ περαίνεται.

1135

ΑΘ. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπόλλυμαί γ' ἀπεψωλημένος.

ΛΤ. εἴτ', ὦ Λάκωνες, πρὸς γὰρ ὑμᾶς τρέψομαι,

οὐκ ἴσθ', ὅτ' ἐλθὼν δεῦρο Περικλείδας ποτὲ

fore that the Scholium here should be transferred to line 1135; but it is more reasonable to suppose that both statements are correct. The whole passage, indeed Lysistrata's whole speech, whether borrowed from Tragedy or not, is in a distinctly Tragic style. See Wagner's Tragic Fragments ii. 186.

1133. ἐχθρῶν παρόντων βαρβάρων] The Scholiast says ὡς τῶν Λακόνων χρωμένων συμμάχοις βαρβάρους. And with this almost all the Commentators agree. But although the Laconians were in fact at this moment in alliance with the Persians (Thuc. viii. 18, &c.), it seems impossible that there can be any special allusion to that circumstance here. In this section of her speech Lysistrata is expressly confining herself to actions for which both parties are equally blamable; nor are the words apt for describing an alliance between one party and the Barbarians. In my judgement the expression ἐχθρῶν παρόντων βαρβάρων means *in the presence of our barbarian enemies*. These inter-Hellenic contests are always hateful; they are simple madness when we know that our Barbarian enemies are all the while looking on, ready to

take advantage of our self-inflicted misfortunes.

1136. ἀπόλλυμαι] He is not referring to his former condition; he is speaking of the straits to which he is reduced by Lysistrata's charms. Cf. infra 1148, 1158. These little farcical interruptions are intended as a set-off to the real earnestness of Lysistrata's harangue.

1138. Περικλείδας] In order to remind the Spartans of their obligations to Athens, Lysistrata appeals to the events which happened at the outbreak of what is sometimes called the Third Messenian War, 464 B.C. It was the year when the great earthquake shook down almost every house in Sparta, and the Messenian helots, rising against their masters, established themselves in the mountain fortress of Ithome. The Spartans, unskilled in sieges, and in sore distress amid the ruins of their city, called upon their allies for help. Pericleidas was the officer sent to Athens to implore the assistance of the Athenians, which was granted at the instance of Cimon; Plutarch, Cimon 16. Probably Cimon and Pericleidas were friends, and it is noteworthy that while the former named one of his sons Lacedaemonius (Plutarch

ὁ Λάκων Ἀθηναίων ἰκέτης καθέζετο
 ἐπὶ τοῖσι βωμοῖς ὥχρὸς ἐν φοινικίδι, 1140
 στρατιὰν προσαιτῶν; ἡ δὲ Μεσσήνη τότε
 ὑμῖν ἐπέκειτο, χὼ θεὸς σείων ἄμα.
 ἐλθὼν δὲ σὺν ὀπλίταισι τετρακισχιλίοις
 Κίμων ὄλην ἔσωσε τὴν Λακεδαίμονα.
 ταυτὶ παθόντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπο 1145

ubi supra), the latter named one of his Ἀθήναιος (Thuc. iv. 119). Accordingly Cimon at once proceeded πλῆθει οὐκ ὀλίγῃ, says Thucydides (i. 102), "with 4,000 hoplites," says Aristophanes, to take part in the siege of Ithome. Lysistrata was fully justified in instancing this expedition as an act of friendly, and even generous, feeling on the part of the Athenians towards Sparta; but when she proceeds to say that it ὄλην ἔσωσε τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, she is presuming on the forgetfulness of her hearers about events which happened more than half a century before. For the Athenian contingent effected nothing, not from any fault of their own, but because the Spartans, suspicious of their restless and innovating spirit, and possibly discerning some signs of sympathy on their part with the beleaguered Messenians, took the earliest opportunity of dispensing with their services: a proceeding naturally resented by the Athenians; καὶ διαφορὰ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις φανερὰ ἐγένετο, says Thucydides i. 102.

1140. ὥχρὸς ἐν φοινικίδι] *with a red coat but a white face.* That the Spartan military uniform was of a red colour we

have seen in the Commentary on Ach. 320. Here the colour of his uniform is contrasted with the colour of his cheeks which were pallid (ὥχρὸς) from fear. The Lacedaemonians were thoroughly alarmed, but of course the description of Pericleidas is a mere comic exaggeration.

1142. χὼ θεὸς σείων] That is, Poseidon οὐπὶ Ταυνάρῳ θεὸς, who was the sender of earthquakes, and the violation of whose sanctuary at Taenarum was supposed to have provoked the earthquake of 464 B. C. See the Commentary on Ach. 510.

1145. ταυτὶ παθόντες] The 4,000 men whom Cimon led to Ithome were not all Athenian citizens. The gallant little town of Plataea, always identifying itself with the great Ionian city, sent no less than a third of its numbers to assist the Lacedaemonians in their straits. And thirty-seven years afterwards in their mock trial before the Spartans, the Plataeans, pleading for their lives, appeal not only to their heroism in the Persian wars, but also, just as Lysistrata does here, to the succour they gave the Spartans at the present conjuncture. καὶ ὑμῖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἰδίᾳ, they say,

δηοῦτε χάραν, ἥς ὑπ' εὖ πεπόνθατε;

ΑΘ. ἀδικοῦσιν οὗτοι νῆ Δί', ὦ Λυσιστράτη.

ΛΑ. ἀδικοῦμες· ἀλλ' ὁ προκτὸς ἄφατον ὡς καλός.

ΛΥ. ὑμᾶς δ' ἀφήσειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μ' οἶει;

οὐκ ἴσθ' ὅθ' ὑμᾶς οἱ Λάκωνες αὖθις αὖ

1150

κατωνάκας φοροῦντας ἐλθόντες δορί

ὅτε περ δὴ μέγιστος φόβος περιέστη τὴν Σπάρτην μετὰ τὸν σεισμόν τῶν ἐς Ἰθώμην Εἰλώτων ἀποστάντων, τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐξεπέμφαμεν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν· ὃν οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀμνημονεῖν, Thuc. iii. 54.

1148. ἄφατον ὡς καλός] He is admiring Lysistrata; cf. Peace 868, 876.

1149. ἀφήσειν] τῆς μέμφεως.—Scholiast. *to let you off*. The charges which she had brought against the Lacedaemonians had made the Athenians jump to the conclusion that they themselves were in no way to blame. Now therefore she turns to them.

1150. οὐκ ἴσθ' ὅθ' ὑμᾶς] The proof she adduced of the Athenian friendship for Sparta was the assistance they gave her in the siege of Ithome: the proof of the Spartan friendship for Athens is the assistance they gave her in completing the work of Harmodius and Aristogeiton and expelling the last of the Tyrants. Yet in this case, as in the former, the friendly act had a very unsatisfactory sequel. The expulsion of the Peisistratidae is described in much the same way by Herodotus (v. 63-5) and Aristotle (Polity of Athens, chap. 19). The Lacedaemonians, constantly urged by the Pythian oracle τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλευθε-

ροῦν, first sent by sea a body of troops under Anchimolius for that purpose. Anchimolius was defeated and slain by the Thessalian cavalry, 1,000 in number, in the pay of Hippias. Thereupon Cleomenes led a larger force by land, defeated the Thessalian cavalry, and besieged Hippias in the Acropolis. By a happy stroke of good fortune, the besiegers captured the children of Hippias, who thereupon, to save his children, agreed to leave Attica forthwith. Yet very shortly afterwards Cleomenes was himself besieged in the Acropolis by the Athenian people, with the result mentioned supra 273-82.

1151. κατωνάκας] The κατωνάκη was a thick woollen garment, mostly worn by slaves (cf. Eccl. 724), the lower part being composed of sheepskin (νάκη) whence it derived its name. Lysistrata speaks as if under the Peisistratidae all Athenians were compelled to wear this servile dress, which is quite incredible; so tyrannical an edict could not have escaped the notice of Herodotus and other ancient writers. And we know from Theopompus that the necessity was imposed only upon certain returned exiles who were permitted to dwell in

πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας Θετταλῶν ἀπώλεσαν,
 πολλοὺς δ' ἑταίρους Ἰππίου καὶ ξυμμάχους,
 ξυνεκμαχοῦντες τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρᾳ μόνοι,
 κάλυθέρωσαν, κἀντὶ τῆς κατωνάκης 1155
 τὸν δῆμον ὑμῶν χλαῖναν ἡμπισχον πάλιν ;

ΛΑ. οὐπα γυναῖκ' ὅπωπα χαῖωτέραν.

ΑΘ. ἐγὼ δὲ κύσθον γ' οὐδέπω καλλίονα.

ΛΥ. τί δῆθ' ὑπηργμένων γε πολλῶν κάγαθῶν
 μάχεσθε κοῦ παύεσθε τῆς μοχθηρίας ; 1160

Attica, but not to enter the city, and who wore this distinctive badge that they might not slip in unnoticed. Moeris, who introduces the word *κατωνάκη*, apparently without any reason, into his "Attic and Hellenic words," says τοῖς εἰς χρόνον φεύγουσιν, ὅτε κατίειν, νάκος τι τοῖς ἱματίοις προσέρραπτο, ὡς καὶ ὁ Θεόπομπος ἡναγκάσθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων, ἵνα μὴ κατίωσιν εἰς ἄστυ, κατωνάκην φορεῖν. But other writers are not so careful and, probably from taking Lysistrata's words too literally, declare that the "Tyrants" did really compel the Athenians generally to wear the κατωνάκη. Thus Pollux (vii. 68) says, ἡ κατωνάκη ἐξ ἐρίου μὲν ἦν ἐσθῆς παχεῖα, νάκος δ' αὐτῇ κατὰ τὴν πέζαν προσέρραπτον, ἔν τε Σικωνίοις ἐπὶ τῶν Τυράννων, καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν, ὅπως αἰσχύνοιντο εἰς ἄστυ κατιέναι. And so, omitting the reference to the Sicyonian κατωνακοφόροι, Hesychius and Suidas s.v. No doubt many of the exiles would be men of position and substance who, if they elected to return to Attica, would have to assume the servile κατωνάκη.

1155. ἀντὶ τῆς κατωνάκης] In some-

what similar language, Arrian tells us, Alexander the Great pointed out to his Macedonians the benefits which his father had conferred upon them. *χλαμύδας* he said ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν διφθερῶν φορεῖν ἔδωκε, *Expositio Alexandri* vii. 9.

1157. χαῖωτέραν] a nobler woman. Cf. supra 90. They are both more attracted by the charms of her person than by the force of her arguments.

1159. ὑπηργμένων] when so many and such great services have been rendered by each to the other.

1162. ἀμέσ γε κ.τ.λ.] ἡμεῖς γε θέλομεν εἴ τις ἡμῖν τὸ ἔγκυκλον θέλει τοῦτο ἀποδοῦναι. We at all events are willing (to make friends) if we can get the ἔγκυκλον restored to us. The desire of recovering their lost possessions is for the moment merged in their love for Lysistrata, and their reciprocal demands are throughout worded with reference to her dress and person. The restoration of Pylus had been for years so paramount an object to the Lacedaemonians that Aristophanes could not but make it their demand here also, but he diverts it to Lysistrata by calling it the ἔγκυκλον which, as regards her, means

- τί δ' οὐ διηλλάγητε; φέρε, τί τοῦμποδῶν;
 ΛΑ. ἀμές γε λῶμες, αἶ τις ἀμὴν τοῦγκυκλον
 λῆ τοῦτ' ἀποδόμην. ΛΥ. ποῖον, ὦ τᾶν;
 ΛΑ. τὰν Πύλον,
 ὥσπερ πάλαι δεόμεθα καὶ βλιμάττομες.
 ΑΘ. μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, τοῦτο μὲν γ' οὐ δράσετε. 1165
 ΛΥ. ἄφετ', ὦγάθ', αὐτοῖς. ΑΘ. κᾶτα τίνα κινήσομεν;
 ΛΥ. ἕτερόν γ' ἀπαιτεῖτ' ἀντὶ τούτου χωρίον.
 ΑΘ. τὸ δεῖνα τοίνυν, παράδοθ' ἡμῖν τουτονὶ

the womanly mantle, supra 113 (hence τοῦτο, δεικτικῶς); as regards *Pylus*, the Pylia precincts. τὸ ἔγκυκλον, τουτέστι τὴν Πύλον, says the Scholiast, διὰ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν περιβολήν. With respect to the Athenians, however, the poet's fancy was more unrestricted, and he selects just those names as will best apply to Lysistrata; Echinus (τὸ γυναικείον αἰδοῖον), the Maliac bay (Μηλιακὸν κόλπον, *sinum pomissimilem*), and the "Megarica crura."

1164. βλιμάττομες] ἀντὶ τοῦ ψηλαφῶμεν καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν.—Scholiast. ὥσπερ for ἥσπερ. Notwithstanding their misfortunes, the Athenians were still keeping a firm grip upon Pylus (supra 104); and its recapture, though not of such absolutely vital necessity to Sparta as it had seemed ten years before (Peace 219), was still a matter of the greatest importance; and two years after the date of the Lysistrata, we find the Spartans besieging it both by land and by sea. But the besieging fleet consisted of eleven triremes only, and the Athenians dispatched a fleet of thirty ships under Anytus (afterwards the accuser of Socrates) to relieve the town. Anytus failed

to round Cape Malea, and returned to Athens having effected nothing, and leaving Pylus to its fate. He was brought to trial for treason (προδοσία), and only escaped by bribing the dicasts; Diodorus Siculus xiii. 64; Polity of Athens, chap. 27. So Pylus, having been in the hands of the Athenians for fifteen years, passed again into the possession of Sparta.

1165. Ποσειδῶ] He appeals to Poseidon because by means of the sea the Athenians first obtained possession of Pylus, and by the same means only can they retain it. By τοῦτο μὲν γ' οὐ δράσετε, *ye won't do that*, he means "you won't get Pylus."

1166. κινήσομεν] As regards Pylus, this refers to the opportunities which its possession gave to Athens of stirring up troubles and risings amongst the Messenians. As regards Lysistrata, the word is used πρὸς τὸ κακέμφατον.

1168. τὸ δεῖνα] See on 921 supra. He is humming and hawing as though unable to decide offhand what places he will demand in exchange for Pylus. The word τουτονὶ at the end of the line shows

πρώτιστα τὸν Ἐχινούντα καὶ τὸν Μηλιᾶ
κόλπον τὸν ὀπισθεν καὶ τὰ Μεγαρικὰ σκέλη.

1170

- ΛΑ. οὐ τὼ σιῶ, οὐχὶ πάντα γ', ὦ λυσσάνιε.
 ΛΥ. ἔατε, μηδὲν διαφέρου περὶ τοῖν σκελοῖν.
 ΑΘ. ἤδη γεωργεῖν γυμνὸς ἀποδὺς βούλομαι.
 ΛΑ. ἐγὼ δὲ κοπραγωγῆν γὰ πρὸ ναι τὼ σιῶ.
 ΛΥ. ἐπὴν διαλλαγῆτε, ταῦτα δράσετε.
 ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ δρᾶν ταῦτα, βουλευσασθε καὶ
 τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἐλθόντες ἀνακοινώσατε.
 ΑΘ. ποίοισιν, ὦ τᾶν, ξυμμάχοις; ἐστύκαμεν.

1175

that when he does name them he also points them out on Lysistrata's person.

1169. Ἐχινούντα κ.τ.λ.] The places are selected, not on their own account, but solely from the applicability of their *names* to the person of Lysistrata; and Paulmier's speculations as to the historical reasons which made the speaker demand them, however ingenious, are altogether misplaced. Under cover of these names the Athenian is really endeavouring to possess himself of the lower half of Lysistrata's person; an unexpectedly large demand which the Laconian indignantly describes as wanting EVERYTHING. Such a description would have been absurd if it were intended to refer merely to the three insignificant places mentioned. Echinus was a town on the Maliac bay, the bay which came up to the east of the pass of Thermopylae. The bay was, of course, in front of Echinus, and both Scholiast and Commentators have puzzled themselves over the words τὸν ὀπισθεν, the Scholiast suggesting that there was

a lake at the back of the town, and some of the Commentators supposing that a creek from the bay ran up into its rear. But all this is mere trifling. In my judgement the words have nothing to do with the town, but apply exclusively to Lysistrata's person. The speaker could not help using the word κόλπος, because everybody called the bay τὸν Μηλιᾶ κόλπον (Aesch. Persae 488, Hdt. iv. 33); but he means it to represent not her bosom, but her *πρωκτός* (supra 1148); and to make this quite clear he calls it τὸν κόλπον τὸν ὀπισθεν. The Μεγαρικὰ σκέλη are the Long Walls which connected the town of Megara with its port of Nisaea. These walls had been erected by the Athenians nearly half a century before the date of the Lysistrata, when Megara was in close alliance with Athens (Thuc. i. 103); and were levelled to the ground by the Megarians themselves during the winter of 424-423 B. c. (Thuc. iv. 109). Long Walls of this description went by the name of σκέλη, *legs*, τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη; and that is the sole reason of their mention here: they

οὐ ταῦτ' ἀδέξει τοῖσι συμμάχοισι νῶν,
βινεῖν ἅπασιν ;

1180

ΛΑ. τοῖσι γοῦν ναὶ τὸ σιῶ
ἀμοῖσι. ΑΘ. καὶ γὰρ ναὶ μὰ Δία Καρυστίοις.

ΛΤ. καλῶς λέγετε. νῦν οὖν ὅπως ἀγνεύσετε,
ὅπως ἂν αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμᾶς ἐν πόλει
ξενίσωμεν ὧν ἐν ταῖσι κίσταις εἶχομεν.
ὄρκους δ' ἐκεῖ καὶ πίστιν ἀλλήλοις δότε.
κάππειτα τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖχ' ὑμῶν λαβὼν
ἅπεισ' ἕκαστος. ΑΘ. ἀλλ' ἴωμεν ὥς τάχος.

1185

complete the description of what the Athenian was anxious to obtain.

1171. ὃ λυσσάνει] *you lunatic*. ὃ μαινόμενε.—Scholiast. The Laconian is naturally indignant that, whilst his own modest demand was confined to one article of Lysistrata's raiment, the Athenian should be demanding half her person.

1173. γυμνός] Bergler refers to Virgil's well-known precept *Nudus ara, sere nudus* (Georg. i. 299), the commencement of a line which (when Virgil was reciting his poem) some Roman wag completed by ejaculating *habebis frigora, febrem*. But of course Virgil was merely translating Hesiod's γυμνὸν σπείρειν, γυμνὸν δὲ βοωτεῖν, Γυμνὸν δ' ἀμᾶσθαι, W. and D. 391. The Scholiast's explanation of the present line is ἀπαλλαγὴς τοῦ πολέμου γυμνὸς βούλομαι γεωργεῖν, and of the next ἀντὶ τοῦ κόπρον ἄγειν πρῶτον ὥς μὴ εὐπορούντων αὐτῶν ἀροσίμης γῆς. They were like the Athenian allies after the termination of the Persian wars, who are described by Plutarch (Cimon, chap. 11) as πολέμου μὲν οὐδὲν δεόμενοι, γεωργεῖν δὲ καὶ ζῆν καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐπιθυμοῦντες. But

doubtless in both these lines there is an allusion to the ἀρώσιμοι γύαι of which Sophocles speaks in *Antigone* 569. Lysistrata, naturally, ignores the innuendo, and, in *her* reply, ταῦτα merely means, as the Scholiast says, τὰ τῆς γεωργίας.

1181. ἀμοῖσι] sc. ἡμετέροισι. For the Carystians see the note on 1058 supra.

1184. κίσταις] ἀντὶ τοῦ, ὧν εἶχομεν ἐδεσμάτων ἐν τῇ κίστῃ.—Scholiast. A κίστη was an ὀψοθήκη, a provision-basket, an ἀγγεῖον ἐν ᾧ τὰ βρώματα κείται, as Photius and Suidas define it. See *Acharnians* 1086 and the Commentary there.

1185. ὄρκους καὶ πίστιν] *oaths and the handclasp*. We were told in Ach. 308 (where see the Commentary) that neither ὄρκος nor πίστις could avail to bind the Laconians. But the old Acharnians, who were the speakers there, were the representatives of the War-party. Lysistrata is the protagonist of the Peace-party; and she agrees with Diaecopolis that the Laconians were not always entirely and exclusively to blame in their controversies with Athens.

ΛΑ. ἄγ' ὅπα τυ λῆς. ΑΘ. νῆ τὸν Δί' ὡς τάχιστα γε.

ΧΟ. στρωμάτων δὲ ποικίλων καὶ [στρ.
 χλανιδίων καὶ ξυστίδων καὶ
 χρυσίων, ὅσ' ἐστί μοι, 1190
 οὐ φθόνος ἔνεστί μοι
 πᾶσι παρέχειν φέρειν
 τοῖς παισὶν, ὅπόταν τε θυγά-
 τηρ τινὶ κανηφορῇ.
 πᾶσιν ὑμῖν λέγω 1195
 λαμβάνειν τῶν ἐμῶν
 χρημάτων νῦν ἔνδοθεν, καὶ
 μηδὲν οὕτως εὖ σεσημάν-

1188. ὅπα τυ λῆς] ὅπη συ θέλεις.

1189. στρωμάτων κ.τ.λ.] Lysistrata retires into the Acropolis, accompanied by the Athenian and Laconian ambassadors, to partake of the promised entertainment. We shall presently see the ambassadors returning from the banquet in a very friendly and convivial mood, and enlivening the remainder of the Play with a succession of songs and dances. The Chorus take advantage of their absence to continue the series of stanzas which they commenced supra 1043-71. The Scholiast says that these two stanzas are an ἀποκοπή τοῦ ἄλλου χοροῦ, meaning that the four stanzas form one connected whole, and that the present pair are merely a section of that whole. They are linked on to the former pair by the particle δέ. The third stanza opens with a free offer to the audience of valuable ornaments and

splendid attire. Στρώματα ποικίλα are *embroidered coverlets* to be spread over couches and the like. Χλανίδια are *fine woollen mantles* worn by both men and women. The diminutive is probably used to denote their preciousness rather than their size. That the χλανίς was considered an elegant and fashionable garment is shown by the circumstance that Peisthetaerus, going up to Heaven to wed Miss Royalty, calls for a γαμικὴν χλανίδα, Birds 1693. Cf. Id. 1116. The χλανίς was an ἱμάτιον, but the ξυστίς was an ἔνδυμα, a *long embroidered robe* reaching to the ground, and commonly used on the Tragic stage. ξυστίς γυναικείον τι ἔνδυμα πεποικιλμένον. χιτῶν ποδήρης γυναικείος. ἰδίως δὲ τὸ τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἔνδυμα.—Photius, Hesychius. But Photius is in error when he says ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἵππικον ἔνδυμα, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Νεφέλαις (70). The noble who is there

θαι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ
 τοὺς ῥύπους ἀνασπάσαι,
 χᾶττ' ἂν ἔνδον ἢ φορεῖν. 1200
 ὄψεται δ' οὐδὲν σκοπῶν, εἰ
 μὴ τις ὑμῶν
 ὀξύτερον ἔμοῦ βλέπει.

εἰ δέ τφ μὴ σῖτος ὑμῶν [ἀντ.
 ἔστι, βόσκει δ' οἰκέτας καὶ
 σμικρὰ πολλὰ παιδιά, 1205
 ἔστι παρ' ἔμοῦ λαβεῖν
 πυρίδια λεπτὰ μὲν,
 ὃ δ' ἄρτος ἀπὸ χοίνικος ἰ-

wearing the *ξυστίς* is not riding, but reclining in his chariot. Χρυσία are *golden trinkets* such as, we have already seen in Ach. 258, were commonly worn by *κανηφόροι*. χρυσοφοροῦσι γὰρ αἱ *κανηφόροι*, says the Scholiast here. But of course their use was not confined to *κανηφόροι*. All girls wore them, Birds 670. As to the *κανηφόροι* see supra 646.

1197. οὕτως ἐδ' σεσημάνθαι] *to have been sealed so firmly*. The infinitive, like the *λαμβάνειν* which precedes, and the *φορεῖν* which follows it, is governed by the λέγω of 1195.

1200. τοὺς ῥύπους ἀνασπάσαι] *to pull off the seals*. τοὺς ῥύπους· τὰς σφραγίδας· ἐκ πηλοῦ γὰρ ὑπῆρχον.—Scholiast. ῥύπος properly means *dirt*; and thence, since the Athenians used clay, as we use wax, for sealing, it became equivalent to *sealing wax*. Kuster refers to Pollux x. 59 τὸν ἐπιτήδειον εἰς τὸ κατασημαίνεισθαι κηρὸν

οἱ παλαιοὶ ῥύπον ὠνόμαζον, ὥς ἐν Λυσιστράτῃ Ἀριστοφάνους. And to Hesychius ῥύπον Ἀττικοὶ τὸν εἰς τὰς σφραγίδας κηρὸν λέγουσιν. The old name lingered on, even after wax had become substituted for clay.

1201. ὄψεται δ' οὐδέν] *παίξουσα λέγει μηδὲν εἶναι ἔνδον*.—Scholiast. This is the third “sell.”

1207. ἄρτος ἀπὸ χοίνικος] that is, one loaf to a choenix of wheat. We are told by the Scholiast on Wasps 440 that a choenix of wheat was sufficient for four large loaves or eight small ones; so that the loaf which the Chorus are here promising is equivalent to four large loaves rolled into one. The wheat was ground very fine, λεπτὰ μὲν, but the loaf into which it was made was, in a different sense, a very fine one, μάλα νεανίας. Cf. Plutus 1137. All this is of course merely leading up to the fourth “sell.”

δεῖν μάλα νεανίας.
 ὅστις οὖν βούλεται
 τῶν πενήτων ἵτω
 εἰς ἐμοῦ σάκους ἔχων καὶ
 κωρύκους, ὥς λήψεται πυ-
 ρούς· ὁ Μανῆς δ'
 οὐμὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλεῖ.
 πρὸς γε μέντοι τὴν θύραν
 προαγορεύω μὴ βαδίζειν
 τὴν ἐμὴν, ἀλλ'
 εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὴν κύνα.

1210

1215

ΑΓ. Α. ἀνοιγε τὴν θύραν.

ΘΥ. παραχωρεῖν οὐ θέλεις;

ΑΓ. Α. ὑμεῖς τί κάθησθε; μὲν ἐγὼ τῇ λαμπάδι
 ὑμᾶς κατακαύσω; φορτικὸν τὸ χωρίον.

1211. κωρύκους] *wallets*. The κώρυκος does not seem to have differed materially from the θύλακος. Both Hesychius and Photius define it by θυλάκιον, Hesychius adding ἔστι δὲ δερμάτινον ἀγγεῖον, ὅμοιον ἀσκῷ. The Scholiast here and Suidas (s. v. σάκος and elsewhere) say that it is a bread-basket, πλέγμα δεκτικὸν ἄρτων. As to Manes see supra 908.

1215. εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὴν κύνα] *Beware of the dog*, "Cave canem."

1216. ἀνοιγε τὴν θύραν] We are now preparing for the return of the revellers from Lysistrata's banquet; but before they re-enter, we are regaled with a little squabble between the Porter and some idle fellows crowding about the door, which may remind the English reader of the Porter-scene in Shake-

speare's Henry the Eighth v. 3. The Aristophanic Porter-scene appears to be a satire on the artifices employed by contemporary dramatists to elicit the laughter of the audience. A group of idlers approach from the market-place, and propose to join the banqueters within. One of them hails the Porter, and calls on him to open the door. The Porter orders him off. Thereupon the intruder threatens to set fire with his torch to the Porter and his assistants. Doubtless this had been done in the scene satirized. But the Aristophanic idler draws back, and says that this is a vulgar trick and he won't do it. Nevertheless, on second thoughts, if the audience really like that sort of thing, he will endeavour to gratify their tastes. How-

- οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαιμ'. εἰ δὲ πάννυ δέῃ τοῦτο δρᾶν,
 ὑμῖν χάρισασθαι, προσταλαιπωρήσομεν. 1220
- ΑΓ. Β. χήμεις γε μετὰ σοῦ ξυνταλαιπωρήσομεν.
- ΘΥ. οὐκ ἄπιτε; κωκύσεσθε τὰς τρίχας μακρά.
 οὐκ ἄπιθ', ὅπως ἂν οἱ Λάκωνες ἔνδοθεν
 καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀπίωσιν εὖωχημένοι;
- ΑΘ. Α. οὐπω τοιοῦτον συμπόσιον ὅπωπ' ἐγώ.
 ἦ καὶ χαρίεντες ἦσαν οἱ Λακωνικοί·
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν οἴνῳ ξυμπόται σοφώτατοι.
- ΑΘ. Β. ὀρθῶς γ', ὅτιη νήφοντες οὐχ ὑγιαίνομεν·
 ἦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐγὼ πείσω λέγων,
 μεθύοντες αἰεὶ πανταχοῦ πρεσβεύσομεν. 1230
 νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὅταν ἔλθωμεν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα
 νήφοντες, εὐθὺς βλέπομεν ὅ τι ταραξόμεν·
 ὥσθ' ὅ τι μὲν ἂν λέγωσιν οὐκ ἀκούομεν,

ever the revellers are now moving to come out, and the Porter drives the whole group of idlers from the door. The scene is variously arranged. I adhere to the arrangement adopted in the former edition of my translation.

1217. *ὑμεῖς τι κάθησθε;*] This is addressed to the Porter and his assistants, who instead of rising to open the door remain quietly in their seats.

1218. *φορτικὸν τὸ χωρίον*] On *φορτικὸν* see the Commentary on *Wasps* 58. τὸ *χωρίον* seems to mean *the office, the business*. The Scholiast explains it by τὸ *πρᾶγμα*, τὸ *ὑμᾶς καθῆσαι*. To set fire to the Porter, he means, is a low and vulgar trick, the stock business *φορτικῆς κωμῳδίας*, and he will not stoop to that. Still if he *must* do it to please the

audience, ὑμῖν *χάρισασθαι*, he will descend even to that buffoonery. εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, ὦ *θεαταί*, καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν, προσχαριζόμενοι ὑμῖν.—Scholiast.

1222. *κωκύσεσθε τὰς τρίχας*] *ye shall wail for your hair*, which I will pull out by the handful. See *supra* 448 and the note on *Plutus* 612.

1223. οἱ Λάκωνες] Athenians, as well as Laconians, are now coming out from the banquet; indeed the first to re-enter are two Athenian friends talking to each other of what has occurred within. But all the idlers are Athenians, and the Porter specially refers to the Laconians because *they* are the visitors and must be treated with respect.

1229. ἦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους] *if the Athenians would follow my advice*.

ἂ δ' οὐ λέγουσι, ταῦθ' ὑπονενοήκαμεν.
 ἀγγέλλομεν δ' οὐ ταῦτὰ τῶν αὐτῶν πέρι.
 νυνὶ δ' ἅπαντ' ἤρεσκεν ὥστ' εἰ μὲν γέ τις
 ἄδοι Τελαμῶνος, Κλειταγόρας ἄδειν δέον,
 ἐπηνέσαμεν ἂν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιωρκήσαμεν.

1235

ΘΥ. ἀλλ' οὐτοὶ γὰρ αὖθις ἔρχονται πάλιν
 ἐς ταῦτόν. οὐκ ἐρρήσετ', ὦ μαστιγίαι;

1240

1235. οὐ ταῦτὰ] This in all probability refers to some recent negotiations in which, we may suppose, the Athenian envoys, returning from Sparta, brought back differing tales as to what had occurred during their mission there.

1237. ἄδοι Τελαμῶνος] *sing the Telamon catch*. We have seen in the Commentary on Wasps 1222 the principle on which scolia were sung at an Athenian symposium, a principle admirably expounded and illustrated by Colonel Mure, Greek Literature iii. 2. 13. As the lyre, sprig of myrtle, scolium-cup (φῶδς), or other badge of minstrelsy was passed on from one guest to another, the recipient for the time being was expected to *cap* the scolium sung by the previous holder,

Παῖ Τελαμῶνος, Αἴαν αἰχμητὰ, λέγουσί σε
 ἐς Τροίαν ἄριστον ἐλθεῖν Δαναῶν μετ' Ἀχιλλεία.

On an ordinary occasion such a blunder would have exposed the singer to derision, but in their present state of conviviality and friendship it merely evokes a kindly approval. As to the Cleitagora catch see the Commentary on Wasps *ubi supra*.

1238. καὶ πρὸς ἐπιωρκήσαμεν] *And besides praising him, we should swear (falsely) that he was right*.

that is to say, to sing a scolium which should be linked on to the former by some catchword, similarity of thought, or the like. In the present case we are to suppose that the preceding scolium was one which could be properly capped only by some such catch as the Cleitagora scolium, a part of which (being all we know of it) is given in Wasps 1245, &c.

χρήματα καὶ βίαν
 Κλειταγόρα τε καὶ
 μοὶ μετὰ Θετταλῶν.

But instead of singing this, or any scolium of a similar character, the recipient, perhaps a little overcome by wine, trolls out the irrelevant Telamon catch, which is given in Athenaeus xv. 50, and runs as follows:—

1239. ἀλλ' οὐτοὶ] That is, the idlers whom he had driven away before on the ground that the Laconians were coming out. As the Laconians have not made their appearance the idlers conclude that it was a false alarm, and again come thronging to the door. But now the banquet is over, and, peace being effectually made, the ambassadors are really leaving the Acropolis. Hence—

- ΑΓ. νῆ τὸν Δί', ὡς ἤδη γε χωροῦσ' ἔνδοθεν.
 ΛΑ. ὦ πουλυχαρίδα, λαβέ τὰ φυσατήρια,
 ἔν' ἐγὼ διποδιάξω γε καίεισω καλὸν
 ἐς τοὺς Ἀσαναίους τε κῆς ἡμᾶς ἅμα.
 ΑΘ. λαβέ δῆτα τὰς φυσαλλίδας πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, 1245
 ὡς ἡδομαί γ' ὑμᾶς ὀρῶν ὀρχουμένους.

ΛΑ. ὄρμαον

forth the phallus-element, which was necessary for the attainment of Peace, is altogether discarded, and Aristophanes is free to indulge in those pure lyrical melodies which form so brilliant a setting to his comic wit.

1242. *φυσατήρια*] *bagpipes*. τοὺς αὐλοὺς, ἀπὸ τοῦ *φυσᾶν*.—Scholiast. Apparently this appeal is addressed not to the regular theatrical αὐλητῆς, but to another of the Laconians on the stage. One is to pipe and the other to sing and dance to his piping.

1243. *διποδιάξω*] *dance a reel*. τοῖς δύο ποσὶ χορεύσω. εἶδος δὲ ὀρχήσεως ἡ *διποδία*.—Scholiast. The *διποδία* was a stately Spartan dance. *Λακωνική τις ἦν εὐγενὴς ὀρχησις διποδία λεγομένη*.—Eustathius (at *Iliad* ix. 525). *διποδία, ὀρχημα Λακωνικόν*.—Pollux iv. 101. *καίεισω καλὸν*, and sing a good song. Even apart from the emphatic ἐγὼ, the whole trend of the conversation shows that the ensuing song is to be a *solo* sung upon the stage; and so it is treated by the Ravenna and, seemingly, all the other MSS., and all the early editions. Unfortunately the concluding song (*infra* 1297-1322) is absurdly attributed to a *χορὸς Λακόνων* by some if not all of the MSS. There was

not, and indeed could not have been, any "Chorus of Laconians." For whence could they come? when did they enter? and, where are they stationed? The only Chorus in the Play consists of the twelve Athenian men and twelve Athenian women now acting together, but formerly composing two hostile Semichoruses. There was no place in the orchestra or on the stage for any other Chorus, and the error in the ascription of the final song should have been rectified from the unanimity with which the present one is ascribed to *Λάκων* or *Πρέσβυς*. But a different course has prevailed; and Dindorf and some other recent editors have intensified the error by attributing the present song also to a non-existent "Chorus of Laconians."

1247. *ὄρμαον* κ.τ.λ.] Now then the Spartan envoy begins his song, to the piping of the Spartan minstrel. While he is singing he is also dancing, and it is possible that the other envoys are at the same time exhibiting on the boards of the Athenian theatre a specimen of the stately Spartan dance. He sings of the great deeds which Athens and Sparta did, when they stood shoulder to shoulder

τὼς κυρσανίως, ὦ Μναμόνα, τὰν τεὰν μῶαν, ἄτις οἶδεν ἀμέ τοὺς τ' Ἀσαναίους,	1250
ὄκα τοὶ μὲν ἐπ' Ἀρταμιτίῳ πρόκροον θείκελοι ποττὰ κᾶλα, τοὺς Μήδους τ' ἐνίκων, ἀμέ δ' αὖ Λεωνίδας ἄγεν ἔπερ τὼς κάπρωσ	1255
θάγοντας, οἶῶ, τὸν ὀδόντα· πολὺς δ' ἀμφὶ τὰς γέννας ἀφρὸς ἦνσει, πολὺς δ' ἅμα καττῶν σκελῶν ἀφρὸς ἴετο. ἦν γὰρ τῶνδρες οὐκ ἐλάσσως	1260

der to resist the Persian invader, and prays to Artemis—one of the chief Spartan deities, and selected here, instead of her brother Apollo, in compliment to the women through whose efforts Peace had been made—that she will preside over the treaties and see to their faithful fulfilment by both the Powers. The song commences *O Memory, stir up the youngsters to begin thy song* (ὄρμησον τοὺς κυρσανίους, ὦ Μνημοσύνη, [εἰς] τὴν σὴν μοῦσαν), *the song which can tell of ourselves and of the Athenians, when they at Artemisium clashed like gods* (θείκελοι for θεοείκελοι) *against the hostile ships, and overthrew the Medes*. By τὼς κυρσανίως we are to understand, the Scholiast tells us, τοὺς μέλλοντας ὀρχεῖσθαι. The construction of the opening words is, or rather if the preposition εἰς were inserted, would be, very common, as in Thuc. i. 127 [ὁ Περικλῆς] εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὄρμα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. But here, as the Scholiast notices, the preposition εἰς (ἢ

εἰς πρόθεσις) is omitted, an omission which would be intolerable in Attic, and might be easily remedied by reading ὦ Μναμόνα, ἔς τὰν τεὰν μῶαν. The omission may however have been permissible in Doric, and the Scholiast's remark shows that the present reading was fully recognized as the right one in his time. It is unnecessary here to say anything of the splendid behaviour of the Athenian fleet at Artemisium or the undying glory of the Spartan stand at Thermopylae. Both are recorded, in language worthy of the events, by Herodotus at the close of his Seventh and beginning of his Eighth Book.

1253. ποττὰ κᾶλα] πρὸς τὰ πλοῖα.—Scholiast. The use of κᾶλα, *simpliciter*, for πλοῖα in this Laconian song shows that the word bears the same meaning in the famous Laconian dispatch which, in the following year, was sent to the Ephors by a Peloponnesian officer after the battle of Cyzicus (Xen. Hell. i. 1. 23 ;

τᾶς ψάμμας, τοὶ Πέρσαι.
Ἀγρότερ' Ἄρτεμι σηροκτόνε
μόλε δεῦρο, παρσένε σιά,
ποττὰς σπονδὰς,
ὥς συνέχης πολὺν ἀμέ χρόνον. 1265
νῦν δ' αὖ
φιλία τ' αἰὲς εὐπορος εἴη
ταῖς συνθήκαις,
καὶ τᾶν αἰμυλᾶν ἀλωπέκων
πανσαίμεθ' ὦ 1270
δεῦρ' ἴθι, δεῦρ', ὦ

Plutarch, Alcibiades, chap. 28), and which, notwithstanding the doubts of some eminent scholars, I am per-

suaded was, like so many important documents of antiquity, composed in metre (a choliambic distich).

ἔρρει τὰ κᾶλα· Μίνδαρος δ' ἀπεσσούα·
πεινῶντι τῶνδρες· ἀποριῶμες ὅ,τι χρὴ δρᾶν.

The ships are wastit; Mindarus is gane;
 The chieis are clemmed; we kenna what to do.

1257. ἀφρὸς ἦνσει] *The foam blossomed* (ἦνθει), that is, burst forth like a white flower. The picture of the wild boar "churning the white foam between his jaws" is very familiar in both ancient and modern literature. Here the foam is described not only as gathering round the jaws, but also as streaming down the forelegs of the animal, κατῶν for κατὰ τῶν. The use of the sigma where the Attics used theta, ἦνσει for ἦνθει, was very common with the Dorians: we have in this ode σηροκτόνε for θηροκτόνε, παρσένε for παρθένε, σιά for θεά.

1262. Ἀγροτέρα] For this, as a title or epithet of Artemis, see Knights 660 and

the Commentary there.

1265. συνέχης] *hold us together*, like two of her own hounds, in one leash.

1269. ἀλωπέκων] In Peace 1067 the Oracle-monger compares the Spartans as *contrasted* with the Athenians, ἀλωπεκιδεῦσιν | ὧν δόλιαι ψυχαί, δόλιαι φρένες. And probably the word is here also intended specially for the Spartans; though in terms it extends to all the contracting parties. The epithet αἰμυλᾶν, *false, shifty, deceitful*, is equivalent to the δόλιαι of the earlier comedy. The Scholiast's explanation of ἀλωπέκων by τῶν πανούργων ῥητόρων seems altogether wrong.

κυναγὲ παρσένε.

ΛΥ. ἄγε νυν, ἐπειδὴ τᾶλλα πεποίηται καλῶς,
ἀπάγεσθε ταύτας, ὧ Λάκωνες, τάσδε τε
ὕμεις· ἀνὴρ δὲ παρὰ γυναιῖκα καὶ γυνή
στήτω παρ' ἀνδρα, καὶ τ' ἐπ' ἀγαθαῖς συμφοραῖς
ὀρχησάμενοι θεοῖσιν εὐλαβώμεθα
τὸ λοιπὸν αὖθις μὴ ῥεαυτάνειν ἔτι.

1275

1272. ἄγε νυν] Lysistrata may possibly have come out with the envoys, but it is more probable that she lingered behind them for a few moments and only now reappears to wind up the proceedings. With her emerge both her own young and beautiful comrades and also the ladies of the Peloponnesian party who entered the Acropolis as hostages supra 244. The latter are the ταύτας whom the Laconians are to lead out to the dance: the former the τάσδε whom the Athenians are to partner.

1276. ἐπ' ἀγαθαῖς συμφοραῖς] *in honour of our good fortune*. See the Commentary on Knights 406.

1279. πρόσαγε δὴ χορόν] Although the Laconian songs are sung by the Laconian on the stage, yet the Athenian song is unquestionably sung by the full Chorus dancing in the orchestra, whilst the actors are dancing on the stage. This is plain not merely from the opening words πρόσαγε χορόν, but still more from the general tone and metrical arrangement of the song itself. The Chorus invoke the Gods to be present at the joyous festival of Peace, and to witness the solemnities with which it is inaugurated. And first they summon

the two great Dorian deities, Apollo and Artemis, and with them the Graces, the constant choir-companions of the Goddess. "For when Artemis has finished with the chase," sings the author of the Homeric Hymn in her honour, "she goes to the splendid home of her dear brother at Delphi, there to arrange the goodly dance of the Muses and the Graces, Μουσέων καὶ Χαρίτων καλὸν χορὸν ἀρτυνέουσα. And she herself, hanging up her quiver and her bow, and robing herself in fair raiment, leads off the dance."

1280. ἐπὶ δὲ κάλεσον] This division of the verb ἐπικάλεσον enables the poet with more lucidity to employ the preposition ἐπὶ alone in the following verses in the sense of ἐπικάλεσον. For ἐπὶ stands for the full verb in the clauses ἐπὶ δὲ διδυμον, ἐπὶ δὲ Νύσιον, ἐπὶ δὲ πότνιαν ἄλοχον.

1281. διδυμον] *Her twin brother*, Apollo, her διδυμον κασίγνητον. He was the great Choirmaster of Heaven, ἀγέχορος, starting the heavenly dances with the music of his golden lyre (Birds 219, 220, and the Commentary there). He is also the kindly Healer, for that is the meaning of Ἰήσιος, whether the title is more directly connected with ἰάομαι or with ἰη Παιών.

- ΧΟ. πρόσαγε δὴ χορὸν, ἔπαγε Χάριτας,
 ἐπὶ δὲ κάλεσον Ἄρτεμιν· 1280
 ἐπὶ δὲ δίδυμον [ἀγέχορον] εὐφρον' ἰήιον
 ἐπὶ δὲ Νύσιον ὃς μετὰ Μαινάσι
 Βάκχιος ὄμμασι δαίεται,
 Δία τε πυρὶ φλεγόμενον, 1285
 ἐπὶ τε πότνιαν ἄλοχον ὀλβίαν,
 εἶτα δὲ δαίμονας, οἷς ἐπιμάρτυσι

1283. Νύσιον] As to this epithet of Dionysus see *Frogs* 215 and the note there.

1284. ὄμμασι δαίεται] If these words are correct they can only mean *is afire with his eyes, sparkles fire from his eyes*. In *Odyssey* vi. 131 Homer says of a lion ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε δαίεται, which Eustathius interprets πυρὸν βλέπει and explains πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι εἰκόασιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὀφθαλμοί.

1285. Δία τε] They have invoked Apollo and Artemis; and Dionysus the Lord of the festival at which they are all assisting. And they now invoke Zeus and Hera, the King and Queen of the Gods; just as in the great dance-song in the Thesmophoriazusae, the women, after invoking Apollo and Artemis, go on to invoke "the matron Hera" (*Thesm.* 969-76); the invoca-

tion of Dionysus being there reserved to the closing stanzas of the ode. The phrase πυρὶ φλεγόμενον is explained by the Scholiast to mean φλέγοντα διὰ τῶν κεραυνῶν.

1287. δαίμονας] The Scholiast's explanation, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς κάλεσον, though accepted without demur by all the Commentators, quite misses the point. The Chorus are referring to those secondary Powers whose special business it is to witness the conclusion of a treaty and to punish its infraction. The term ἐπιμάρτυς is borrowed from Homer's Ζεὺς δ' ἄμμ' ἐπιμάρτυρος ἔστω in the compact which preceded the single combat of Hector and Aias. And the δαίμονες are borrowed from the more important compact which preceded the single combat of Paris and Menelaus.

Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδθ' ἐν μεδέων, κύδιστε, μέγιστε,
 Ἥελιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις,
 καὶ Ποταμοὶ, καὶ Γαῖα, καὶ οἱ ὑπ' ἐνέρεθ' ἐκαμόντας
 ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὁμόσση,
 ἡμεῖς μάρτυροί ἐστε, φυλάσσετε δ' ὅρκια πιστά.—*Iliad* iii. 276-80.

We need not suppose that the Poet had specially in his mind the Sun, the Rivers, the Earth, and the Powers under the earth. He uses a general term to

include all those deities whose particular province it is to be witnesses and guardians of a treaty.

χρησόμεθ' οὐκ ἐπιλήσμοσιν
 Ἑσυχίας πέρι τῆς μεγαλόφρονος,
 ἣν ἐποίησε θεὰ Κύπρις.
 ἀλαλαὶ ἢ παίων·
 αἴρεσθ' ἄνω, ἰαί,
 ὥς ἐπὶ νίκη, ἰαί.
 εὐοῖ εὐοῖ, εὐαὶ εὐαί.

1290

1290. Κύπρις] That the success of the Women in bringing about a peace is due to the influence of Aphrodite the Goddess of Love is of course obvious, and is indeed recognized throughout the preliminary struggle. Cf. supra 551, 833. Peace is here called Ἑσυχία since neither Εἰρήνη nor Διאלλαγή could be brought into these dactyls; and is described as μεγαλόφρων, *great-minded*, because there has been no defeat or surrender on either side; Athens and Sparta were alike eager to make it, and are equally satisfied with its terms. Ἑσυχία is styled ἀγανόφρων in Birds 1321, and φιλόφρων in the eighth Pythian.

1292. αἴρεσθ' ἄνω] *Lift up your feet in the dance.* We have seen at the commencement of this Play how closely the position of Lysistrata there resembles the position of Praxagora at the commencement of the Ecclesiazusae; and these final ejaculations of the Chorus here are repeated, with very little variation, as the final ejaculations of the Chorus in the later Comedy. These cries of victory are intended, not merely to celebrate the triumph of Lysistrata and her friends, but also to prognosticate the success of Aristophanes in the theatrical contest; and the phrase ὥς ἐπὶ νίκη,

used both here and in the Ecclesiazusae, would naturally direct the minds of the audience to the ἐπινίκια by which that success would be followed.

1295. πρόφαινε κ.τ.λ.] The Laconian will sing a new song in return for that which the Chorus have sung, and he is here calling upon the piper, just as he did supra 1242, to play the accompaniment while he is singing. In the MSS. and editions the word Λάκων is made a part of the line (so rendering it a foot too long), and the speaker is supposed to be either the Coryphaeus or Lysistrata. And so I have left it in the translation. But if we take Λάκων to designate the speaker everything is right.

1297. Ταῦγετον] The piper begins his accompaniment, and the Laconian begins his song. He invites the Laconian Muse to quit the pleasant glades of Taygetus, and come to the Athenian acropolis; there to sing the praises of Apollo, the far-famed God of Amyclae. For Amyclae was the chief seat, in Laconia, of Apollo's worship, the place where the great festivals, the Hyacinthia and the Carneia, were celebrated in his honour. There too she will sing the praises of Athene of the Bronze House, and of the gracious Tyndarids (ἀγασὼς

ΛΑ. πρόφαινε δὴ σὺ μοῦσαν ἐπὶ νέῳ νέαν.

1295

Ταῦ'γετον αὐτ' ἐραννὸν ἐκλιπῶα,
 Μῶα μόλε Λάκαινα πρεπτὸν ἅμιν
 κλέωα τὸν Ἀμύκλαις [Ἀπόλλω] σιδόν
 καὶ χαλκίοικον Ἀσάναν

1300

for ἀγαθοὺς) Castor and Polydeuces, who sport (οἱ ψιάζουσι) beside their own Eurotas.

1300. χαλκίοικον Ἀσάναν] *Athene of the Bronze House*, whom Pausanias identifies with Ἀθήνη Πολιοῦχος. Her famous temple ("templum aereum" Livy xxxv. 36) stood on the hill which formed the Acropolis of Sparta, Pausanias iii. 17. 3. It was the centre around which gathered a multitude of interesting reminiscences. Here it was that the gallant Aristomenes, the hero of Messenia, entering Sparta secretly in the night time, hung up a shield with the defiant inscription *Aristomenes dedicates to the Goddess these Spartan spoils*, Pausanias iv. 15. 2. Here it was that Pausanias, the commander of the Hellenic armies at Plataea, took refuge and was starved, Thuc. i. 134. Indeed it seems to have been the ordinary sanctuary for Spartan kings, Plutarch, Agis 11 and 16. Here Agesilaus was offering a sacrifice when he was bitten by a louse. He caught and killed it before the crowd, exclaiming *Yea, by Heaven, a treacherous plotter, ἐπιβουλον, I will gladly slay even before Athene's altar*, Plutarch (Apothegm. Lac. Agesilaus 8). Here too Archidamus the king who, at the

commencement of the Peloponnesian War, led the army of invasion into Attica, brought two friends who had quarrelled and were willing to refer their differences to him, and after making them swear to abide by his decision (ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς κριθεῖσιν) he said *My decision is that you do not leave this sanctuary before you shake hands and make up* (Id. Archidamus, Zeuxidami f. 6). And the same writer, in his treatise on Garrulity (14), observing that no considerations of prudence will induce a true gossip to hold his tongue, tells us that once a robbery was committed in this House of Bronze, and an empty wine-flask was found lying on the floor. Whilst the crowd were wondering what the flask could mean, one of them said, "I'll tell you what I think; I'll be bound that the thieves had taken hemlock, so that if they were caught they might die before they could be tortured; while if they got safely off, they would drink the wine and neutralize the poison." "Why, this is not guessing!" cried the bystanders, "YOU KNOW! You are one of them yourself." And so it proved. The Bronze Temple of Athene is twice mentioned in the "Helen," a Tragedy apparently contemporaneous with the

Τυνδαρίδας τ' ἀγασῶς,
 τοὶ δὴ παρ' Εὐρώταν ψιάδδοντι.
 εἶα μάλ' ἔμβη,
 ὦια κοῦφα πάλλων,
 ὥς Σπάρταν ὑμνίωμες, 1305
 τᾷ σιῶν χοροὶ μέλοντι
 καὶ ποδῶν κτύπος.
 ᾗ τε πῶλοι ταὶ κόραι
 παρ τὸν Εὐρώταν
 ἀμπάλλοντι πυκνὰ ποδοῖν 1310
 ἀγκονίωαι,

present Comedy. See the Introduction to the Thesmophoriazusae. Its site has been recently uncovered, but nothing of importance has, I believe, been found there.

1303. εἶα μάλ' ἔμβη] Hitherto the singer has been addressing the Muse; he now turns to his comrades dancing on the stage. ἔμβη is the ἔμβα of Frogs 378, Eccl. 478.

1304. ὦια κοῦφα πάλλων] *Lightly swinging your sheepskins.* The lower part of a Spartan robe was trimmed with sheepskin or wool. In Wasps 475 an Athenian accused of *Laconizing* is said to wear κράσπεδα στεμμάτων, and the Scholiast observes ἐκ στεμμάτων ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐξ ἐρίων. οὐχ ἱμάτια δὲ, ἀλλὰ κράσπεδα στεμμάτων. τοιαῦτα γὰρ φοροῦσιν οἱ Λάκωνες. The reading in the text is that of the best MSS. and all the older editors; recent editors have adopted the reading of the inferior MSS. ὦ εἶα κοῦφα πάλλων, an excellent reading in itself, but, with εἶα in the preceding line, ὦ εἶα is far more likely to have been substituted

for, than to have been superseded by, ὦια. Apparently there was a neuter nominative δῖον, as well as a feminine ὦια.

1306. τᾷ σιῶν χοροί] ἢ θεῶν χοροί. For in old times the Dorians were the chief promoters of music and the dance; and the Dorian mode was, it has often been observed, the only one of the three original modes which derived its name from a Greek people, the others being the Phrygian and the Lydian. ποδῶν κτύπος means *the clatter of dancing feet.*

1308. ᾗ τε πῶλοι] *And the maidens, like fillies, beside Eurotas twinkle to and fro with active nimble feet; and their tresses are waving as they go, like the tresses of Bacchanals sporting and flourishing their thyrsus-wands.* The Bacchanals are compared to fillies, πῶλοις, in Eur. Bacchae 163 and 1056. Here ἀμπάλλοντι is used intransitively; in Frogs 1357 it is transitive τὰ κῶλά τ' ἀμπάλλετε. In Attic the participle which follows would be ἐγκονοῦσαι, Ach. 1088, Wasps 240, Birds 1324, Eccl. 489, Plutus 255. On θυρσαδδοῦν

ταὶ δὲ κόμαι σείονθ' ἄπερ Βακχᾶν
θυρσαδδοᾶν καὶ παιδδωᾶν.

ἀγῆται δ' ἅ Λήδας παῖς

ἀγνὰ χοραγὸς εὐπρεπῆς.

1315

ἀλλ' ἄγε, κόμαν παραμπύκιδδε

χερὶ, ποδοῖν τε πάδη,

ἧ τις ἔλαφος· κρότον δ' ἅμᾳ ποί-

η χορωφελήταν.

καὶ τὰν σιὰν δ' αὖ τὰν κρατίσταν

1320

χαλκίοικον ὕμνη

τὰν πάμμαχον.

and παιδδωᾶν the Scholiast says ἀντὶ τοῦ θυρσαζουσῶν καὶ παιζουσῶν, παρὰ τὸ δονεῖν τοὺς θύρσους.

1314. ἀγῆται δ' ἅ Λήδας παῖς] *And Helen leads them on, ἡγεῖται.* The epithet ἀγνὰ is specially selected to make it clear that this is not the sinful Helen of her earthly days, but the purified Helen of the Elysian fields. Some would change Λήδας into Λατοῦς and so make Artemis the Chorus-leader; but it is impossible to disregard the united authority of all the MSS.; and it is perhaps more fitting that this dance of Spartan women should be led by the daughter of Zeus who was herself a Spartan woman.

1316. παραμπύκιδδε] παραμπυκίζειν properly means to *confine the hair with* an ἄμπυξ, a *hair-band*, but here, as they godancing along, the woman's own hand is to act as an ἄμπυξ. Her hand is to press back her hair, whilst with her feet she is leaping (πάδη for πήδα) like a deer.

1319. χορωφελήταν] ἀντὶ τοῦ ποιεῖ κρότον ὠφελούντα τὸν χρόνον.—Scholiast. They

are to make, either with their hands or with their feet, the rhythmic sounds which time the dance.

1322. πάμμαχον] This is an unusual word, and is possibly introduced here to remind the Athenian audience of their own Πρόμαχος, the colossal Champion of the Athenian acropolis. Indeed some MSS., noted for their futile emendations, go so far as to substitute Πρόμαχον for πάμμαχον, forgetting that the former word would be quite out of place on the lips of a Spartan, and inconsistent with the other epithet χαλκίοικον, which shows that he is specially referring to the Athene of the Dorian metropolis. Nevertheless she was the same Athene, wherever and under whatever name she was worshipped; and it is noteworthy that this final song, though emphatically "In praise of Sparta," is wound up, and that the Comedy itself concludes, with the praise of the Goddess who was everywhere regarded as the special patroness and protector of Athens.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE NOTE ON LINE 389

By the kindness of my friend, the Hon. Mrs. Cardew, I am permitted to append to this Commentary her presentation of Bion's Adonis-dirge.

Ah! weep for fair Adonis—he is dead!
 Ye Loves, weep for him, in his beauty slain.
 O Cypris, sleep no more in purple clad!
 Arise, and don thy sable weeds, and cry
 “Lovely Adonis, he hath perished!”
 Woe for Adonis, woe! the Loves lament.
 Stricken he lies on the hillside so drear,
 His thigh pierced through by cruel wild boar's tusk.
 Quietly ebbs his life, and sorrow falls
 On Cypris, who so loved him, and was loved!
 She kissed him as he died, but he knew not.
 The light had left his eyes, so dim and pressed
 By Death's too heavy hand beneath the lids;
 And the dark blood, slow dripping from the wound,
 Stained his white skin, but blanched his pallid lips.
 Woe for Adonis, woe! the Loves lament!
 His wound was cruel, but in Cypris' heart
 The wound is deeper still—deep as her love;
 Although a goddess, she can feel Love's pain.
 His faithful hounds are baying round his corpse,
 While in the wood the nymphs are wailing shrill.
 But Aphrodite, with long locks unbound,
 Wanders along the glades, her feet unshod.
 She calls Adonis with a bitter cry—
 Again—“Adonis, where art thou, my lord?”
 But he lies silent, answering not her cry,
 For his life-blood has ebbed, and Death is come.
 O woe for Aphrodite! cry, ye Loves!
 For grief hath robbed her of her beauty fair,
 Yea, it hath died with him she greatly loved.
 Now call the mountains; woe for Cypris! woe!
 Then from the oak trees comes the answer sad—

Woe for Adonis! woe! the rivers all
 Bewail the grief of Cypris, so bereaved.
 The mountain springs lament her lover slain.
 In the day's anguish e'en the flowers flush red
 And still the piteous dirge goes on, for her
 Now straying o'er the mountains, crying shrill—
 "Woe for Adonis! He hath perished!"
 Then Echo answers—"He hath perished!"
 What heart so hard not to lament his loss?
 When she first saw his wound, and marked the blood
 Pouring unstaunched from his exhausted limb,
 She cast her arms abroad, and weeping, cried—
 "Abide with me, Adonis, yet awhile!
 Awake, and tell me of thy love once more
 Ere thou desert me for the gloomy stream
 Of Acheron, to which thou fleest fast,
 And I, a goddess, cannot follow thee.
 Kiss me again, Adonis, yet again.
 Persephone will rob me of my love
 And in undying sorrow I remain,
 Cypris is now a widow—love is dead.
 Why wast thou overbold to fight with beasts,
 Following the chase without a shield divine?"
 So wailed she, and the Loves with her lament,
 "Woe, woe for Cytherea!—love is dead!"
 But thou that weapest, stay not in the woods.
 The cold dank leaves are not the bed for him
 Whom thou lamentest—lay him on thy couch,
 For surely he is beautiful in death,
 And seems as if he slept. Adonis dead
 May lie in holy slumber for a while
 'Neath the soft coverlets, as he was wont.
 Bring garlands, and all fragrant blossoms bring.
 Sprinkle the Syrian ointments of rich scent
 On his unconscious form—he lies enwrapped
 In purple raiment—lovely in his death.
 Around him weep the Loves, with sighs and groans,
 And for Adonis dead they clip their locks.
 They crowd upon each other—treading down
 His bow and shafts. One tries to lave his wound
 With water from a golden vessel, borne

By one of the sad flock, and, piteous sight,
One with his snowy wings Adonis fans!
O woe for Cytherea!—cry, ye Loves!
Then Hymen quenched his torch; he tore to shreds
The bridal crown; he would have no more song.
The Graces and the Muses chant alike
To dead Adonis—but he heeds them not;
For she of Hades will not let him go.
Cease, Cypris, from thy tears—it is enough
Thou must bewail him yet another year.

E. J. C.

THE REVOLT OF THE WOMEN

A FREE TRANSLATION

OF THE

LYSISTRATA OF ARISTOPHANES

NOTICE

[TO THE ORIGINAL EDITION, PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR 1878]

FINDING that I have not at present, and fearing that I may never have, sufficient health and leisure to carry through the Press complete editions of the remaining Plays of Aristophanes, similar to my edition of the Wasps, I propose to print the bare translations, long since finished, without text or commentary.

3, OLD SQUARE, LINCOLN'S INN,
April, 1878.

NOTICE

TO THE PRESENT EDITION

THE translation and notes are republished without alteration. A very few words have been omitted from the stage-directions as being not quite in accord with the view taken in the Commentary.

EASTWOOD, STRAWBERRY HILL,
May, 1911.

CHARACTERS OF THE DRAMA

WOMEN.

LYSISTRATA, }
CALONICE, } Athenian Women.
MYRRHINA, }

LAMPITO, a Spartan Woman.

CHORUS OF WOMEN.

STRATYLLIS, leader of the Chorus of Women.

A Boeotian Woman (ISMENIA), a Corinthian Woman, a Scythian Archeress, and several Athenian Women. Also RECONCILIATION, the handmaiden of Lysistrata.

MEN.

AN ATHENIAN MAGISTRATE.

CINESIAS, the husband of Myrrhina.

LACONIAN HERALD.

LACONIAN AMBASSADORS.

ATHENIAN AMBASSADORS.

IDLERS.

A PORTER.

CHORUS OF MEN.

Scythian Archers, and several Athenians and Laconians. Also Myrrhina's child.

THE LYSISTRATA

It is daybreak at Athens ; and Lysistrata, a young and beautiful woman, is standing alone, with marks of evident anxiety in her countenance and demeanour. The scene represents the sloping hill which rises from the Lower to the Upper City. In the background are the Propylaea, the splendid portals of the Athenian Acropolis. Lysistrata is on the look-out for persons who do not come, and after exhibiting various symptoms of impatience, she suddenly begins to speak with abrupt and indignant emphasis.

LYSISTRATA. Now were they summoned to some shrine of Bacchus,

Pan, Colias, Genetyllis,¹ there had been

No room to stir, so thick the crowd of timbrels.

And now !—there's not one woman to be seen.

Stay, here comes one, my neighbour Calonice.

Good morning, friend. CALONICE. Good morn, Lysistrata.

Why, what's the matter ? don't look gloomy, child.

It don't become you to knit-knot your eyebrows.

LYS. My heart is hot within me, Calonice,

And sore I grieve for sake of womankind,

Because the men account us all to be

Sly, shift'y rogues, CAL. And so, by Zeus, we are.

LYS. Yet though I told them to be here betimes,

To talk on weighty business, they don't come,

They're fast asleep. CAL. They'll come, dear heart, they'll come.

'Tis hard, you know, for women to get out.

¹ All Gods of Wine and Love, the chief pleasures, according to Aristophanes, of the Athenian women.

One has to mind her husband : one, to rouse
Her servant : one, to put the child to sleep :
One, has to wash him : one, to give him pap.

LYS. Ah ! but they've other duties still more pressing
Than such as these. CAL. Well but, Lysistrata,
Why have you, dear, convoked us ? Is the matter
A weighty subject ? LYS. Weighty ? yes. CAL. And pregnant ?

LYS. Pregnant, by Zeus. CAL. Why ever don't we come, then ?

LYS. No, it's not that : we'd have come fast enough
For such-like nonsense. 'Tis a scheme I've hit on,
Tossing it over many a sleepless night.

CAL. Tossing it over ? then 'tis light, I fancy.

LYS. Light ? ay, so light, my dear, that all the hopes
Of all the States are anchored on us women.

CAL. Anchored on us ! a slender stay to lean on.

LYS. Ay, all depends on us : whether as well the
Peloponnesians all shall cease to be—

CAL. Sure and 'tis better they should cease to be.

LYS. And all the dwellers in Boeotia perish—

CAL. Except the eels ; do pray except the eels.

LYS. But about Athens, mark you, I won't utter
Such words as these : you must supply my meaning.
But if the women will but meet here now,
Boeotian girls, Peloponnesian girls,
And we ourselves, we'll save the States between us.

CAL. What can we women do ? What brilliant scheme
Can we, poor souls, accomplish ? we who sit
Trimmed and bedizened in our saffron silks,
Our cambrie robes, and little finical shoes.

LYS. Why, they're the very things I hope will save us,
Your saffron dresses, and your finical shoes,
Your paints, and perfumes, and your robes of gauze.

CAL. How mean you, save us ? LYS. So that nevermore

- Men in our day shall lift the hostile spear— 50
- CAL. O, by the Twain, I'll use the saffron dye.
- LYS. Or grasp the shield— CAL. I'll don the cambric robe.
- LYS. Or draw the sword. CAL. I'll wear the finical shoes.
- LYS. Should not the women, then, have come betimes?
- CAL. Come? no, by Zeus; they should have flown with wings.
- LYS. Ah, friend, you'll find them Attic to the core:
Always too late in everything they do.
Not even one woman from the coast has come,
Not one from Salamis. CAL. O they, no doubt,
Will cross this morning, early, in their boats.
- LYS. And those I counted sure to come the first,
My staunch Acharnian damsels, they're not here—
Not they. CAL. And yet Theagenes's wife
Consulted Hecate, as if to come.

(Several women enter, headed by Myrrhina, from the village of Anagyrus. Others soon follow.)

- Hi! but they're coming now: here they all are:
First one, and then another. Hoity toity!
Whence come all these? LYS. From Anagyre. CAL. Aha!
We've stirred up Anagyre¹ at all events.
- MYRRHINA. Are we too late, Lysistrata? Well? What?
Why don't you speak? LYS. I'm sorry, Myrrhina,
That you should come so late on such a business.
- MYRR. I scarce could find my girdle in the dark.
But if the thing's so pressing, tell us now.
- LYS. No, no, let's wait a little, till the women
Of Peloponnesus and Boeotia come
To join our congress. MYRR. O yes, better so.

¹ To stir up Anagyre (meaning the nauseous smelling shrub of that name) was a proverb, used of persons who brought some unpleasantness on themselves. Calonice applies the proverb to the deme, meaning that the influx of Anagyrasian women proved that the deme Anagyre was thoroughly stirred up.

And here, good chance, is Lampito approaching.

(*Lampito, a Spartan woman, enters, accompanied by her friends.*)

LYS. O welcome, welcome, Lampito, my love.

O the sweet girl! how hale and bright she looks!

Here's nerve! here's muscle! here's an arm could fairly

Throttle a bull! LAMPITO. Weel, by the Twa, I think sae.

An' I can loup an' fling an' kick my hurdies.

LYS. See here's a neck and breast; how firm and lusty!

LAMP. Wow, but ye pradd me like a fatted calf.

LYS. And who's this other damsel? whence comes she?

LAMP. Ane deputation frae Boeoty, comin'

To sit amang you. LYS. Ah, from fair Boeotia,

The land of plains! CAL. A very lovely land,

Well cropped, and trimmed, and spruce with penny-royal.

LYS. And who's the next? LAMP. A bonnie burdie she,

She's a Corinthian lassie. LYS. Ay, by Zeus,

And so she is. A bonnie lass, indeed.

LAMP. But wha ha' ca'ed thegither a' thae thrangs

O' wenches? LYS. I did. LAMP. Did ye noo? then tell us

What 'tis a' for. LYS. O yes, my dear, I will.

MYRR. Ay, surely: tell us all this urgent business.

LYS. O yes, I'll tell you now; but first I'd ask you

One simple question. MYRR. Ask it, dear, and welcome.

LYS. Do ye not miss the fathers of your babes,

Always on service? well I wot ye all

Have got a husband absent at the wars.

100

CAL. Ay, mine, worse luck, has been five months away

In Thracian quarters, watching Eucrates.

MYRR. And mine's been stationed seven whole months at Pylus.

LAMP. An' my gude mon nae suner comes frae war

Than he straps targe an' gangs awa' again.

LYS. No husbands now, no sparks, no anything.

For ever since Miletus played us false,

- We've had no joy, no solace, none at all.
 So will you, will you, if I find a way,
 Help me to end the war? MYRR. Ay, that we will.
 I will, be sure, though I'd to fling me down
 This mantling shawl, and have a bout of—drinking¹.
- CAL. And I would cleave my very self in twain
 Like a cleft turbot, and give half for Peace.
- LAMP. An' I, to glint at Peace again, wad speel
 Up to the tap rig o' Taygety.
- LYS. I'll tell you now: 'tis meet ye all should know.
 O ladies! sisters! if we really mean
 To make the men make Peace, there's but one way,
 We must abstain— MYRR. Well! tell us. LYS. Will ye do it?
- MYRR. Do it? ay, surely, though it cost our lives.
- LYS. We must abstain—each—from the joys of Love.
 How! what! why turn away? where are ye going?
 What makes you pout your lips, and shake your heads?
 What brings this falling tear, that changing colour?
 Will ye, or will ye not? What mean ye, eh?
- MYRR. I'll never do it. Let the war go on.
- CAL. Zeus! nor I either. Let the war go on.
- LYS. You, too, Miss Turbot? you who said just now
 You'd cleave, for Peace, your very self in twain?
- CAL. Ask anything but this. Why, if needs be,
 I'd walk through fire: only, not give up Love.
 There's nothing like it, dear Lysistrata.
- LYS. And what say you? MYRR. I'd liefer walk through fire.
- LYS. O women! women! O our frail, frail sex!
 No wonder tragedies are made from us.
 Always the same: nothing but loves and cradles.

¹ "Fighting" was the word expected; but Aristophanes is, throughout this scene, playing upon the alleged bibulous propensities of Athenian women.

O friend ! O Lampito ! if you and I
 Are of one mind, we yet may pull things through ;
 Won't *you* vote with me, dear ? LAMP. Haith, by the Twa',
 'Tis sair to bide your lane, withouten men.

Still it maun be : we maun hae Peace, at a' risks.

LYS. O dearest friend ; my one true friend of all.

CAL. Well, but suppose we do the things you say,
 Pray Heaven avert it, but put case we do,
 Shall we be nearer Peace ? LYS. Much, much, much nearer.

For if we women will but sit at home,
 Powdered and trimmed, clad in our daintiest lawn, 150
 Employing all our charms, and all our arts
 To win men's love, and when we've won it, then
 Repel them, firmly, till they end the war,
 We'll soon get Peace again, be sure of that.

LAMP. Sae Menelaus, when he glowered, I ween,
 At Helen's breastie, coost his glaive awa'.

CAL. Eh, but suppose they leave us altogether ?

LYS. O, faddle ! then we'll find some substitute.

CAL. If they try force ? LYS. They'll soon get tired of that
 If we keep firm. Scant joy a husband gets
 Who finds himself at discord with his wife.

CAL. Well, then, if so you wish it, so we'll have it.

LAMP. An' our gude folk we'se easily persuade
 To keep the Peace wi' never a thocht o' guile :
 But your Athanian hairumscairum callants
 Wha sall persuade *them* no to play the fule ?

LYS. O we'll persuade our people, never fear.

LAMP. Not while ye've gat thae gallies rigged sae trim,
 An' a' that rowth o' siller nigh the Goddess.

LYS. O but, my dear, we've taken thought for that :
 This very morn we seize the Acropolis.
 Now, whilst we're planning and conspiring here,

The elder women have the task assigned them,
Under pretence of sacrifice, to seize it.

LAMP. A' will gae finely, an' ye talk like that.

LYS. Then why not, Lampito, at once combine
All in one oath, and clench the plot securely ?

LAMP. Weel, you propound the aith, an' we'se a' tak' it.

LYS. Good ; now then, Scythianess, don't stand there gaping.
Quick, set a great black shield here, hollow upwards,
And bring the sacrificial bits. CAL. And how
Are we to swear, Lysistrata ? LYS. We'll slay
(Like those Seven Chiefs in Aeschylus) a lamb
Over a shield. CAL. Nay, when our object's Peace,
Don't use a shield, Lysistrata, my dear.

LYS. Then what shall be the oath ? CAL. Could we not somehow
Get a grey mare, and cut her up to bits ?

LYS. Grey mare, indeed ! CAL. Well, what's the oath will suit
Us women best ? MYRR. I'll tell you what I think.
Let's set a great black cup here, hollow upwards :
Then for a lamb we'll slay a Thasian wine-jar,
And firmly swear to—pour no water in.

LAMP. Hech, the braw aith ! my certie, hoo I like it.

LYS. O yes, bring out the wine-jar and the cup.

(A maiden brings out a jar of wine and an immense cup.)

CAL. La ! here's a splendid piece of ware, my dears. 200
Now that's a cup 'twill cheer one's heart to take.

LYS. *(To the servant.)* Set down the cup, and take the victim boar¹.
O Queen Persuasion, and O Loving Cup,
Accept our offerings, and maintain our cause !

(The servant pours the wine into the cup, the women all pressing round to see.)

CAL. 'Tis jolly coloured blood, and spirts out bravely

LAMP. Ay, an' by Castor, vera fragrant too !

¹ She means the *Wine-jar*, but she speaks of it as a victim whose blood is about to be shed.

MYRR. Let *me* swear first, my sisters ? CAL. Yes, if *you*
 Draw the first lot ; not else, by Aphrodite.

LYS. All place your hands upon the wine-cup : so.
 One, speak the words, repeating after me.
 Then all the rest confirm it. Now begin.

I will abstain from Love and Love's delights.

CAL. *I will abstain from Love and Love's delights.*

LYS. And take no pleasure though my lord invites.

CAL. *And take no pleasure though my lord invites.*

LYS. And sleep a vestal all alone at nights.

CAL. *And sleep a vestal all alone at nights.*

LYS. And live a stranger to all nuptial rites.

CAL. *And live a stranger to all nuptial rites.*

I don't half like it though, Lysistrata.

LYS. I will abjure the very name of Love.

CAL. *I will abjure the very name of Love.*

LYS. So help me Zeus, and all the Powers above.

CAL. *So help me Zeus, and all the Powers above.*

LYS. If I do this, my cup be filled with wine.

CAL. *If I do this, my cup be filled with wine.*

LYS. But if I fail, a water draught be mine.

CAL. *But if I fail, a water draught be mine.*

LYS. You all swear this ? MYRR. O yes, my dear, we do.

(Lysistrata takes the wine-cup in her hand.)

LYS. I'll now consume these fragments. CAL. Shares, my friend,
 Now at first starting let us show we're friends.

(A sound of persons cheering is heard in the distance.)

LAMP. Hark ! what's yon skirlin' ? LYS. That's the thing I said.

They've seized the Acropolis, Athene's castle,
 Our comrades have. Now, Lampito, be off :
 You, go to Sparta, and arrange things there,
 Leaving us here these girls as hostages.

And We will pass inside the castle walls,
And help the women there to close the bars.

CAL. But don't you think that very soon the Men
Will come, in arms, against us? LYS. Let them come!
They will not bring or threats or fire enough
To awe our woman hearts, and make us open 250
These gates again, save on the terms we mentioned.

CAL. By Aphrodite, no! else 'twere for nought
That people call us bold, resistless jades.

(The crowd now disperses : Lampito leaving for her homeward journey, and the others disappearing through the gates of the Propylaea. After a pause the Chorus of Men are seen slowly approaching from the Lower City. They are carrying heavy logs of firewood, and a jar of lighted cinders ; and as they move, they sing their entrance song.)

CHORUS OF MEN. On, sure and slow, my Draces, go : though that great
log you're bringing

Of olive green, is sore, I ween, your poor old shoulder wringing.
O dear, how many things in life bely one's expectations!
Since who'd have thought, my Strymodore, that these abomi-
nations,

Who would have thought that sluts like these,
Our household pests, would have waxed so bold,
As the Holy Image by fraud to seize,
As the City Castle by force to hold,
With block and bolt and barrier vast,
Making the Propylaea fast.

Press on, Philurgus, towards the heights ; we'll pile a great
amazing

Array of logs around the walls, and set them all a-blazing :
And as for these conspirators, a bonfire huge we'll make them,
One vote shall doom the whole to death, one funeral pyre shall
take them,

And thus we'll burn the brood accurst, but Lycon's wife we'll
burn the first.

No, never, never, whilst I live, shall woman-folk deride me :
 Not scatheless went Cleomenes¹, when he like this defied me,
 And dared my castle to seize : yet He,
 A Spartan breathing contempt and pride,
 Full soon surrendered his arms to me,
 And a scanty coat round his loins he tied,
 And with unwashed limbs, and with unkempt head,
 And with six years' dirt, the intruder fled ;
 So strict and stern a watch around my mates and I were keeping,
 In seventeen rows of serried shields before the fortress sleeping.
 And THESE, whom both Euripides and all the Powers on high
 Alike detest, shall these, shall these, my manly rage defy ?
 Then never be my Trophy shown, on those red plains of
 Marathon !

 But over this snubby protruding steep
 Ere we reach our goal at the Castle keep,
 We've still, with our burdensome load, to creep.
 And how to manage that blunt incline
 Without a donkey, I can't divine.
 Dear, how these two great firelogs make my wearied shoulders
 toil and ache.
 But still right onward we needs must go,
 And still the cinders we needs must blow,
 Else we'll find the fire extinguished, ere we reach our journey's
 end.

 Puff! Puff! Puff!²
 O the smoke! the smoke!
 O royal Heracles ! what a lot
 Of fire came raging out of the pot,
 And flew, like a dog, at my eyes, red hot.

¹ The story is told by Herodotus, v. 72.

² Φῦ is not, as the Oxford lexicographers describe it, an exclamation of disgust,

'Twas a jet from the Lemnian mines, I ween,
 It came so fierce, and it bit so keen, 300
 And worried, with persistence sore, my two poor eyes, inflamed
 before.

On, Laches, on ! to the castle press,
 And aid the God in her dire distress ;
 Surely, if we e'er would help her, now's the very time, my friend.
 Puff ! Puff ! Puff !
 O the smoke ! the smoke !

Thank heaven the fire is still alight, and burning beautifully bright.
 So here we'll lay our burdens down, with eager hearts delighted,
 And dip the vine-torch in the pot, and get it there ignited.
 Then all together at the gates like battering rams we'll butt.
 And if our summons they reject, and keep the barriers shut,
 We'll burn the very doors with fire, and them with smoke we'll
 smother.

So lay the burdens down. Pheugh ! Pheugh ! O how this
 smoke does bother !

What general from the Samian lines an active hand will lend us ?
 Well, well, I'm glad my back is freed from all that weight
 tremendous.

O pot, 'tis now your turn to help : O send a livelier jet
 Of flame this way, that I to-day the earliest light may get.

O Victory, immortal Queen, assist us Thou in rearing
 A trophy o'er these woman-hosts, so bold and domineering.

(During the last few lines the men have been completing their preparations, and the air above them is now growing lurid with the smoke and the flame of their torches. As the Men relapse into silence, the voices of Women are heard in the distance. They come sweeping round from the north side of the Acropolis, carrying their pitchers of water, and singing, in turn, their entrance song. The two Choruses are for the present concealed from each other by the north-western angle of the Acropolis.)

like our "fie," "faugh." It is obviously intended to represent the sound of the old men ΦΥσώωντων.

CHORUS OF WOMEN. Redly up in the sky the flames are beginning to flicker,

Smoke and vapour of fire! come quicker, my friends, come quicker.

Fly, Nicodice, fly,
Else will Calyce burn,
Else Critylla will die,
Slain by the laws so stern,
Slain by the old men's hate.

Ah, but I fear! I fear! can it chance that I come too late?
Trouble it was, forsooth, before my jug I could fill,
All in the dusk of the morn, at the spring by the side of the hill,
What with the clatter of pitchers,
The noise and press of the throng,
Jostling with knaves and slaves,
Till at last I snatched it along,
Abundance of water supplying
To friends who are burning and dying.

Yea, for hither, they state,
Dotards are dragging, to burn us,
Logs of enormous weight,
Fit for a bath-room furnace,
Vowing to roast and to slay
Sternly the reprobate women. O Lady, O Goddess, I pray,
Ne'er may I see them in flames! I hope to behold them with
gladness,
Hellas and Athens redeeming from battle and murder and
madness.

This is the cause why they venture,
Lady, thy mansions to hold,
Tritogeneia, Eternal
Champion with helmet of gold!

And O, if with fire men invade them,
O help us with water to aid them.

(At this juncture the Women wheel round the corner of the Acropolis, and the two Choruses suddenly meet face to face.)

Stop! easy all! what have we here? *(To the Men.)* You vile,
abandoned crew, 350

No good and virtuous men, I'm sure, would act in the way
you do.

MEN CH. Hey, here's an unexpected sight! hey, here's a demonstration!
A swarm of women issuing out with warlike preparation!

W. CH. Hallo, you seem a little moved! does this one troop affright you?
You see not yet the myriadth part of those prepared to fight
you.

MEN CH. Now, really, Phaedrias, shall we stop to hear such odious treason?
Let's break our sticks about their backs, let's beat the jades
to reason.

W. CH. Hi, sisters, set the pitchers down, and then they won't
embarrass

Our nimble fingers, if the rogues attempt our ranks to harass.

MEN CH. I warrant, now, if twice or thrice we slap their faces neatly,
That they will learn, like Bupalus¹, to hold their tongues
discreetly.

W. CH. Well, here's my face: I won't draw back: now slap it if you
dare,

And I won't leave one ounce of you for other dogs to tear.

MEN CH. Keep still, or else your musty Age to very shreds I'll batter.

W. CH. Now only touch Stratyllis, sir; just lift one finger at her!

MEN CH. And what if with these fists, my love, I pound the wench to
shivers?

W. CH. By Heaven, we'll gnaw your entrails out, and rip away your
livers.

¹ If we smite them on the cheek, as Hipponax, that *acer hostis Bupalus*, threatened in his lampoons to smite his unhappy antagonist.

MEN CH. There is not than Euripides a bard more wise and knowing,
For women ARE a shameless set, the vilest creatures going.

W. CH. Pick up again, Rhodippe dear, your jug with water brimming.

MEN CH. What made you bring that water here, you God-detested women?

W. CH. What made you bring that light, old Tomb? to set *yourselves* afire?

MEN CH. No, but to kindle for your friends a mighty funeral pyre.

W. CH. Well, then, we brought this water here to put your bonfire out, sirs.

MEN CH. *You* put our bonfire out, indeed! W. CH. You'll see, beyond a doubt, sirs.

MEN CH. I swear that with this torch, offhand, I've half a mind to fry you.

W. CH. Got any soap, my lad? if so, a bath I'll soon supply you.

MEN CH. A bath for ME, you mouldy hag! W. CH. And that a bride-bath, too.

MEN CH. Zounds, did you hear her impudence? W. CH. Ain't I freeborn as you?

MEN CH. I'll quickly put a stop to this. W. CH. You'll judge no more, I vow!

MEN CH. Hi! set the vixen's hair on fire. W. CH. Now, Achelous¹, now!

MEN CH. Good gracious! W. CH. What! you find it hot?

MEN CH. Hot? murder! stop! be quiet!

W. CH. I'm watering you, to make you grow.

MEN CH. I wither up from shivering so.

W. CH. I tell you what: a fire you've got,
So warm your members by it.

(At this crisis the tumult is stayed for an instant by the appearance on the stage of a venerable official personage, one of the Magistrates who, after the Sicilian catastrophe, were appointed,

¹ The name Achelous was used to denote *water* generally. The women are deluging their opponents with cold water from their pitchers.

under the name of Probuli, to form a Directory or Committee of Public Safety. He is attended by four Scythian archers, part of the ordinary police of the Athenian Republic. The women retire into the background.)

MAGISTRATE. Has then the women's wantonness blazed out,

Their constant timbrels and Sabaziuses,
And that Adonis-dirge¹ upon the roof
Which once I heard in full Assembly-time.
'Twas when Demostratus (beshrew him) moved
To sail to Sicily : and from the roof
A woman, dancing, shrieked *Woe, woe, Adonis !*
And *he* proposed to enrol Zacynthian hoplites ;
And *she* upon the roof, the maudlin woman,
Cried *Wail Adonis !* yet he forced it through,
That God-detested, vile Ill-temprarian.
Such are the wanton follies of the sex.

MEN CH. What if you heard their insolence to-day,

Their vile, outrageous goings on ? And look, 400
See how they've drenched and soused us from their pitchers,
Till we can wring out water from our clothes.

MAG. Ay, by Poseidon, and it serves us right.
'Tis all our fault : they'll never know their place,
These pampered women, whilst we spoil them so.
Hear how we talk in every workman's shop.
Goldsmith, says one, this necklace that you made,
My gay young wife was dancing yester-eve,
And lost, sweet soul, the fastening of the clasp ;
Do please reset it, Goldsmith. Or, again,
O Shoemaker, my wife's new sandal pinches
Her little toe, the tender, delicate child,

¹ Plutarch, in his Life of Nicias (chap. 13), describes these and similar omens of ill which preceded the Athenian expedition to Sicily. And he also (chap. 12) tells us that the orator Demostratus took a leading part in recommending that fatal measure.

Make it fit easier, please.—Hence all this nonsense !
 Yea, things have reached a pretty pass, indeed,
 When I, the State's Director, wanting money
 To purchase oar-blades, find the Treasury gates
 Shut in my face by these preposterous women.
 Nay, but no dallying now : bring up the crowbars,
 And I'll soon stop *your* insolence, my dears.

(*He turns to the Scythians, who, instead of setting to work, are looking idly around them.*)

What ! gaping, fool ? and *you*, can *you* do nothing
 But stare about with tavern-squinting eye ?
 Push in the crowbars underneath the gates,
 You, stand that side and heave them : I'll stop here
 And heave them here.

(*The gates are thrown open, and Lysistrata comes out.*)

- LYS. O let your crowbars be.
 Lo, I come out unfetched ! What need of crowbars ?
 'Tis wits, not crowbars, that ye need to-day.
- MAG. Ay, truly, traitress, say you so ? Here, Archer !
 Arrest her, tie her hands behind her back.
- LYS. And if he touch me with his finger-tip,
 The public scum ! 'fore Artemis, he'll rue it.
- MAG. What, man, afeared ? why, catch her round the waist.
 And *you* go with him, quick, and bind her fast.
- CAL. (*Coming out.*) And if you do but lay one hand upon her,
 'Fore Pandrosus, I'll stamp your vitals out.
- MAG. Vitals, ye hag ? Another Archer, ho !
 Seize this one first, because she chatters so.
- MYRRH. (*Coming out.*) And if you touch her with your finger-tip,
 'Fore Phosphorus, you'll need a cupping shortly.
- MAG. Tcha ! what's all this ? lay hold of this one, Archer !
 I'll stop this sallying out, depend upon it.
- STRATYLLIS. And if he touch her, 'fore the Queen of Tauris,
 I'll pull his squealing hairs out, one by one.

MAG. O dear ! all's up ! I've never an archer left.
 Nay, but I swear we won't be done by women. 450
 Come, Scythians, close your ranks, and all together
 Charge ! Lys. Charge away, my hearties, and
 you'll soon

Know that we've here, impatient for the fight,
 Four woman-squadrons, armed from top to toe.

MAG. Attack them, Scythians, twist their hands behind them.

Lys. Forth to the fray, dear sisters, bold allies !
 O egg-and-seed-and-potherb-market-girls,
 O garlic-selling-barmaid-baking-girls,
 Charge to the rescue, smack and whack, and thwack
 them,

Slang them, I say : show them what jades ye be.

(The Women come forward. After a short struggle the archers are routed.)

Fall back ! retire ! forbear to strip the slain.

MAG. Hillo ! my archers got the worst of that.

Lys. What did the fool expect ? Was it to fight
 With SLAVES you came ? Think you we Women feel
 No thirst for glory ? MAG. Thirst enough, I trow ;
 No doubt of that, when there's a tavern handy.

MEN CH. O thou who wastest many words, Director of this nation,
 Why wilt thou with such brutes as these thus hold negotiation ?
 Dost thou not see the bath wherewith the sluts have dared to
 lave me,

Whilst all my clothes were on, and ne'er a bit of soap they gave
 me ?

W. CH. For 'tis not right, nor yet polite, to strike a harmless neigh-
 bour,

And if you do, 'tis needful too that she your eyes belabour.
 Full fain would I, a maiden shy, in maiden peace be resting,
 Not making here the slightest stir, nor any soul molesting,

Unless indeed some rogue should strive to rifle and despoil
my hive.

(The field is now open for a suspension of hostilities, and a parley takes place between the leaders of the two contending factions.)

MEN CH. O how shall we treat, Lord Zeus, such creatures as these?

Let us ask the cause for which they have dared to seize,
To seize this fortress of ancient and high renown,
This shrine where never a foot profane hath trod,
The lofty-rocked, inaccessible Cranaan town,
The holy Temple of God.

Now to examine them closely and narrowly,
probing them here and sounding them there,
Shame if we fail to completely unravel the
intricate web of this tangled affair.

MAG. Foremost and first I would wish to inquire of them,
what is this silly disturbance about?

Why have ye ventured to seize the Acropolis,
locking the gates and barring us out?

LYS. Keeping the silver securely in custody,
lest for its sake ye continue the war.

MAG. What, is the war for the sake of the silver, then?

LYS. Yes; and all other disputes that there are.

Why is Peisander for ever embroiling us,
why do the rest of our officers feel
Always a pleasure in strife and disturbances?
Simply to gain an occasion to steal.

Act as they please for the future, the treasury
never a penny shall yield them, I vow.

MAG. How, may I ask, will you hinder their getting it?

LYS. We will ourselves be the Treasurers now.

MAG. You, woman, you be the treasurers? LYS. Certainly.

Ah, you esteem us unable, perchance!

Are we not skilled in domestic economy,
do we not manage the household finance?

MAG. O, that is different. LYS. Why is it different?

MAG. This is required for the fighting, my dear.

LYS. Well, but the fighting itself isn't requisite.

MAG. Only, without it, we're ruined, I fear.

LYS. WE will deliver you. MAG. You will deliver us!

LYS. Truly we will. MAG. What a capital notion!

LYS. Whether you like it or not, we'll deliver you.

MAG. Impudent hussy! LYS. You seem in commotion.

Nevertheless we will do as we promise you.

MAG. That were a terrible shame, by Demeter. 500

LYS. Friend, we must save you. MAG. But how if I wish it not?

LYS. That will but make our resolve the completer.

MAG. Fools! what on earth can possess you to meddle with
matters of war, and matters of peace?

LYS. Well, I will tell you the reason. MAG. And speedily,
else you will rue it. LYS. Then listen, and cease
Clutching and clenching your fingers so angrily;
keep yourself peaceable. MAG. Hanged if I can;
Such is the rage that I feel at your impudence.

STRAT. Then it is *you* that will rue it, my man.

MAG. Croak your own fate, you ill-omened antiquity.

(*To Lysistrata.*) *You* be the spokeswoman, lady. LYS. I will.

Think of our old moderation and gentleness,
think how we bore with your pranks, and were
still,

All through the days of your former pugnacity,
all through the war that is over and spent:

Not that (be sure) we approved of your policy;
never our griefs you allowed us to vent.

Well we perceived your mistakes and mismanagement.
Often at home on our housekeeping cares,

Often we heard of some foolish proposal you
 made for conducting the public affairs.
 Then would we question you mildly and pleasantly,
 inwardly grieving, but outwardly gay ;
Husband, how goes it abroad ? we would ask of him ;
what have ye done in Assembly to-day ?
What would ye write on the side of the Treaty stone ?
 Husband says angrily, *What's that to you ?*
You, hold your tongue ! And I held it accordingly.

STRAT. That is a thing which I NEVER would do !

MAG. Ma'am, if you hadn't, you'd soon have repented it.

LYS. Therefore I held it, and spake not a word.
 Soon of another tremendous absurdity,
 wilder and worse than the former we heard.
Husband, I say, with a tender solicitude,
Why have ye passed such a foolish decree ?
 Vicious, moodily, glaring askance at me,
Stick to your spinning, my mistress, says he,
Else you will speedily find it the worse for you,

WAR IS THE CARE AND THE BUSINESS OF MEN !¹

MAG. Zeus ! 'twas a worthy reply, and an excellent !

LYS. What ! you unfortunate, shall we not then,
 Then, when we see you perplexed and incompetent,
 shall we not tender advice to the State ?
 So when aloud in the streets and the thoroughfares
 sadly we heard you bewailing of late,
Is there a Man to defend and deliver us ?
No, says another, there's none in the land ;

¹ From the speech of Hector to Andromache, in the Sixth Iliad, thus rendered by Sir J. F. W. Herschel,—

Resume the cares of thy household :
 Look to thy distaff and web, and keep thy maids to their duties,
 Each to her task : for Men are the cares of war and its labours.

Then by the Women assembled in conference
 jointly a great Revolution was planned,
 Hellas to save from her grief and perplexity.
 Where is the use of a longer delay?
 Shift for the future our parts and our characters;
 you, as the women, in silence obey;
 We, as the men, will harangue and provide for you;
 then shall the State be triumphant again,
 Then shall we do what is best for the citizens.

MAG. Women to do what is best for the men!
 That were a shameful reproach and unbearable!

LYS. Silence¹, old gentleman. MAG. Silence for you?
 Stop for a wench with a wimple enfolding her?

 No, by the Powers, may I DIE if I do!
 LYS. Do not, my pretty one, do not, I pray,
 Suffer my wimple to stand in the way.
 Here, take it, and wear it, and gracefully tie it,
 Enfolding it over your head, and be quiet.

 Now to your task.

CAL. Here is an excellent spindle to pull.

MYRR. Here is a basket for carding the wool.

LYS. Now to your task.

 Haricots chawing up, petticoats drawing up,
 Off to your carding, your combing, your trimming,

 WAR IS THE CARE AND THE BUSINESS OF WOMEN.

(During the foregoing lines the women have been arraying the Magistrate in the garb and with the apparatus of a spinning-woman: just as in the corresponding system, below, they bedeck him in the habiliments of a corpse.)

W. CH. Up, up, and leave the pitchers there,
 and on, resolved and eager,

¹ Lysistrata is putting her system into immediate practice, and therefore addresses the same language and assigns the same duties to the Magistrate, as the Men had been accustomed aforetime to address and assign to the Women.

Our own allotted part to bear
in this illustrious leaguer.

I will dance with resolute, tireless feet all day ;
My limbs shall never grow faint, my strength give way ;
I will march all lengths with the noble hearts and the true,
For theirs is the ready wit and the patriot hand,
And womanly grace, and courage to dare and do,
And Love of our own bright land.

Children of stiff and intractable grandmothers,
heirs of the stinging viragoes that bore you,
On, with an eager, unyielding tenacity,
wind in your sails, and the haven before you. 550

LYS. Only let Love, the entrancing, the fanciful,
only let Queen Aphrodite to-day
Breathe on our persons a charm and a tenderness,
lend us their own irresistible sway,
Drawing the men to admire us and long for us ;
then shall the war everlastingly cease,
Then shall the people revere us and honour us,
givers of Joy, and givers of Peace.

MAG. Tell us the mode and the means of your doing it.

LYS. First we will stop the disorderly crew,
Soldiers in arms promenading and marketing.

STRAT. Yea, by divine Aphrodite, 'tis true.

LYS. Now in the market you see them like Corybants,
jangling about with their armour of mail.
Fiercely they stalk in the midst of the crockery,
sternly parade by the cabbage and kail.

MAG. Right, for a soldier should always be soldierly !

LYS. Troth, 'tis a mighty ridiculous jest,
Watching them haggle for shrimps in the market-place,
grimly accoutred with shield and with crest.

STRAT. Lately I witnessed a captain of cavalry,
proudly the while on his charger he sat,
Witnessed him, soldierly, buying an omelet,
stowing it all in his cavalry hat.
Comes, like a Tereus, a Thracian irregular,
shaking his dart and his target to boot ;
Off runs a shop-girl, appalled at the sight of him,
down he sits soldierly, gobbles her fruit.

MAG. You, I presume, could adroitly and gingerly
settle this intricate, tangled concern :
You in a trice could relieve our perplexities.

LYS. Certainly. MAG. How ? permit me to learn.

LYS. Just as a woman, with nimble dexterity,
thus with her hands disentangles a skein,
Hither and thither her spindles unravel it,
drawing it out, and pulling it plain.
So would this weary Hellenic entanglement
soon be resolved by our womanly care,
So would our embassies neatly unravel it,
drawing it here and pulling it there.

MAG. Wonderful, marvellous feats, not a doubt of it,
you with your skeins and your spindles can
Fools ! do you really expect to unravel a
terrible war like a bundle of tow ?

LYS. Ah, if you only could manage your politics
just in the way that we deal with a fleece !

MAG. Tell us the recipe. LYS. First, in the washing-tub
plunge it, and scour it, and cleanse it from
grease,
Purging away all the filth and the nastiness ;
then on the table expand it and lay,
Beating out all that is worthless and mischievous,
picking the burrs and the thistles away.

Next, for the clubs, the cabals, and the coteries,
 banding unrighteously, office to win,
 Treat them as clots in the wool, and dis sever them,
 lopping the heads that are forming therein.
 Then you should card it, and comb it, and mingle it,
 all in one Basket of love and of unity,
 Citizens, visitors, strangers, and sojourners,
 all the entire, undivided community.
 Know you a fellow in debt to the Treasury?
 Mingle him merrily in with the rest.
 Also remember the cities, our colonies,
 outlying states in the east and the west,
 Scattered about to a distance surrounding us,
 these are our shreds and our fragments of
 wool;
 These to one mighty political aggregate
 tenderly, carefully, gather and pull,
 Twining them all in one thread of good fellowship;
 thence a magnificent bobbin to spin,
 Weaving a garment of comfort and dignity,
 worthily wrapping the People therein.

MAG. Heard any ever the like of their impudence,
 these who have nothing to do with the
 Preaching of bobbins, and beatings, and washing-tubs.

LYS. Nothing to do with it, wretch that you are!
 We are the people who feel it the keenliest,
 doubly on us the affliction is cast;

Where are the sons that we sent to your battle-fields?

MAG. Silence! a truce to the ills that are past.

LYS. Then in the glory and grace of our womanhood,
 all in the May and the morning of life,
 Lo, we are sitting forlorn and disconsolate,
 what has a soldier to do with a wife?

We might endure it, but ah! for the younger ones,
still in their maiden apartments they stay,
Waiting the husband that never approaches them,
watching the years that are gliding away.

MAG. Men, I suppose, have their youth everlastingly.

Lys. Nay, but it isn't the same with a man :
Grey though he be when he comes from the battle-field,
still if he wishes to marry, he can.
Brief is the spring and the flower of our womanhood,
once let it slip, and it comes not again ;
Sit as we may with our spells and our auguries,
never a husband will marry us then.

MAG. Truly whoever is able to wed—¹

Lys. Truly, old fellow, 'tis time you were dead.
So a pig shall be sought, and an urn shall be bought, 600
And I'll bake you and make you a funeral cake.

Take it and go.

CAL. Here are the fillets all ready to wear.

MYRR. Here is the chaplet to bind in your hair.

Lys. Take it and go.

What are you prating for? What are you waiting
for?

Charon is staying, delaying his crew,
Charon is calling and bawling for you.

MAG. See, here's an outrage! here's a scandalous shame!
I'll run and show my fellow magistrates
The woeful, horrid, dismal plight I'm in.

Lys. Grumbling because we have not laid you out?
Wait for three days, and then with dawn will come,
All in good time, the third-day funeral rites.

¹ Apparently he was about to add "will soon find a wife," but Lysistrata interrupts him, and she and her companions dress him up like a corpse.

THE LYSISTRATA

(*The Magistrate runs off in his grave-clothes to complain of and exhibit the treatment he has received. Lysistrata and her friends withdraw into the Acropolis. The two Choruses remain without, and relieve the tedium of the siege with a little banter.*)

MEN CH. This is not a time for slumber ;
now let all the bold and free,
Strip to meet the great occasion,
vindicate our rights with me.
I can smell a deep, surprising
Tide of Revolution rising,
Odour as of folk devising
Hippias's tyranny.
And I feel a dire misgiving,
Lest some false Laconians, meeting
in the house of Cleisthenes,
Have inspired these wretched women
all our wealth and pay to seize,
Pay from whence I get my living.
Gods ! to hear these shallow wenches
taking citizens to task,
Prattling of a brassy buckler,
jabbering of a martial casque !
Gods ! to think that they have ventured
with Laconian men to deal,
Men of just the faith and honour
that a ravening wolf might feel !
Plots they're hatching, plots contriving,
plots of rampant Tyranny ;
But o'er us they shan't be Tyrants,
no, for on my guard I'll be,
And I'll dress my sword in myrtle,
and with firm and dauntless hand,
Here beside Aristogeiton
resolutely take my stand,

Marketing in arms beside him.

 This the time and this the place
When my patriot arm must deal a
 —blow ¹ upon that woman's face.

W. CH. Ah, your mother shall not know you,
 impudent ! when home you go.
Strip, my sisters, strip for action,
 on the ground your garments throw.
Right it is that I my slender
Tribute to the state should render,
I, who to her thoughtful tender
 care my happiest memories owe ;
Bore, at seven, the mystic casket ;
Was, at ten, our Lady's miller ;
 then the yellow Brauron bear ;
Next (a maiden tall and stately
 with a string of figs to wear)
Bore in pomp the holy Basket.
Well may such a gracious City
 all my filial duty claim.
What though I was born a woman,
 comrades, count it not for blame
If I bring the wiser counsels ;
 I an equal share confer
Towards the common stock of Athens,
 I contribute men to her.
But the noble contribution,
 but the olden tribute-pay,
Which your fathers' fathers left you,
 relic of the Median fray,

650

¹ Unexpectedly suits the action to the word. A similar result takes place at the end of the three succeeding speeches.

Dotards, ye have lost and wasted !
 nothing in its stead ye bring,
 Nay ourselves ye're like to ruin,
 spend and waste by blundering.
 Murmuring are ye? Let me hear you,
 only let me hear you speak,
 And from this unpolished slipper
 comes a—slap upon your cheek !

MEN CH. Is not this an outrage sore ?
 And methinks it blows not o'er,
 But increases more and more.
 Come, my comrades, hale and hearty,
 on the ground your mantles throw,
 In the odour of their manhood
 men to meet the fight should go,
 Not in these ungodly wrappers
 swaddled up from top to toe.

On, then on, my white-foot veterans¹, ye who thronged Leipsydrium's
 height
 In the days when we were Men !
 Shake this chill old Age from off you,
 Spread the wings of youth again.
 O these women ! give them once a
 handle howsoever small,
 And they'll soon be nought behind us
 in the manliest feats of all.
 Yea, they'll build them fleets and navies
 and they'll come across the sea,

¹ λευκόποδες, with a play on λυκόποδες, the name given to the outlawed Alc-maeonids when they returned to Attica and established themselves on Leipsydrium, in their first fruitless attempt to overthrow the tyranny of Hippias.

Come like Carian Artemisia,
 fighting in their ships with me.
 Or they'll turn their first attention,
 haply, to equestrian fights,
 If they do, I know the issue,
 there's an end of all the knights !
 Well a woman sticks on horseback :
 look around you, see, behold,
 Where on Micon's living frescoes
 fight the Amazons of old !
 Shall we let these wilful women,
 O my brothers, do the same ?
 Rather first their necks we'll rivet
 tightly in the pillory frame.

W. CH. If our smouldering fires ye wake,
 Soon our wildbeast wrath will break
 Out against you, and we'll make,
 Make you howl to all your neighbours,
 currycombed, poor soul, and tanned.
 Throw aside your mantles, sisters,
 come, a firm determined band,
 In the odour of your wrathful
 snappish womanhood to stand.

Who'll come forth and fight me ? garlie, nevermore, nor beans for him.
 Nay, if one sour word ye say,
 I'll be like the midwife beetle,
 Following till the eagle lay.

Yea, for you and yours I reckon not
 whilst my Lampito survives,
 And my noble, dear Ismenia,
 loveliest of the Theban wives.

Keep decreeing seven times over,
 not a bit of good you'll do,
 Wretch abhorred of all the people
 and of all our neighbours too.
 So that when in Hecate's honour
 yesterday I sent to get
 From our neighbours in Boeotia
 such a dainty darling pet,
 Just a lovely, graceful, slender,
 white-fleshed eel divinely tender,
 Thanks to your decrees, confound them,
 one and all refused to send her.
 And you'll never stop from making
 these absurd decrees I know,
 Till I catch your leg and toss you
 —Zeus-ha'-mercy, there you go !

700

(An interval of several days must here be supposed to elapse. The separation of the sexes has now become insupportable to both parties, and the only question is which side will hold out the longest. The Chorus of Women are alarmed at seeing Lysistrata come on the stage, and walk up and down with an anxious and troubled air. The first twelve lines of the dialogue which ensues are borrowed and burlesqued from Euripides.)

- W. CH. Illustrious leader of this bold emprise,
 What brings thee forth, with trouble in thine eyes?
 LYS. Vile women's works : the feminine hearts they show :
 These make me pace, dejected, to and fro.
 W. CH. O what ! and O what !
 LYS. 'Tis true ! 'tis true !
 W. CH. O to your friends, great queen, the tale unfold.
 LYS. 'Tis sad to tell, and sore to leave untold.
 W. CH. What, what has happened ? tell us, tell us quick.
 LYS. Aye, in one word. The girls are—husband-sick.
 W. CH. O Zeus ! Zeus ! O !
 LYS. Why call on Zeus ? the fact is surely so.

I can no longer keep the minxes in.
 They slip out everywhere. One I discovered
 Down by Pan's grotto, burrowing through the loophole :
 Another, wriggling down by crane and pulley :
 A third deserts outright : a fourth I dragged
 Back by the hair, yestreen, just as she started
 On sparrow's back, straight for Orsilochus's :
 They make all sorts of shifts to get away.

(A woman is seen attempting to cross the stage.)

Ha ! here comes one, deserting. Hi there, Hi !
 Where are you off to ? FIRST WOMAN *(hurriedly)*. I must just
 run home.

I left some fine Milesian wools about,
 I'm sure the moths are at them. LYS. Moths indeed !
 Get back. FIRST W. But really I'll return directly,
 I only want to spread them on the couch.

LYS. No spreadings out, no running home to-day.

FIRST W. What ! leave my wools to perish ? LYS. If need be.

(A second woman now attempts to cross the stage.)

SECOND W. O goodness gracious ! O that lovely flax
 I left at home unhackled ! LYS. Here's another !
She's stealing off to hackle flax forsooth.

(To the second woman.)

Come, come, get back. SECOND W. O yes, and so I will,
 I'll comb it out and come again directly.

LYS. Nay, nay, no combing : once begin with that
 And other girls are sure to want the same.

(Several women enter one after the other.)

THIRD W. O holy Eileithyia, stay my labour
 Till I can reach some lawful travail-place.

LYS. How now ! THIRD W. My pains are come. LYS. Why
 yesterday

You were not pregnant. THIRD W. But to-day I am.

Quick, let me pass, Lysistrata, at once
 To find a midwife. LYS. What's it all about?
 What's this hard lump? THIRD W. That's a male child.

LYS. Not it.
 It's something made of brass, and hollow too. 750

Come, come, out with it. O you silly woman,
 What! cuddling up the sacred helmet there
 And say you're pregnant? THIRD W. Well, and so I am.

LYS. What's this for then? THIRD W. Why, if my pains
 o'ertake me

In the Acropolis, I'd creep inside
 And sit and hatch there as the pigeons do.

LYS. Nonsense and stuff: the thing's as plain as can be.
 Stay and keep here the name-day of your—helmet.

FOURTH W. But I can't sleep a single wink up here,
 So scared I was to see the holy serpent.

FIFTH W. And I shall die for lack of rest, I know,
 With this perpetual hooting of the owls.

LYS. O ladies, ladies, cease these tricks, I pray.
 Ye want your husbands. And do you suppose
 They don't want *us*? Full wearisome, I know,
 Their nights without us. O bear up, dear friends,
 Be firm, be patient, yet one little while,
 For I've an oracle (here 'tis) which says
 We're sure to conquer if we hold together.

WOMEN. O read us what it says. LYS. Then all keep silence.

(Lysistrata reads out the oracle.)

*Soon as the swallows are seen collecting and crouching together,
 Shunning the hoopoes' flight and keeping aloof from the Love-birds,
 Cometh a rest from ill, and Zeus the Lord of the Thunder
 Changeth the upper to under.* WOMEN. Preserve us, shall we be the
 upper?

LYS. *Nay, but if once they wrangle, and flutter away in dissension*

*Out of the Temple of God, then all shall see and acknowledge,
Never a bird of the air so perjured and frail as the swallow.*

WOMEN. Wow, but that's plain enough! O all ye Gods,
Let us not falter in our efforts now.
Come along in. O friends, O dearest friends,
'Twere sin and shame to fail the oracle.

(The women, with Lysistrata, re-enter the Acropolis. The two Choruses again indulge in an interchange of banter. The Men begin.)

MEN CH. Now to tell a little story
Fain, fain I grow,
One I heard when quite an urchin
Long, long ago.
How that once
All to shun the nuptial bed
From his home Melanion fled,
To the hills and deserts sped,
Kept his dog,
Wove his snares,
Set his nets,
Trapped his hares;
Home he nevermore would go,
He detested women so.
We are of Melanion's mind,
We detest the womankind.

MAN. May I, mother, kiss your cheek?

WOMAN. Then you won't require a leek¹.

MAN. Hoist my leg, and kick you, so?

WOMAN. Fie! what stalwart legs you show!

MAN. Just such stalwart legs and strong,
Just such stalwart legs as these,

800

¹ To produce artificial tears: you shall shed real ones. So, in the converse case of a fictitious grief, Shakespeare says, "The tears live in an onion that should water this sorrow."—A. and C. i. 2.

To the noble chiefs belong,
Phormio and Myronides.

(It is now the women's turn. The two systems are of course antistrophical.)

W. CH. Now to tell a little story
 Fain, fain am I,
 To your tale about Melanion
 Take this reply.
 How that once
Savage Timon, all forlorn,
Dwelt amongst the prickly thorn
Visage-shrouded, Fury-born.
 Dwelt alone,
 Far away,
 Cursing men
 Day by day ;
Never saw his home again,
Kept aloof from haunts of men :
Hating men of evil mind,
Dear to all the womankind.

WOMAN. Shall I give your cheek a blow ?

MAN. No, I thank you, no, no, no !

WOMAN. Hoist my foot and kick you too ?

MAN. Fie ! what vulgar feet I view.

WOMAN. Vulgar feet ! absurd, absurd,
 Don't such foolish things repeat ;
Never were, upon my word,
 Tinier, tidier little feet.

(The two Choruses now retire into the background : and there is again a short pause. Suddenly the voice of Lysistrata is heard calling eagerly to her friends.)

LYS. Ho, ladies ! ladies ! quick, this way, this way !

WOMAN. O what's the matter and what means that cry ?

LYS. A man ! a man ! I see a man approaching

Wild with desire, beside himself with love.
 O lady of Cyprus, Paphos, and Cythera,
 Keep on, straight on, the way you are going now !

WOMAN. But where's the man ? LYS. (*Pointing.*) Down there, by Chloe's chapel.

WOMAN. O so he is : whoever can he be !

LYS. Know you him, any one ? MYRR. O yes, my dear,
 I know him. That's Cinesias, my husband.

LYS. O then 'tis yours to roast and bother him well ;
 Coaxing, yet coy : enticing, fooling him,
 Going all lengths, save what our Oath forbids.

MYRR. Ay, ay, trust *me*. LYS. And I'll assist you, dear ;
 I'll take my station here, and help befool
 And roast our victim. All the rest, retire.

(*The others withdraw, leaving Lysistrata alone upon the wall. Cinesias approaches underneath.*)

CINESIAS. O me ! these pangs and paroxysms of love,
 Riving my heart, keen as a torturer's wheel !

LYS. Who's this within the line of sentries ? CIN. I.

LYS. A man ? CIN. A man, no doubt. LYS. Then get you gone.

CIN. Who bids me go ? LYS. I, guard on outpost duty.

CIN. O call me out, I pray you, Myrrhina. 850

LYS. Call you out Myrrhina ! And who are you ?

CIN. Why I'm her husband, I'm Cinesias.

LYS. O welcome, welcome, dearest man ; your name

Is not unknown nor yet unhonoured here.

Your wife for ever has it on her lips.

She eats no egg, no apple, but she says

This to Cinesias ! CIN. O, good heaven ! good heaven !

LYS. She does, indeed : and if we ever chance
 To talk of men, she vows that all the rest
 Are veriest trash beside Cinesias.

CIN. Ah ! call her out. LYS. And will you give me aught ?

- CIN. O yes, I'll give you anything I've got.
- LYS. Then I'll go down and call her. CIN. Pray be quick.
I have no joy, no happiness in life,
Since she, my darling left me. When I enter
My vacant home I weep; and all the world
Seems desolate and bare: my very meals
Give me no joy, now Myrrhina is gone.
- MYRR. (*Within.*) Ay, ay, I love, I love him, but he won't
Be loved by me: call me not out to him.
- CIN. What mean you, Myrrhina, my sweet, sweet love?
Do, do come down. MYRR. No, no, sir, not to you.
- CIN. What, won't you when I call you, Myrrhina?
- MYRR. Why, though you call me, yet you want me not.
- CIN. Not want you, Myrrhina! I'm dying for you.
- MYRR. Good-bye. CIN. Nay, nay, but listen to the child
At all events: speak to Mama, my child.
- CHILD. Mama! Mama! Mama!
- CIN. Have you no feeling, mother, for your child,
Six days unwashed, unsuckled? MYRR. Ay, 'tis I
That feel for baby, 'tis Papa neglects him.
- CIN. Come down and take him, then? MYRR. O what it is
To be a mother! I must needs go down.
- (*She descends from the wall, and four lines below reappears through the gate. While she is gone Cinesias speaks.*)
- CIN. She looks, methinks, more youthful than she did,
More gentle-loving, and more sweet by far.
Her very airs, her petulant, saucy ways,
They do but make me love her, love her more.
- MYRR. O my sweet child, a naughty father's child,
Mama's own darling, let me kiss you, pet.
- CIN. Why treat me thus, you baggage, letting others
Lead you astray: making me miserable
And yourself too? MYRR. Hands off! don't touch me, sir.

- CIN. And all our household treasures, yours and mine,
Are gone to wrack and ruin. MYRR. I don't care.
- CIN. Not care, although the fowls are in the house
Pulling your threads to pieces? MYRR. Not a bit.
- CIN. Nor though the sacred rites of wedded love
Have been so long neglected? won't you come?
- MYRR. No, no, I won't, unless you stop the war, 900
And all make friends. CIN. Well, then, if such your will,
We'll e'en do this. MYRR. Well, then, if such your will,
I'll e'en come home: but now I've sworn I won't.
- CIN. Yet kiss me, Myrrhina, unkissed so long.
- MYRR. There *(kisses him)*. CIN. O my darling, come, come home at
once.

(After trifling with him a little longer, Myrrhina suddenly disappears into the Acropolis, leaving him in a mood to vote for peace with Sparta on any terms, so that he may get her home again. A Laconian herald is next seen approaching, and the Magistrate comes forward to meet him.)

- HERALD. Whaur sall a body fin' the Athanian senate,
Or the gran' lairds? Ha' gotten news to tell.
- MAG. News, have you, friend? And what in the world are you?
- HER. A heralt, billie! jist a Spartian heralt,
Come, by the Twa', anent a Peace, ye ken.
- MAG. Ay, and how fare the Spartans? tell me that:
And tell me truly, for I know the fact.
- HER. They're bad enough, they canna weel be waur;
They're sair bestead, Spartians, allies, an' a'.
- MAG. And how and whence arose this trouble first?
From Pan? HER. Na, na, 'twer' Lampito, I ween,
First set it gangin': then our hizzies, a' 1000
Risin' like rinners at ane signal word,
Loupit, an' jibbed, an' dang the men awa'.
- MAG. How like ye that? HER. Och, we're in waefu' case.
They stan' abeigh, the lassies do, an' vow
They'll no be couthie wi' the laddies mair

- Till a' mak' Peace, and throughly en' the War.
 MAG. This is a plot they have everywhere been hatching,
 These villanous women : now I see it all.
 Run home, my man, and bid your people send
 Envoys with absolute powers to treat for peace,
 And I will off with all the speed I can,
 And get our Council here to do the same.
 HER. Nebbut, I'se fly, ye rede me weel, I'm thinkin'.

(The Herald leaves for Sparta ; the Magistrate returns to the Senate ; and the two Choruses now advance for a final skirmish.)

- MEN CH. There is nothing so resistless as a woman in her ire,
 She is wilder than a leopard, she is fiercer than a fire.
 W. CH. And yet you're so daft as with women to contend,
 When 'tis in your power to win me and have me as a friend.
 MEN CH. I'll never, never cease all women to detest.
 W. CH. That's as you please hereafter : meanwhile you're all undressed.
 I really can't allow it, you are getting quite a joke ;
 Permit me to approach you and to put you on this cloke.
 MEN CH. Now that's not so bad or unfriendly I declare ;
 It was only from bad temper that I stripped myself so bare.
 W. CH. There, now you look a man : and none will joke and jeer you :
 And if you weren't so spiteful that no one can come near you,
 I'd have pulled out the insect that is sticking in your eye.
 MEN CH. Ay, that is what's consuming me, that little biter-fly.
 Yes, scoop it out and show me, when you've got him safe away :
 The plaguy little brute, he's been biting me all day.
 W. CH. I'll do it, sir, I'll do it : but you're a cross one, you.
 O Zeus ! here's a monster I am pulling forth to view.
 Just look ! don't you think 'tis a Tricorysian gnat ?
 MEN CH. And he's been dig, dig, digging (so I thank you much for that)
 Till the water, now he's gone, keeps running from my eye.
 W. CH. But although you've been so naughty, I'll come and wipe it dry,

And I'll kiss you. MEN CH. No, not kiss me! W. CH.
Will you, nill you, it must be.

MEN CH. Get along, a murrain on you. Tcha! what coaxing rogues
are ye!

That was quite a true opinion which a wise man gave about
you,

We can't live with such tormentors, no, by Zeus, nor yet without
you.

Now we'll make a faithful treaty, and for evermore agree,
I will do no harm to women, they shall do no harm to me.
Join our forces, come along: one and all commence the song.

JOINT CHORUS. Not to objurgate and scold you,
Not unpleasant truths to say,
But with words and deeds of bounty
Come we here to-day.
Ah, enough of idle quarrels,
Now attend, I pray.
Now whoever wants some money,
Minas two or minas three,
Let them say so, man and woman,
Let them come with me.
Many purses, large and—empty¹,
In my house they'll see.
Only you must strictly promise,
Only you indeed must say
That whenever Peace re-greet us,
You will—not repay.

1050

¹ Read

πόλλ' ἔσω γὰρ
KEN' ἔχομεν βαλλάντια.

These little twin songs, and the similar pair which will be found a few pages further on, are all fashioned in the same vein of pleasantry; consisting of large and liberal offers made by the Chorus, but with an intimation at the end that they have no means or intention of performing them.

THE LYSISTRATA

SOME Carystian friends are coming,
 Pleasant gentlemen, to dine ;
 And I've made some soup, and slaughtered
 Such a lovely swine ;
 Luscious meat ye'll have and tender
 At this feast of mine.
 Come along, yourselves and children,
 Come to grace my board to-day ;
 Take an early bath, and deck you
 In your best array ;
 Then walk in and ask no questions,
 Take the readiest way.
 Come along, like men of mettle ;
 Come as though 'twere all for you :
 Come, you'll find my only entrance
 Locked and bolted too.

(The Laconian ambassadors are seen approaching.)

CHOR. Lo here from Sparta the envoys come: in a pitiful plight they
 are hobbling in.

Heavily hangs each reverend beard ; heavily droops and trails from
 the chin.

Laconian envoys ! first I bid you welcome,
 And next I ask how goes the world with *you* ?

LACONIAN. I needna mony words to answer that !

'Tis unco plain hoo the warld gangs wi' us.

CHOR. Dear, dear, this trouble grows from bad to worse.

LAC. 'Tis awfu' bad : 'tis nae gude talkin', cummer.

We maun hae peace whatever gaet we gang till't.

CHOR. And here, good faith, I see our own Autochthons
 Bustling along. They seem in trouble too.

(The Athenian ambassadors enter.)

ATHENIAN. Can some good soul inform me where to find

Lysistrata ? our men are (*shrugging his shoulders*) as you see.

(*He perceives the Laconian ambassadors.*)

Aha, Laconians ! a bad business this.

LAC. 'Deed is it, lovey ; though it grow nae waur.

ATH. Well, well, Laconians, come to facts at once. 1100

What brings you here ? LAC. We're envoys sent to claver

Anent a Peace. ATH. Ah, just the same as we.

Then let's call out Lysistrata at once,

There's none but she can make us friends again.

LAC. Ay, by the Twa', ca' oot Lysistrata.

CHOR. Nay, here she is ! no need, it seems, to call.

She heard your voices, and she comes uncalled.

(*Lysistrata comes forward attended by her handmaid Reconciliation.*)

O Lady, noblest and best of all ! arise, arise, and thyself reveal,
Gentle, severe, attractive, harsh, well skilled with all our complaints to
deal,

The first and foremost of Hellas come, they are caught by the charm
of thy spell-drawn wheel,

They come to Thee to adjust their claims, disputes to settle, and strifes
to heal.

Lys. And no such mighty matter, if you take them

In Love's first passion, still unsatisfied.

I'll try them now. Go, RECONCILIATION,

Bring those Laconians hither, not with rude

Ungential harshness hurrying them along,

Not in the awkward style our husbands used,

But with all tact, as only women can.

So ; so : now bring me those Athenians too.

Now then, Laconians, stand beside me here,

And you stand there, and listen to my words.

I am a woman, but I don't lack sense ;

I'm of myself not badly off for brains,

And often listening to my father's words
 And old men's talk, I've not been badly schooled.
 And now, dear friends, I wish to chide you both,
 That ye, all of one blood, all brethren sprinkling
 The selfsame altars from the selfsame laver,
 At Pylae, Pytho, and Olympia, ay
 And many others which 'twere long to name,
 That ye, Hellenes—with barbarian foes
 Armed, looking on—fight and destroy Hellenes!
 So far one reprimand includes you both.

ATH. And I, I'm dying all for love, sweetheart.

LYS. And ye, Laconians, for I'll turn to you,
 Do ye not mind how Pericleidas¹ came,
 (His coat was scarlet but his cheeks were white),
 And sat a suppliant at Athenian altars
 And begged for help? 'Twas when Messene pressed
 Weighing you down, and God's great earthquake too.
 And Cimon went, Athenian Cimon went
 With his four thousand men, and saved your State.
 And ye, whom Athens aided, now in turn
 Ravage the land which erst befriended you.

ATH. 'Fore Zeus they're wrong, they're wrong, Lysistrata.

LAC. O ay, we're wrang, but she's a braw ane, she.

LYS. And you, Athenians, think ye that I mean
 To let You off? Do *ye* not mind, when ye
 Wore skirts of hide, how these Laconians² came
 And stood beside you in the fight alone,
 And slew full many a stout Thessalian trooper,
 Full many of Hippias's friends and helpers,
 And freed the State, and gave your people back
 The civic mantle for the servile skirt?

1150

¹ See Plutarch, Cimon, chap. 16. Thuc. i. 102; iii. 54.

² See Hdt. v. 64, 65.

- LAC. Danged, an' there ever waur a bonnier lassie !
 ATH. Hanged if I ever saw so sweet a creature !
 LYS. Such friends aforetime, helping each the other,
 What is it makes you fight and bicker now ?
 Why can't ye come to terms ? Why can't ye, hey ?
 LAC. Troth an' we're willin', gin they gie us back
 Yon girdled neuk. ATH. What's that ? LAC. Pylus, ye
 ninny,
 Whilk we've been aye langin' an' graipin' for.
 ATH. No, by Poseidon, but you won't get that.
 LYS. O let them have it, man. ATH. How can we stir
 Without it ? LYS. Ask for something else instead.
 ATH. Hum ! haw ! let's see ; suppose they give us back
 Echinus first, then the full-bosomed gulf
 Of Melis, then the straight Megaric limbs.
 LAC. Eh, mon, ye're daft ; ye'll no hae everything.
 LYS. O let it be : don't wrangle about the limbs.
 ATH. I'fecks, I'd like to strip, and plough my field.
 LAC. An' I to bring the midden, by the Twa'.
 LYS. All this ye'll do, when once ye come to terms.
 So if ye would, go and consult together
 And talk it over, each with your allies.
 ATH. Allies, says she ! Now my good soul consider :
 What *do* they want, what *can* they want, but this,
 Their wives again ? LAC. The fient anither wiss
 Ha' mine, I ween. ATH. Nor my Carystians either.
 LYS. O that is well : so purify yourselves ;
 And in the Acropolis we'll feast you all
 On what our cupboards still retain in store.
 There, each to other, plight your oath and troth,
 Then every man receive his wife again,
 And hie off homeward. ATH. That we will, and quickly.
 LAC. Gae on : we'se follow. ATH. Ay, as quick as quick.

THE LYSISTRATA

(Lysistrata and the ambassadors go in.)

CHOR. Gorgeous robes and golden trinkets,
 Shawls and mantles rich and rare,
 I will lend to all who need them,
 Lend for youths to wear,
 Or if any comrade's daughter
 Would the Basket bear.
 One and all I here invite you,
 Freely of my goods partake,
 Nought is sealed so well, but boldly
 Ye the seals may break,
 And of all that lurks behind them,
 Quick partition make.
 Only, if you find the treasures,
 Only, if the stores you spy,
 You must have, I tell you plainly,
 Keener sight than I.
 Is THERE any man among you,
 With a lot of children small,
 With a crowd of hungry servants,
 Starving in his hall?
 I have wheat to spare in plenty,
 I will feed them all.
 Loaves, a quart apiece, I'll give them,
 Come along, whoever will,
 Bring your bags, and bring your wallets
 For my slave to fill;
 Manes, he's the boy to pack them
 Tight and tighter still.
 Only you must keep your distance,
 Only you must needs take care,
 Only—don't approach my doorway,
 Ware the watch-dog, ware!

1200

(Some idlers come in from the market-place, and attempt to enter the house in which the ambassadors are feasting.)

IDLER. Open the door there, ho ! PORTER. Be off, you rascal !

IDLER. What, won't you stir ? I've half a mind to roast you
All with this torch. No, that's a vulgar trick.
I won't do that. Still if the audience wish it,
To please their tastes we'll undertake the task.

SECOND IDLER. And we, with you, will undertake the task.

PORTER. Hang you, be off ! what are you at ? you'll catch it.
Come, come, begone ; that these Laconians here,
The banquet ended, may depart in peace.

(The banqueters begin to come out.)

FIRST ATH. Well, if I ever saw a feast like this !
What cheery fellows those Laconians were,
And we were wondrous witty in our cups.

SECOND ATH. Ay, ay, 'tis when we're sober, we're so daft.
Now if the State would take a friend's advice,
'Twould make its envoys always all get drunk.
When we go dry to Sparta, all our aim
Is just to see what mischief we can do.
We don't hear aught they say ; and we infer
A heap of things they never said at all.
Then we bring home all sorts of differing tales.
Now everything gives pleasure : if a man,
When he should sing Cleitagora, strike up
With Telamon's song, we'd clap him on the back,
And say 'twas excellent ; ay, and swear it too.

(The idlers again approach.)

PORTER. Why, bless the fellows, here they come again,
Crowding along. Be off, you scoundrels, will you ?

IDLER. By Zeus, we must : the guests are coming out.

(The ambassadors come out from the banquet.)

LAC. O lovey mine, tak' up the pipes an' blaw.
An' I'se jist dance an' sing a canty sang

Anent the Athanians an' our ainsells too.

ATH. Ay, by the Powers, take up the pipes and blow.
Eh, but I dearly love to see you dance.

LAC.¹

Stir, Memory, stir the chiels
Wi' that auld sang o' thine,¹
Whilk kens what we an' Attics did
In the gran' fechts lang syne.

1250

At Artemisium They
A' resolute an' strang
Rushed daurly to the fray,
Hurtlin' like Gudes amang
The timmered ships, an' put the Medes to rout.
An' 'Us Leonidas led out
Like gruesome boars, I ween,
Whettin' our tuskies keen.

Muckle around the chaps was the white freath gleamin',
Muckle adoon the legs was the white freath streamin',
For a' unnumbered as the sands
Were they, thae Persian bands.

O Artemis, the pure, the chaste,
The virgin Queller o' the beasties,
O come wi' power an' come wi' haste,
An' come to join our friendly feasties.
Come wi' thy stoutest tether,
To knit our sauls thegither,
An' gie us Peace in store,
An' Luve for evermore.
Far hence, far hence depart
The tod's deceitfu' heart!

¹ The songs with which the Play concludes are, in the original, representatives of two widely differing styles of minstrelsy: the light and airy measures of the Ionians, and the "Dorian movement, bold or grave."

O virgin huntress, pure an' chaste,
O come wi' power, an' come wi' haste.

LYS. There, all is settled, all arranged at last.
Now, take your ladies ; you, Laconians, those,
And you, take these ; then standing side by side,
Each by his partner, lead your dances out
In grateful honour to the Gods, and O
Be sure you nevermore offend again.

CHOR. Now for the Chorus, the Graces, the minstrelsy.
Call upon Artemis, queen of the glade ;
Call on her brother, the Lord of festivity,
Holy and gentle one, mighty to aid.
Call upon Bacchus, afire with his Maenades ;
Call upon Zeus, in the lightning arrayed ;
Call on his queen, ever blessed, adorable ;
Call on the holy, infallible Witnesses,
Call them to witness the peace and the harmony,
This which divine Aphrodite has made.
Allala ! Lallala ! Lallala, Lallala !
Whoop for victory, Lallalalae !
Evoi ! Evoi ! Lallala, Lallala !
Evae ! Evae ! Lallalalae.

Our excellent new song is done ;
Do you, Laconian, give us one.

LAC. Leave Taygety, an' quickly
Hither, Muse Laconian, come.
Hymn the Gude o' braw Amyclae,
Hymn Athana, Brassin-dome.
Hymn the Tyndarids, for ever
Sportin' by Eurotas river.

THE LYSISTRATA

Noo then, noo the step begin,
Twirlin' licht the fleecy skin ;
Sae we'se join our blithesome voices,
Praisin' Sparta, loud an' lang,
Sparta wha of auld rejoices
In the Choral dance an' sang.
O to watch her bonnie dochters
Sport alang Eurotas' waters !
Winsome feet for ever plyin',
Fleet as fillies, wild an' gay,
Winsome tresses tossin', flyin',
As o' Bacchanals at play.
Leda's dochter, on before us,
Pure an' sprety, guides the Chorus.

Onward go,
Whilst your eager hand represses
A' the glory o' your tresses ;
Whilst your eager foot is springin'
Like the roe ;
Whilst your eager voice is singin'
Praise to Her in might excellin'
Goddess o' the Brassin Dwellin'.

APPENDIX

OF VARIOUS READINGS

THE MSS. containing the *Lysistrata* in a more or less perfect form are as follows :—

R. The Ravenna MS.

(I have the facsimile of R. and am responsible for the presentation of its readings in this Appendix.)

H. The Munich MS. (No. 492, State Library).

P¹. The second Parisian (No. 2715, National Library).

P². The third Parisian (No. 2717, National Library).

(These three MSS. were used by Brunck for his edition.)

I. The Vaticano-Palatine (Pal. No. 67 in the Vatican Library).

(This MS. was used by Kuster, and apparently by Marco Musuro for the *Editio Princeps*.)

F¹. The second Florentine (No. 31. 16 in the Laurentian Library).

l. The first Leyden (No. 52 in the University Library).

There is a copy of l., made by Bentley, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Of these MSS. only R. and H. contain the Play in its entirety. They belong to the same class, H. being extremely similar to, though not quite identical with, R.

The other five MSS. are a quite distinct class, and are obviously all drawn from one source. They all alike omit the lines between 61 and 132, between 199 and 268, between 819 and 890, and between 1097 and 1237; whilst l. also omits the lines between 1035 and 1097 and from

1237 to the end of the Play. I have been in the habit of vituperating P¹. as the originator of countless futile emendations and F¹. as the faithful retailer of the same. But it is apparent from Professor John Williams White's valuable articles on "the MSS. of Aristophanes" that I did not rightly apportion the amount of criminality between the two. F¹., being the older MS., must have been the original transgressor and P¹. the indiscriminate copier.

I must also confess to another mistake which is pointed out by Professor White with great kindness in the same articles. H. is a MS. in the Bibliotheca Monacensis which I ignorantly supposed to be a library in the little principality of Monaco. And as the letter M. had already been assigned to the Milanese MSS., I gave to this MS. the letter H., the initial of *Herculis Portus* which was the ancient name of Monaco. However the Bibliotheca Monacensis is really the State Library of *Munich*, and H. must now stand for the final (the initial being otherwise engaged) of the Bavarian City.

Neither the *Lysistrata* nor the *Thesmophoriazusae* appeared in the Editio Princeps, the Aldine edition. Aldus says, "Accipe novem Aristophanis fabulas, nam decimam, *Lysistraten*, ideo praetermisimus quia vix dimidiata haberi a nobis potuit." He might have published a mutilated *Lysistrata*, but he seems to know nothing of an eleventh Comedy. It is probable that he is referring to the MS. which I have called I., and which on other grounds he is believed to have used. I. does, as we have seen, contain a mutilated copy of the *Lysistrata*, but contains no portion of the *Thesmophoriazusae*.

The Aldine edition was published in 1498, and in 1515 Bernardo Giunta published the same nine Plays at Florence. And in the same year he published, as a separate volume, the two Plays which Aldus had failed to procure. In his dedication of the latter volume to Francesco Accolti he says, "Venit, mi Francisce, expectata dies illa in qua ex Urbinate Bibliotheca antiquissimum Aristophanis exemplar nacti sumus, ibique inter alias *Λυσιστράτην* καὶ *Θεσμοφοριαζούσας*, non alias visas comoedias invenimus, hasque et tuo nomine eudere tibi que dicare, amicorum optime,

visum est. Nec te ignorare velim, vir doctissime, plus aliis truncatas mutilatasque has esse comoedias." And in his final note he says to the reader, "Habes, candide lector, nusquam hactenus impressas binas Aristophanis comoedias, sacrificantes feminas Atticamque Lysistraten, quas ex codice adeo vetusto excerpsimus ut altera interdum dictionis pars ibi desideretur."

It is rather surprising to find in Cratander's edition, published at Basle seventeen years later, not only no recognition of Giunta's publication, but an implication that these two Plays had never been published before. Cratander says to the reader, "Habes, candide lector, praeter novem hactenus editas Aristophanis comoedias, duas in calce adiunctas, nimirum sacrificantes foeminas, Atticamque Lysistraten. In quibus si quid desiderabitur, in exemplar mutilum et corruptum culpam transferas oportet. Nos, studiis tuis faventes, illas tibi, ut invenimus, minus expolitas, quam nullas tradere maluimus." His presentation of the two Comedies is identical with that of 1515, and I do not know whence he got the name *Atticam* Lysistraten, if not from Giunta's edition. However he may of course have consulted the MS. which Giunta consulted..

That MS. has, of late years, been identified, or sought to be identified, with the famous MS. of Ravenna. The identification is said to have been made independently by two critics, W. G. Clark, formerly Public Orator in the University of Cambridge, and Velsen. I have not been able to obtain Velsen's article, but it is not likely that he added anything of moment to Clark's argument; for Velsen's excellence as a collator of MSS. should not blind us to his singular ineffectiveness as a critic. Clark's argument rests mainly on the fact that he found in the Ravenna MS. certain pencil marks corresponding with the pages of Giunta's edition of the two Plays. But this is not a very convincing argument. The pencil marks might just as well have been made by any later scholar (Cratander for instance) with Giunta's edition in his hand. And the description which both Giunta and Cratander give of the MS. in which they found the Plays is that of a MS. absolutely dissimilar to the Ravenna. Clark admits that their description "is by no means a correct

description of the [Ravenna] MS., for it implies that its leaves have been worn or the writing defaced by age, which is not the case." And he asks, "Is this mere carelessness or deliberate mystification?" *Journal of Philology* iii. 157. He returns no answer to the question, and it seems to me that both the suggested solutions are in the highest degree improbable; and that the only true explanation is that they were not referring to the Ravenna MS. at all. For why should a writer unnecessarily depreciate his own wares? Both Plays are in at least as good a condition in the Ravenna as any of the other nine. The *Lysistrata* is seventh in the volume, with six Plays preceding and four following it; the *Thesmophoriazusae* tenth, followed by the *Ecclesiazusae*. Yet both Giunta and Cratander place the *Thesmophoriazusae* *before* the *Lysistrata*, relegating the latter to the end of the series, a place which it occupied as the last of the eleven comedies for more than two centuries and a half, until Brunk in his edition promoted it to be the first of the eleven comedies.

The editions in my possession containing the *Lysistrata* are as follows:

- (1) Junta. Florence, 1515.
- (2) Cratander. Basle, 1532.
- (3) Zanetti. Venice, 1538.
- (4) Farreus. Venice, 1542.
- (5) Grynaeus. Frankfort, 1544.
- (6) Gelenius. Basle, 1547 (sometimes called Froben).
- (7) Rapheleng. Leyden, 1600 (sometimes called Plantin).
- (8) Portus. Geneva, 1607.
- (9) Scaliger. Leyden, 1624 (so called because containing a few notes of Scaliger's).
- (10) Faber. Amsterdam, 1670 (so called because containing Le Fevre's *Ecclesiazusae*).
- (11) Kuster. Amsterdam, 1710.
- (12) Bergler. Leyden, 1760 (posthumous. The text is Burmann's).
- (13) Brunk. London, 1823 (originally published at Strasburg, 1783).

- (14) Invernizzi. Leipsic, 1794–1823.
- (15) Bothe's first edition. Leipsic, 1829.
- (16) Bekker. London, 1829.
- (17) Dindorf. Oxford, 1835.
- (18) Weise. Leipsic, 1842.
- (19) Enger's *Lysistrata*. Bonn, 1844.
- (20) Bothe's second edition. Leipsic, 1845.
- (21) Holden's first edition. London, 1848.
- (22) Bergk. Leipsic, 1857 (reprinted 1888).
- (23) Meineke. Leipsic, 1860.
- (24) Holden's second edition. London, 1868.
- (25) Blaydes. Halle, 1880.
- (26) Hall and Geldart. Oxford, 1900.
- (27) Van Leeuwen. Leyden, 1903.

1. *ἐς Βακχείον* R. H. P¹. F¹. all editions before Dindorf except Brunck and Bothe; and Weise, Enger, Bergk, and Van Leeuwen afterwards. *ἐς Βακχείον* P². l. and the remaining editions. Brunck was the first to adopt *ἐς* as being "magis Atticum." I do not often mention these trifling differences; being content in matters of this kind to follow the reading of the best MSS., and not agreeing with the assumption of some recent critics that Aristophanes invariably used *ἐς* before a consonant and *εἰς* before a vowel; an assumption which, as Enger observes, "idonea ratione videtur carere." I believe that in all such questions Aristophanes had regard to the rhythmical melody of his verse; a point of view which never seems even to present itself to the critics.

2. *᾽πὶ Κωλιάδ'* MSS. and editions. Bentley proposed *᾽ς Κωλιάδος*, but Ari-

stophanes appears to have favoured this interchange of the prepositions. Thus in *Knights* 1312 we have *εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον πλεούσας ἢ ᾽πὶ τῶν σεμῶν θεῶν*, and in *Frogs* 187 *τίς εἰς τὸ Λήθης πεδῖον . . . ἢ ᾽πὶ Ταίναρον*;

4. *ἐνταυθοῖ* MSS. vulgo. But Elmsley at *Ach.* 152 expressed a preference for the form *ἐνταυθὶ*, which is accordingly introduced into the text by Dindorf, Enger, Holden, Meineke, and Blaydes.

16. *χαλεπή τοι*. Both R. and H. have *χαλεπή τε* contra metrum, and so all editions before Brunck. But Florent Chretien conjectured *τοι*, and this was approved by Scaliger and Bentley, and being found in P¹. P². and F¹. is read by Brunck and all subsequent editors. Bentley also, the reading of the last-mentioned MSS. being then unknown, suggested *δ' ἢ* (and so Bp. Burgess), a very probable conjecture, and Dawes

τῶν, a very improbable one. For γυναικῶν Geel suggests, and Van Leeuwen reads, γυναιξίν. And for ἔξοδος Dawes, with great probability, suggested ἡ ἔξοδος as in Peace 1181. And this was approved by Brunck.

20. ἦν γὰρ ἕτερα Porson, Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Van Leeuwen. ἕτερα γὰρ ἦν MSS. editions before Brunck and Bekker and Dindorf afterwards. This of course was unmetrical, and various efforts have been made to restore the metre. F¹. inserts γε after ἦν, and though this makes an anapaest follow a dactyl it is adopted by P¹. and by Brunck and Invernizzi. Elmsley (at Ach. 323) and Hermann proposed τᾶρ for γὰρ, and are followed by Bothe, Enger, and subsequent editors except as herein appears. But τᾶρ seems out of place here, as does τᾶν which Blaydes substitutes. P²., besides the regular line, volunteers another in the margin, designed to get rid of the difficulty about τῶνδε, viz. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνων ἦν τάδε προὔργιαίτερα αὐταῖς ;

24. καὶ νῆ Δία παχύ R. H. P². vulgo. νῆ τὸν Δία παχύ P¹. F¹. νῆ Δία παχύ l. It seems incredible that Meineke should have proposed (in his Vind. Aristoph.) to change the recognized reading into νῆ Δία πάνυ παχύ. Such is his notion of Aristophanic rhythm.

31. ἐπ' ὀλίγου γ' ὤχειτ' ἄρα Dobree, Enger, Holden, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart, except that Enger for ὤχειτ' writes ὀχειτ'. ἐπ' ὀλίγου γὰρ (γ' ἄρ' P¹. Brunck, Weise) εἶχετο R. H. P¹. P². F¹. l. Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe, Bekker, Dindorf, Weise, Bergk. ἐπ' ὀλίγου γὰρ οἶχετο all editions before "Scaliger's," apparently in the sense of *all but perished*; but that, as Brunck observes, would re-

quire ὀλίγου not ἐπ' ὀλίγου. ἐπ' ὀλίγου γὰρ ὄχετο "Scaliger," "Faber." ἐπ' ὀλίγου τᾶρ εἶχετο Meineke, Van Leeuwen.

38. ἀλλ' (ἀλλὰ) MSS. vulgo. ἄλλ' (ἄλλο) Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe, Dindorf, Weise, Enger, Holden, Blaydes. See the Commentary.

42. ἐργασαίετο MSS. vulgo. This speech of Calonice is twice quoted by Clement of Alexandria in his "Paedagogue" (ii. 10. 109 and iii. 2. 7), and the carelessness of his quotation, or of his transcribers, has enabled recent editors to pursue with avidity their self-appointed task of corrupting the text of Aristophanes. In the former passage he quotes this line as τί γὰρ φρόνιμον γυναικες ἐργασαίετο (his MSS. give ἐργάσαντο, which does not suit the metre); and in the second τί δ' ἂν γυναῖκες φρόνιμον ἐργασαίμεθα. Therefore, in defiance of every Aristophanic MS., ἐργασαίμεθα is promptly introduced into the text by Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen.

43. ἐξηνθισμένοι MSS. vulgo. And so Clement in the earlier passage, but in the latter he has ἐξανθισμένοι; but two of his MSS. have η written over the α. Dindorf in his notes approved of ἐξανθισμένοι, which was accordingly adopted by Enger, Holden, Bergk, Meineke, and Van Leeuwen. On the absurdity of this reading see the Commentary.

44. κροκῶτὰ φοροῦσαι R. H. vulgo. κροκωτοφοροῦσαι I. P¹. P². F¹. l. Clement (ubi supra), Kuster (who had access to I.), Bergler, Enger, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. But, as Brunck observed, the accusatives in the following verse, as well as κροκῶτὰ in this, are governed by φοροῦσαι, and the

form *κροκωτοφοροῦσαι* may, as Dindorf suggests, have been borrowed from 219 *infra*. The quotations in Clement were first noticed by Bentley.

45. *περιβαρίδας* MSS. vulgo. Before Brunck's time the line *χῆ" γχουσα καὶ τὰ διαφανῇ χιτώνια*, which now closes the next speech of Lysistrata, closed the present speech of Calonice, following immediately after the word *περιβαρίδας*, as it does in both R. and H. Under that arrangement the nominative *ἄγχουσα* was unintelligible; and Bentley therefore proposed that line 45 should commence a new sentence, *τί Κιμβερικ' ὀρθοστάδια καὶ περιβαρίδες χῆ" γχουσα κ.τ.λ.* Bergler too suggested *περιβαρίδες*. But when Brunck, on the authority of I. P¹. P². supported subsequently by F¹. and L., restored the *χῆ" γχουσα* line to its proper place in Lysistrata's speech, where it really does follow the nominative *περιβαρίδες* (a course which Kuster had already proposed and in which Brunck has been followed by every subsequent editor) the reason for these emendations disappeared, and it is astonishing to find Blaydes now for the first time introducing into the text Bentley's alteration which is no longer needed.

49. *μηδένα* MSS. vulgo. *μηδένας* Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen.

61. I. P¹. P². F¹. L. cease here, recommencing with line 132.

63. *Θεαγένους* R. H. all editions before Dindorf; and Weise and Bergk afterwards. Dindorf, here as everywhere, changed *Θεαγένους* into *Θεογένους*, and save as aforesaid is followed by subsequent editors. Bentley (at Callimachi *Fragm.* 227) thought that the *α* in *Θεα-γένους* is short, but it seems more pro-

bable that *Θεα-* here as in *θέασαι* (*Peace* 906), and as the *νεα-* in *νεανικὴν* and *νεανιδών* (*Wasps* 1067, 1069), was pronounced as one syllable. See Appendix to *Birds* 822.

64. *θοῦκάτειον ἤρετο* Bentley (at *Call. Fragm.* 227), Kuster (in notes), Brunck, recentiores, except Bekker and Van Leeuwen. *τ' ἀκάτιον ἤρετο* R. H. editions before Brunck, and Bekker afterwards. *τάκατειον ἤρετο* Van Leeuwen. Bentley's emendation seems certain. The Scholiast explains *τάκάτιον* by τὸ Ἐκάτης ξόανον and Suidas twice quotes a proverb *Θεαγένους Ἐκάτειον*.

70. *Μυρρίνη* H. vulgo. *Μυρρίνη* R. *Μυρρίνη* Junta, Cratander, Zanetti, and Farreus. But Invernizzi gave *Μυρρίνην* as R.'s reading, and this is followed by Bothe, Meineke, Holden, and Blaydes.

79. *γλυκυτάτη σου* R. H. and all editions before Brunck have *ὁ γλυκυτάτη σου*, but Biset, Florent Chretien, and Bentley all pointed out that either the *ὁ* or the *σου* must be omitted, Bentley adding that he preferred the omission of *ὁ*. And *ὁ* is accordingly omitted by Brunck and all subsequent editors except Bothe and Van Leeuwen who omit *σου*. But *ὁ* is far more likely to have been interpolated than *σου*. Meineke proposed *ὁ γλῦκη*.

81. *μάλα γὰρ οἶῶ ναὶ σιώ* R. H. all editions before Bothe; and Bekker and Weise afterwards. Reisig proposed *μάλα γ' οἶῶ, ναὶ τῷ σιώ*, and this is adopted by Bothe and (save as aforesaid) all subsequent editors. That the ordinary form was *ναὶ τῷ σιώ* is sufficiently evidenced even by this very Play; but when we remember that the Athenians were accustomed to say *νῆ Δία*, as well

as νῆ τὸν Δία, πρὸς θεῶν as well as πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, and the like, it seems unreasonable to lay down that the Dorians could never, under any circumstances, say ναὶ σιῶ as well as ναὶ τὸ σιῶ. Here every MS. bears witness that they did so. Nor is this all. In the course of this Play the word οἶῶ occurs three times in an iambic senarius, and in each case it occupies exactly the same position, and is followed only by a single cretic, μάλα γὰρ οἶῶ ναὶ σιῶ, here; ἐξέβαλ', οἶῶ, τὸ ξίφος, infra 156; and ἄρχε μὲν, οἶῶ, Λαμπιτώ, infra 998. This is a very harmonious collocation of words, while Reisig's alteration introduces the singularly inharmonious jingle of three consecutive feet ending with Omega, οἶῶ | ναὶ τὸ | σιῶ.

83. τὸ χρῆμα τιτθίων Bentley, Portus, recentiores, except as hereinafter mentioned. τὸ χρῆμα τῶν τιτθίων R. H. editions before Portus. τὸ χρῆμ' ἔχεις τῶν τιτθίων Bergk, Meineke. τι χρῆμα τιτθίων Cobet, Holden, Blaydes. τὸ χρῆμα τῶν τιτθίων, an alternative suggested by Bentley, is adopted by Van Leeuwen.

90. καὶ ναὶ τὸ σιῶ. R. H. insert μὲν before ναὶ, and so all editions before Brunck. Brunck and Bekker restore the metre by omitting the τὸ, but Bentley suggested the omission of μὲν, and this is done by Invernizzi (who erroneously represented it to be R.'s reading) and all subsequent editors except Bekker.

94. μύσιδδέ τοι. Bentley (referring to 1076 infra), Brunck, recentiores, except Blaydes who, without giving any reason, writes μύσιδδέ νυν, a wanton departure from the reading of the MSS. μύσιδδέτω R. H. and (save as hereinafter appears) all editions before Brunck. μύ-

σιδδέ τω Zanetti and Farreus. μύσιδδεο Florent Chretien. μύσιδδε το (variously accented) Portus, and the editions known as "Scaliger's" and "Faber's." μύσιδδε τὸ Toup. Wakefield defends μύσιδδέτω on the ground that Lampito is disregarding Lysistrata's interruption, and means *Who convoked the meeting? Let her tell, &c.*, but this would require the change of λῆς into λῆ.

102. ἐμὸς ἀνὴρ R. H. vulgo, save that Rapheleng omits ἀνὴρ, without putting anything into its place. ἐμὸς ἦδη Lenting, Holden, and Blaydes.

113. ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν Bentley. ἐγὼ γ' ἂν (contra metrum) R. H. all editions before Portus, and Bekker afterwards. ἐγὼ γ' δ' ἂν Portus, "Scaliger," "Faber." ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν Scaliger (in notes). ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἂν Dawes, Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe, Dindorf. ἐγὼ γ' ἂν οὖν Dobree, Enger, Weise, Hall and Geldart. ἐγὼ γ' τῶν Bergk, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν Meineke, Holden.—*χρεῖν* Kuster (in notes), Dawes, Brunck, recentiores. *χρηὶ ἢ* MSS. editions before Brunck.

116. παραμοῦσα R. H. vulgo. παραμοῦσα is suggested by Brunck, and read by Meineke and Holden. παρατεμοῦσα Elmsley (at Oed. Tyr. 1227), Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. παρατεμοῦσαν Blaydes.

124. ἐστὶν ἡμῖν Bentley, Dindorf (in notes), Enger, Meineke, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. ἡμῖν ἐστὶ R. H. all editions before Brunck. ἡμῖν (or ἡμιν) ἐστὶ Brunck and subsequent editors, save as aforesaid. See Appendix to Birds 386.

126. τί μοι μῦθε R. H. vulgo; and so the Scholiast and Suidas and (probably) Photius and Hesychius. There is how-

ever another word *μοιμνάω* which no grammarian gives in the second person plural, or connects in any way with Aristophanes, but which is substituted for the genuine reading by Meineke, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen.

132. Here the MSS., which ceased at line 61, recommence.

137. *παγκατάπυγον* Reiske, Brunck, recentiores. *πᾶν κατάπυγον* MSS. editions before Brunck.

141. *πῶγμ' ἀνασώαιμεσθ' ἔτ' ἄν* Brunck, Bekker, Dindorf, Weise, Bergk, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. And this seems to come nearest to the reading of the MSS. *πῶγμ' ἀν σωσάιμεσθ' ἔτι* R. editions before Brunck. *πῶγμ' ἀνασώαιμεσθ' ἔτι* P¹. P². F¹. I. Invernizzi, Bothe. *πῶγμα σωσάιμεσθ' ἔτι* H. Scaliger (in notes). *πῶγμα σωσόμεσθ' ἔτι* Reisig, Enger, Meineke. *πῶγμ' ἔτ' ἀνασώαιμεσθ' ἄν* Van Leeuwen.

143. *ὑπνῶν ἐστ'* MSS. vulgo. Dawes altered this into *ἐσθ' ὑπνῶν* "ne ὑπνῶν priorem producat"; and he is followed by Brunck and all subsequent editors except Bergk and Meineke. But Reisig thought that the first syllable might be long in Doric, and so Dindorf in his notes, and Bergk and Meineke concur. And as the MSS. are unanimous, and their reading is far more harmonious than that of Dawes, I have retained it in the text.

149. *καθοίμεθ'* Brunck, Dindorf (in notes), Bothe, Weise, Enger, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. *καθήμεθ'* MSS. editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi afterwards. *καθήμεθ'* Dobree (at Plutus 992), Bekker, recentiores, except as aforesaid.

152. *στούοντο δ'* Bothe, Bergk, recentiores. *στούιντ' ἄν* MSS. vulgo. But this makes the speech ungrammatical, and undoubtedly, as Bothe pointed out, the apodosis really commences with the words *σπονδὰς ποιήσαντ'*.—*πλεκοῦν* MSS. vulgo. *σπεκλοῦν* Zanetti, Farreus, Scaliger (in notes). *σπλεκοῦν* Dindorf (in notes), Meineke, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen.

153. *προσίοιμεν* MSS. vulgo. *προσείμεθα* (from a suggestion of Bergk and Halbertsma) Meineke, Van Leeuwen; "soloece" says Herwerden; and at all events unwarrantably.

156. *παρενιδῶν* P¹. Suidas (s.v. *μῆλα*), Portus, recentiores, except as hereinafter appears. *παρενιδῶν* R. editions (except Grynaeus) before Portus. *παρεσιδῶν* H. P². Grynaeus, Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe, Bekker. *παραινιδῶν* Bergk. *παραιδῶν* Meineke, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart. *παραιδῶν* (with a digamma inserted before the iota) Van Leeuwen.

157. *ἀφίωσ'* R. H. P¹. P². vulgo. *ἀφίωσι* Grynaeus. *ἀφίωσιν* Kuster, Burmann (in Bergler's edition, but without Bergler's authority).

162. *ἐὰν δὲ τύπτωσιν, τί;* I give the line as it is read by Dindorf, Enger, Bergk, and Meineke. The MSS. omit *τί* and R. and H. leave the line a syllable short, and so all editions before Kuster. But in the second section of the line R. and H. have *κακακῶς* (the first two letters have been struck out in R.), and P¹. P². I. and I. *κακὰ κακῶς*, a reading adopted by Kuster and subsequent editors except as herein appears. To restore the metre Scaliger suggested the insertion of *τότε* after *χρή*, Weise inserts *γε* after *τύπτωσιν*. Wakefield suggested

παρέχειν κακοῖς κακῶς which Blaydes reads.

169. παντᾶ (with or without an iota subscript) δικαίως Scaliger, recentiores. πάντα δικαίως R. H. P². 1. editions before Scaliger; but probably, as Bergler observes, they meant the same thing. πάντως F¹. (correcting, as usual) and P¹. (following F¹, as usual). πάντας Kuster.

173. οὐχ ᾗς πόδας Valckenaer, Tyrwhitt, Bothe (in his first edition, but he returns to σποδᾶς in his second), Enger, Holden, Bergk, recentiores. οὐχ ᾗς σποδᾶς R. H. editions before Portus, except that Zanetti and Farreus substitute ὡς for ᾗς. While this was the reading Bisetius suggested that we might read οὐ λισπόπυγας and treat this and the following line as questions, "Non vestra classis plena tritis clunibus? Nonne auri abyssus in Deae templo latet?" And this suggestion is adopted by Portus and in the editions known as "Scaliger's" and "Faber's." οὐχ ᾗς σποδᾶς I. P². 1. Kuster, Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, Dindorf, Weise. οὐχ ὡς σποδᾶς P¹. F¹. Bergler in his note, but notwithstanding this Burmann replaced in his text the unmetrical σπουδᾶς. The words ᾗς and σποδᾶς are variously accented. After σποδᾶς in P². (but apparently in no other MS.) a γ' is inserted; and both Valckenaer and Tyrwhitt placed a γ' after πόδας, and so Bothe, Enger, and Holden in his first edition. Bergk changed γ' to κ', and is followed by all subsequent editors.—ἐχῶντι Scaliger, Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. ἐχοντι MSS. editions before Brunck.

176. τὴν ἀκρόπολιν (and three lines below καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν) MSS.

vulgo. Everybody knows that the Athenians called their Acropolis sometimes by the full name ἀκρόπολις, and sometimes by the shorter name πόλις (Thuc. ii. 15). Elsewhere Aristophanes uses the shorter name; but in the present Play, the only Play concerned with the Acropolis, he uses the full name no less than five times, 176, 179, 241, 263, 482. Cobet however, in the plenitude of his wisdom, concludes that as Aristophanes generally uses the shorter name, he can NEVER use the full one, even where, as here, the speech is addressed to a Laconian who might not understand what the shorter name implied. Was there ever such a reasoner as Cobet! He therefore proposes to read here καταληψόμεσθα τὴν πόλιν γάρ, and three lines below τὴν πόλιν καταλαμβάνειν. Of these fatuous suggestions the first, but not the second, is accepted by Meineke, and both are accepted by Holden in his second edition.

178. συντιθώμεθα MSS. Portus, recentiores. σκντιθώμεθα Junta, Cratander, Gelenius, Rapheleng. σκντιζώμεθα Zanetti, Farreus. σκντισθώμεθα Grynaeus. By a careless reader the συντιθώμεθα of R. might easily be mistaken for σκντιθώμεθα.

180. πάντ' εὖ κ' ἔχοι Schaefer, Dobree, Meineke, Holden. πάντα κ' ἔχοι R. H. editions before Brunck. πάντα γ' ἔχει P¹. F¹. πάντ' ἔχοι P². παντᾶ (as supra 169) κ' ἔχοι Bentley, Brunck, recentiores, except as aforesaid. πάντα κεν ἔχοι Scaliger (in notes). But πάντα should certainly be the subject of ἔχοι, as in Eccl. 272 ἐπειδὴν ταῦτα πάντ' ἔχη καλῶς. All will go well, for in this too you say well.

188. φάσ' ἐν Αἰσχύλῳ R. H. vulgo.

φασὶν Αἰσχύλος P². I. I. Brunck, Bekker, Weise, Meineke, Holden, and Van Leeuwen. Holden in his first edition followed the traditional reading, but in his second was, as usual, led astray by Meineke. There seems no sense in this reading, for Aeschylus did not himself take the oath. Brunck, truly enough, says that the reading he adopts is equivalent to ὥσπερ ποτὲ ἐποίησεν Αἰσχύλος, ὥς φασιν, but nobody ever said that Aeschylus did such a thing. Meineke in his V. A. actually proposes to insert Brunck's prose equivalent ὥς ἐποίησεν Αἰσχύλος in the text. φησὶν Αἰσχύλος P¹. Kuster, and this is continued by Burmann in Bergler's text, though Bergler himself preferred the traditional reading. Bentley suggested φασὶν οὐπρ' (οἱ ἐπτά) ἐν Αἰσχύλῳ, omitting the ποτὲ at the end of the line, and Blaydes reads οὐπτ' ἐν Αἰσχύλῳ, omitting the φάσ'.

192. ἐκτεμοίμεθα R. H. all editions before Brunck. ἐντεμοίμεθα P¹. P². Brunck, recentiores. But there is no reason for deserting the best MSS. ἐκτέμνειν is the apter word and is constantly used of sacrifices. One of Homer's common forms is μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον, κατὰ τε κνίσσῃ ἐκάλυψαν, Iliad i. 460; ii. 423; Odyssey xii. 360.

199. Here again I. P¹. P². F¹. and l. cease, and they do not recommence until line 268.

200. ὁ κεραμῶν Reiske, Dindorf, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. κεραμεῶν (variously accented) R. H. editions before Brunck, and Bekker afterwards. ὅχλος κεραμῶν Toup, Brunck, and Invernizzi. Scaliger had already conjectured κεραμεῶν ὅχλος. But there was only one

wine-jar. ὁ κεραμεῶν ὅσος Tyrwhitt, Bothe, and Hall and Geldart.

212, 213. οὐδὲ . . . οὐδ' R. H. vulgo. Bekker suggested οὔτε . . . οὔτ', which is read by Dindorf, Enger, Bergk, and subsequent editors. This is also the case in 249, except that Weise, who follows Bekker's suggestion here, retains the MS. reading there; and that Holden, who omits the present scene, follows Bekker's suggestion there.

229, 230. τὰ Περσικά R. H. vulgo. Scaliger, supposing this to be the neuter plural, suggested τὰς Περσικάς which Brunck adopts; Dindorf in his notes proposed τῶ Περσικά, which is followed by Meineke, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. But see Appendix to Knights 424.

235, 236. ἐμπλήθ' ἢ Dawes (who justly observes that the verb should be in the optative mood, and that the article is required with κύλιξ), Brunck, recentiores, except that Enger writes ἐμπλείθ' ἢ. ἐμπλησθῇ R. H. editions before Brunck.

243. τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν R. H. vulgo. τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν Reisig, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen, comparing 172 supra. But cf. Thesm. 1170. And here the genitive seems particularly appropriate, since Lampito's work is not to be confined to Sparta, but is concerned with Sparta's contribution to the common weal.

255. βάρος χλωρὰς φέρων Bentley, Brunck, recentiores, except Invernizzi, Bekker, and Weise, who with R. H. and editions before Brunck read φέρων βάρος χλωρὰς, contra metrum.

256. ἀελπτ' ἔρεστιν Reisig, Dindorf, Enger, recentiores. ἀελπτ' ἐστὶν R. H. editions before Brunck, contra metrum.

ἄελπά γ' ἐστὶν Scaliger (in notes), Bentley, Brunck, Bothe, Bekker, and Weise. ἄελπ' ἔστ' Invernizzi, wrongly stating it to be R.'s reading.

263. κατὰ τ' ἀκρόπολιν R. H. all editions before Dindorf; and Enger and Bergk afterwards. κατὰ δ' ἀκρόπολιν Dindorf, recentiores, except as aforesaid, and except that Meineke proposes and Holden in his second edition reads κατὰ δὲ λαβεῖν ἐμὴν πόλιν. See on 176 supra. But τε is right and δὲ wrong. The seizure of the Acropolis and of the Sacred Image is one and the same thing; the barring the Propylaea is another thing; and the μὲν in line 262 κατὰ μὲν ἅγιον κ.τ.λ. is answered by the δὲ in 264 μοχλοῖς δὲ.

264. μοχλοῖς δὲ καὶ κληθροῖσιν Brunck, Bekker, Dindorf, Holden, Meineke, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. This is also, except that they have μοχλοῖσιν, the reading of R. H. and all editions before Brunck. Dindorf in his notes proposed κληθροῖς δὲ καὶ μοχλοῖσιν, referring to Andromache 951, and this is followed by Enger, Bergk, and Blaydes, but is an unnecessary departure from the MS. reading. Meineke, following Brunck in his text, proposes in a note to read κληθροῖσί μου, and so Holden in his second edition and Van Leeuwen.

267. αὐταῖς R. H. vulgo. αὐτὰς Reisig, Meineke (in notes), Holden (2nd ed.), Blaydes.

268. Here the MSS., which cease at 198, recommence.

270. ὑπὸ ψήφου MSS. vulgo. Meineke proposed ἀπὸ ψήφου, which is read by Blaydes and Van Leeuwen, but is obviously wrong. Their excuse for the change is that the Scholiast explains

the words by ἀπὸ μῖς γνώμης καὶ κρίσεως, but ἀπὸ is as much out of place with ψήφου as ὑπὸ with γνώμης. ψήφος is the instrument which is to effectuate the destruction.

277. ᾤχετο θῶπλα P¹. P². F¹. l. Brunck (in notes), Bekker, Dindorf, Weise, Enger, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. ᾤχετο ὅπλα R. editions before Brunck; and Bergk afterwards. ᾤχεθ' ὅπλα H. Invernizzi, Meineke. θῶπλ' ᾤχετο Brunck (in text) and Bothe and Holden in their second editions.

279. πινῶν R. vulgo. πεινῶν the other MSS., Meineke in notes, and Holden. Cf. Birds 1282.

281. οὕτως Brunck, recentiores, except Invernizzi. οὕτω δ' R. H. P². editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi afterwards.—ἐκείνον ὡμῶς Bentley, Bothe, Dindorf, Enger, recentiores. ἐκείνον ὅμως MSS. editions before Brunck, and Invernizzi afterwards. ὅμως ἐκείνον Florent Chretien, Brunck, Bekker, and Weise.

282. ἀσπίδων MSS. vulgo. ἀσπίδας. This unfortunate alteration is said to have been suggested by Porson and Dobree, but I cannot find that the suggestion was made by either of them. It is, however, adopted by Enger, Holden, Bergk, and Meineke without (so far as I can see) a shadow of justification.

285. ἐν τῇ τετραπόλει. The MSS. have ἐν τετραπόλει and so all editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi, Bekker, Dindorf (in his text but not in his notes), and Weise. Bekker indeed reports R.'s reading to be ἐνγετραπόλει "quod neque est ἐν γε ἐτέρᾳ πόλει, ut Bekkerus censet, neque ἐν γε τετραπόλει, quod Dindorfius

inde coniici posse putat, sed scribae error," says Enger. But in my judgement it is "Bekkeri error," and R. like the other MSS. intended to give ἐν τετραπόλει. Musgrave (at Eur. Heracl. 81) suggested ἐν Τετραπόλει, and this is adopted by Brunck and all subsequent editors except as herein appears. But Τεράπολις when used as a substantive invariably takes the article, and the τῇ could easily drop out before the first two letters of τετραπόλει. I had therefore long ago come to the conclusion that we should read τῇ τετραπόλει, and the same suggestion has been made by Meineke and adopted by Holden and Hall and Geldart.

289. χῶπος MSS. vulgo, except that Cratander and some other old editions write it χ' ὅπως. Mr. Richards proposes καὶ πῶς as a question.

297. προσπесόν MSS. vulgo (of the fire). προσπесών (of the smoke) Gelenius to Kuster (inclusive), Brunck, Bothe, and Blaydes. For μ' ἐκ (MSS. vulgo) Blaydes reads μούκ (that is μοι ἐκ), which seems very probable, and is adopted by Van Leeuwen.

304. ἡ πότ' Bothe, Bekker, Dindorf, Enger, recentiores. εἴ ποτ' MSS. editions before Brunck. εἰ πότ' Brunck, taking εἰ in the sense of ἐπεὶ. Both Scaliger and Reiske had previously suggested ἡ ποτ' which is adopted by Weise; but ἡ πότ' is more suitable to the sense and is confirmed by the very similar line Wasps 402 πότε δ', εἰ μὴ νῦν, ἐπαρήξετέ μοι;

311. ἐμπιπράναι MSS. vulgo. Brunck, thinking that the second syllable was short, according to Dawes's rule, Misc. Crit., p. 196, wrote ἐμπιμπράναι, and he

is followed by Invernizzi, Bothe, Bergk, and subsequent editors. Invernizzi indeed says boldly that R. confirms Brunck's alteration, which is absolutely untrue. And as we know (1) that Dawes's rule is a mere "counsel of perfection," freely ignored by the poets (see the Commentary on Plutus 166), (2) that the Athenian writers were averse to the duplicated μ (see the Appendix on Birds 1310), it seems very unwise to depart from the unanimous reading of the MSS.

316. πρώτιστ' ἐμοί. This was first proposed by Blaydes in his preface to the first edition of the Birds, and two years later was independently introduced into the text by Enger, who is followed by Bergk and all subsequent editors except Van Leeuwen. πρώτον ἐμοί R. H. (contra metrum) and all editions before Brunck, except Scaliger and Faber who have ἐμοί πρώτον equally contra metrum. πρώτως ὅπως ἐμοί P¹. F¹. πρώτως ἐμοί Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, Dindorf, and Weise. πρώτῳ γ' ἐμοί Bothe. πρώτην ἐμοί Florent Chretien. Van Leeuwen, not troubling himself about the MSS., rewrites the verse καλῶς ὅπως ἐμοί παρέξεις.

319. λιγνὸν δοκῶ μοι κ.τ.λ. and 320 ὥσπερ πυρὸς κ.τ.λ. So in P¹. P². Brunck and all subsequent editions. But in R. H. I. 1. and in all editions before Brunck the order of the two lines is reversed.

327. ὑδρίαν I. P¹. P². F¹. 1. Zanetti, Farreus, Florent Chretien, Scaliger, recentiores. οἰκίαν R. H. and all the other editions before Scaliger, a very strange variant; but R. has ὑδρί written in the margin.

328. μόγυς R. H. P¹. P². vulgo. μόλις

F¹. l. Dindorf (in notes), Meineke, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, Van Leeuwen.

330. *δούλησιν* MSS. all editions before Dindorf; and Meineke and Holden afterwards. Cf. Knights 659, Birds 866. *δούλαισι* Dindorf, recentiores, except as aforesaid.

337, 338. *ὥς τριταλантаία βάρος | δεινά τ'.* I have adopted Bentley's presentation of these two lines which in the MSS. and editions are very unsatisfactory. *τριταλантаία*, of course, agrees with *στέλεχη* above. The readings of the MSS. and editions are as follows, *ἐς πόλιν, ὥς τριτάλαντον βάρος, | δεινότατ'* R. H. I. P²., and so all editions except Dindorf, Enger, Holden, and Blaydes. *ἐς πόλιν, ἐς τριτάλαντον τὸ βάρος | δεινότατ'* P¹. F¹. l. But the corresponding verses in the strophe are choriambic dimeters, *ὑπὸ τε νόμων ἀργαλέων | ὑπὸ τε γερόντων ὀλέθρων*, the first long syllable in each line being resolved into two short ones. The other attempts to bring the line into shape are: (1) Bothe's, *ὥς τριτάλαντον τὸ βάρος*, which is adopted by Dindorf; and (2) Reisig's, *δεῦρο, τριτάλαντόν τι βάρος*, which is adopted by Enger, Holden, and Blaydes. *δεῦρο* is supposed to be equivalent to the *ἐς πόλιν* of the MSS., which is a strange mistake, for the Chorus of Women are not in the Acropolis, and if the Men were (as they are) carrying the logs *ἐς πόλιν*, they would not be carrying them, *δεῦρο*, to the Women.

345. *σὰς, πολιοῦχ'* Bentley, Enger, Holden, Meineke, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. *πολιοῦχε, σὰς* MSS. vulgo. I accept Bentley's emendation because in these iambic dipodies which do duty for a choriamb, we rarely, if ever, find an anapaest; and because the corresponding

line in the strophe is composed of two pure choriambes, unless indeed it be the missing line. It is observable that the line in the MSS. makes the two choriambes rhyme, as they do in the two following verses. Blaydes, though he adopts Bentley's emendation, yet objects to it on the ground that it separates "*parum eleganter*" *χρυσολόφα* and *πολιοῦχε*. But this is really an argument in its favour, since the *Πολιοῦχος* was not the *χρυσολόφος*. See the Commentary.

347. *ἦν . . . ὑποπίμπρησιν* MSS. vulgo. The iota subscript was however absent until Brunck added it; and Reisig, taking the verb to be in the indicative, proposed *εἰ . . . ὑποπίμπρησιν*, which is adopted by Bothe, Enger, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen.

350. *ἔασον ᾧ.* These two words are given by R. and apparently the other MSS. to Stratyllis (except that P¹. P². have *στρατηλαῖς*); and then the Chorus of Women again take up the speech. I think that the only editions which follow R. are Invernizzi and Dindorf's Oxford edition; but almost all the older editions give both lines to Stratyllis, and all the modern editors continue them to the Chorus. The reason for introducing the name of Stratyllis is that she was the Coryphaeus of the Women's Chorus, and that while the songs are sung by the full Chorus, the dialogue is, as a rule, carried on by the Coryphaeus alone. But to prefix to the speeches the name of the Coryphaeus, or as Van Leeuwen does the title *Κορυφαῖος*, is to place him in the position of an actor and gives rise to great awkwardness. It is always the Chorus who are speaking, though in the dialogue they speak

through the mouth of their Coryphaeus. He is merely their mouthpiece and has no independent existence. However I have elsewhere left "Stratyllis" as the speaker's name.

352. *ιδεῖν*. This word is omitted in R. H. and in all editions before Kuster, but is found in I. P¹. P². F¹. l. and is inserted by Kuster (who had access to I. and l.) and all subsequent editors.—This remark equally applies to *χαμᾶζ* in line 358, and to *ῥῆδη* in line 360.

357. *αἰτᾶς* MSS. vulgo. This seems quite right, but Bergk suggested *αἰτᾶίς*, which is introduced into the text by Meineke, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen.

362. *παταξάτω· καὶ στᾶσ'* Florent Chretien, Bentley, Porson. The MSS. (except the conjecturers P¹. and F¹.) have *παταξάτω τις· καὶ στᾶσ'* and so all editions before Brunck. This is a syllable too much, and either *τις* or *καὶ* must go. It seems to me that the omission of *τις* improves the language and makes the line far more rhythmical; but Brunck followed his MS. P¹. in omitting *καὶ* and subsequent editors have followed Brunck.

364. *σου ῥ' κκοκκιῶ τὸ γῆρας* Reisig, Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Enger, Holden, Meineke, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. *ἐκκοκκιῶ τὸ γῆρας σου* MSS. editions before Brunck. *ἐκκοκκιῶ τὸ γῆρας* Brunck to Dindorf; and Bergk.

365. *ἀπτου* R. H. vulgo. *ἀψαι* P¹. P². Brunck, Bothe, Bekker, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen.

366. *κονδύλοις* P¹. P². F¹. l. Kuster, recentiores. *δακτύλοις* R. H. editions before Kuster.

367. *πλεύμονας* P¹. P². l. Brunck, recentiores, except Invernizzi. *πνεύμονας* R. H. editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi.

But in *Frogs* 474 R. has *πλευμόνων*, and that Comedy is far more accurately presented in the Ravenna MS. than is the *Lysistrata*.

377. *λουτρόν γ' ἐγὼ* Bentley, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores. *λουτρόν σ' ἐγὼ* Grynæus. *λουτρόν ἐγὼ* MSS. all other editions before Dindorf. Brunck proposed *σοὶ λουτρόν*,

380. *ἡλιάξεις* R. H. P¹. P². l. all editions before Dindorf; and Bergk afterwards. *ἡλιάξει* Buttman, Dindorf, Enger, and Holden in his first edition. In *Wasps* 772 we have the future *ἡλιάσομαι*. Bentley therefore proposed to read here *ἡλιάξεις*. And so F¹. And *ἡλιάζει* is read by Cobet, Meineke, and subsequent editors. But it seems to me that the future is required, and that it is more reasonable to regard *ἡλιάζω* as an irregular verb with *ἡλιάξω* for the active, and *ἡλιάσομαι* for the middle future. In words like this which were in constant use in the daily life of the citizens irregularities are to be expected.

384. *ἂν βλαστάνης* (from a conjecture of Brunck which he did not himself adopt) Dindorf, Weise, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. *ἀναβλαστάνης* MSS. editions before Dindorf. But Brunck, observing that according to Dawes's rule (see on 311 supra) the vowel before *βλ* would be long, and that the Comic writers rarely if ever used *ὅπως* with a subjunctive without *ἂν*, and that both these objections might be met by reading *ἂν βλαστάνης*, yet declared most truly that Dawes's rule was made too strict, and therefore retained the MS. reading. But on the other hand

both the rules mentioned by Brunck are, though not universally true, yet in accordance with the general trend of Comic usage, and where they can be followed by so very slight an alteration it seems desirable to make it. ἀμβλαστάνης Reisig, Enger, Holden, Bergk. ἀμβλαστανεῖς Meineke.

388. πυκινοὶ H. P². I. Zanetti and all subsequent editors before Brunck. ποικινοὶ R. Junta, Cratander. Bentley proposed πυκνοὶ which was afterwards found in P¹. and is read by Brunck and all subsequent editors. But P¹. is a MS. of no authority whatever for the traditional reading; πυκινοὶ, the ordinary epic form, is found, though rarely, in writers of this period; and suits the rhythm of the line far better than πυκνοί; R.'s reading, though erroneous, is in favour of the trisyllabic form; and therefore it seems undesirable to reject the great authority of the MSS.

391. ὦρασι μὲν R. H. (and, though they divide the words differently, P². F¹. and I.) vulgo, but Zanetti, Farreus, and Scaliger to Brunck inclusive write ὦραισι; and Bothe in his second edition inserts a γ before ὦρασι. P¹., trying to give the full proverb, corrects ὁ μὴ ὦρας ἴοι.

398. ἀκολαστάσματα. The MSS. divide this word into two, ἀκόλαστ' ἄσματα, and so all editions before Dindorf except Bothe, the iota subscript (ἄσματα) being added by Portus. This was obviously wrong, and Bentley suggested ἀκολαστήματα which is read by Bothe in both editions. But Dobree, referring to 406 infra and to Demosthenes against Lacritus 26 (p. 930) τοιαῦτα τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ κακουργήματα, and observing that in

Bekkeri Anecd., p. 367. 21, the term ἀκολαστάματα is attributed to Aristophanes, proposed ἀκολαστάσματα, which is read by Dindorf, Enger, and all subsequent editors except Hall and Geldart (who revert to the MS. reading) and Bothe.

400. αἱ τᾶλλα θ' MSS. and all editions except Blaydes, who says "Malim αἱ γ' ἄλλα θ' cum Dobraeo," and alters the text accordingly. But this is hardly fair to Dobree who merely observed that he *had* thought of αἱ γ' ἄλλα θ' but adds, with justice, that the common reading is *superior*, "sed praestat vulgata."

403. τὸν ἀλυκὸν I. P¹. P². F¹. I. Zanetti, Farreus, Kuster, recentiores. τὸν ἀλυκῶ R. H. and all editions, save as aforesaid, before Kuster.

408. ὃν ἐπεσκεύασας P¹. P². I. Kuster (in notes), Bergler (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. ὃν ἐσκεύασας R. H. editions before Brunck.

416. τοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς μου ποδὸς Enger. τῆς μου γυναικὸς τοὺς πόδας R. H. all editions before Kuster; and Invernizzi, Dindorf (in text), and Bergk afterwards. τῆς μου γυναικὸς τοῦ ποδὸς I. P¹. P². I. Kuster, recentiores, except as mentioned in this and the following note. And I doubt if I was justified in departing from this. μου τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ ποδὸς Meineke, Hall and Geldart.

417. ἐμπιέζει Reisig, Enger. συμπιέζει Dobree, Hall and Geldart. ἐν πιέζει Bothe. πιέζει MSS. vulgo. But Porson observed that although the antepenult. of δακτυλίδιον when derived from δακτύλιος, a *ring*, is long, yet when derived from δάκτυλος, a *toe*, it is necessarily short. And he proposed to remodel this and the preceding line by reading

τὸ δακτυλίδιον τοῦ ποδὸς | τοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς μου πιέζει. And this is adopted by Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen, but involves too great a departure from the original. Of the additional syllable supplied by conjecture, it seems to me that Reisig's is the most probable.

423. τῶν πυλῶν MSS. vulgo. ταῖς πύλαις Hamaker, Meineke, Holden, and Hall and Geldart.

459. ἀρήξετε MSS. vulgo. Both Wakefield and Dobree suggested ἀράξετε, which is approved by Dindorf in his notes and adopted by Enger, Meineke, and subsequent editors. But ἀρήξετε, *charge to the rescue*, gives a very good sense, and the verb is a favourite one with Aristophanes, see supra 304, Wasps 402, Thesm. 696, Plutus 476; and it does not seem justifiable to displace it for a verb, which may give even a better sense, but which is never employed by Aristophanes in this simple form.

461. παύσασθ' I. P¹. P². F¹. Portus to Bergler, Bentley, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. παύσεσθ' R. editions before Portus. παύεσθ' H. Brunck, recentiores, except as aforesaid.

465. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω R. H. all editions before Kuster; and Bergler, Enger, and Holden afterwards. νή τὸν Ἀπόλλω I. P¹. P². F¹. I. Kuster, recentiores, except as aforesaid. But I think that a negative answer is required. Lysistrata's question is *Think you that there is no χολὴ in women*. The οὐκ is to be taken with ἐνέειναι, not with οἶε. To which the Magistrate replies, *No, by Apollo, I don't think that; I know that they have plenty of it if there is a tavern-keeper at hand*.

467. τῇσδε τῆς γῆς Bentley, Kuster, recentiores. τῇσδε γῆς MSS. editions before Kuster.

468. εἰς λόγον R. vulgo. εἰς (or ἐς) λόγους H. I. P¹. P². F¹. Kuster to Invernizzi (inclusive), and Bekker, Weise, Holden, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. And Porson (at Eur. Phoen. 714 ὡς εἰς λόγους ξυνήψα Πολυνείκει μολῶν) is supposed to have been in favour of the latter reading, though in truth he is only quoting, without comment, what was the received reading in his time. εἰς λόγον in this sense is very common in Aristophanes; στεμφύλῳ εἰς λόγον ἔλθῃ Knights 806, ξυνελθεῖν τὰς τριήρεις εἰς λόγον Id. 1300, ἐς λόγον ἐλθεῖν Clouds 470.

477. ἔτ' ἀνεκτέα τάδ' Dobree, Dindorf, recentiores, except as hereinafter mentioned. ἔσθ' ἀνεκτὰ τάδ' R. H. editions before Dindorf, and Bothe afterwards. But Bentley suggested ἔτ', which has since been found in the other MSS. ἔτ' ἀνεκτὰ τάδ' I. P¹. F¹. ἔτ' ἀνεκτὰ τάδε γ' P². Blaydes, Hall and Geldart. ἔτ' ἀνεκτὰ ταῦτ' Bergk. Dobree suggested ἀνεκτέα, referring to Oed. Col. 883 ἄρ' οὐχ ὕβρις τάδ'; ὕβρις, ἀλλ' ἀνεκτέα. To which Blaydes objects that "ἀνεκτὸς significat *tolerabilis*, ἀνεκτέος *tolerandus*." But *tolerandus* is the very signification required; and ἀνεκτέος answers far more suitably to the βασανιστέον which follows.

479. μετ' ἐμοῦ MSS. vulgo. In order to avoid the hiatus after these words Reisig proposed to add γ', and Bergk inserted 'σθ'. The latter is followed by Holden and Blaydes. But a little composite lyric ode like this is not subject to the strict rules of a regular anapaestic system.

486. καὶ μὴν αὐτῶν MSS. vulgo. For αὐτῶν Hamaker suggests πάντων (which

Meineke actually brings into the text), Bergk πάντων or αὐτός, and Blaydes ὑμῶν or αὐτό γε. The reason for these futile attempts to corrupt a perfectly genuine text is the change from the 3rd person in the present line to the 2nd person in the next, than which nothing can be more common. We have another instance a few lines below, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄττ' ἐποιεῖτε.

487. ἀπεκλείσατε τοῖσι μοχλοῖσιν Scaliger, Faber, Brunck, recentiores, except Invernizzi and Blaydes. And so both Bentley and Dawes had corrected the line. ἀπεκλείσατε τοῖς μοχλοῖς R. H. editions before Portus (except Grynæus), and Invernizzi afterwards. ἀπεκλείσατε μοχλοῖς P¹. P². F¹. I. Grynæus, Portus, Kuster, Bergler. Portus attempted to mend the metre by changing πόλιν into ἀκρόπολιν, and this error was continued till Brunck's time, even by those who read τοῖσι μοχλοῖσι, though Scaliger protested against it in his note. Blaydes writes μοχλοῖς ἀπέκλῃσαν.

494. τί δὲ δεινὸν Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. τί δεινὸν MSS. editions before Brunck.

499. ὡς σωθήσεται κ.τ.λ. Neither in R. nor in H. is this line found in the text; but in R. somebody has written it at the foot of the page, and in H. it is given in the margin. Nor is it found in any printed edition before Brunck. But it appears in the text of I. P¹. P². F¹. I.; and all subsequent editors have followed Brunck in inserting it in the text. It seems to me a great pity that it was ever discovered; it creates an intolerable repetition; and I suspect that it is a line invented by F¹. or some other conjecturer, as an alternative to the genuine

reading. See on 20 supra. The γε in the Magistrate's speech was added by Brunck.

500. ἀλλὰ ποιητέα (or ποητέα) MSS. Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. ἀλλ' ἀποκτέα Junta, Cratander, Grynæus to Portus (inclusive). But this is not due to a separate tradition. It arises, as Brunck also observed, from an error in reading the MSS. In R., and probably in all the MSS., ἀλλ' ἀποητέα might easily be mistaken for ἀλλ' ἀποκτέα by a careless reader. ἀλλ' ἀποδεκτέα Zanetti, Farreus, Florent Chretien, Scaliger, Faber, Kuster, Bergler; no doubt a correction by Zanetti or some earlier scholar.

506. σαντῇ κρώξαις. All the MSS. and editions have κρώξαις till Meineke thought fit to corrupt it into "κρωξας, an error which is followed by Van Leeuwen. The optative is obviously right. The Magistrate's reply is equivalent to the familiar ἐς κεφαλὴν σοί.

507. τοῦ μὲν προτέρου πολέμου κατὰ. See the Commentary. In the MSS. and editions generally the line runs ἡμεῖς τὸν μὲν πρότερον πόλεμον καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἡνεχόμεσθα (or ἡνεσχόμεθα or ἡνεχόμεθα or ἡνειχόμεσθα), which is not easily distinguishable from nonsense. Porson proposed καὶ χρόνον ἡνεσχόμεθ' ὑμῶν, which is read by Meineke and Holden, but does not seem to mend matters. Bergk proposed τὸν μὲν πρότερον πολέμου χρόνον ἐξηνεσχόμεθ' ὑμῶν, which would be better if for πρότερον he had written προτέρου. Van Leeuwen, as usual, inserts an entirely unauthorized line, ἡμεῖς τὸν μὲν πρότερόν γε χρόνον κόσμαι ἡνειχόμεθ' ὑμῶν.

509. καίτοις Reiske, Dobree, Enger, recentiores, except Bothe. κατ' οὐκ (with

or without the iota subscript) MSS. editions before Enger, and Bothe afterwards.

517. εἰθὺς δ'. I have inserted these words to supply a foot which is wanting in the MSS. except P¹. and F¹., and (without a lacuna marked) in all editions before Brunck; and (with a lacuna marked) in Enger, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, and Hall and Geldart. The two excepted MSS. insert δῆπου before βούλευμ', which is followed by Brunck to Weise inclusive, though, as Dindorf says, it is obviously an infelicitous conjecture of some grammarian. Bentley proposed to insert πολλῶ in the same place; and Porson τοῦτου, which is followed by Holden and Blaydes. But the omission is clearly at the commencement of the line; and Brunck proposed to commence it with ἀλλὰ τάχ'; Dobree by αὐθις δ'; Dindorf by κᾶπειθ', and Blaydes by μετὰ τᾶνθ', whilst Van Leeuwen reads ταχέως δ'.—ἡμῶν P¹. F¹. Zanetti, recentiores. ἡμῶν R. H. P². Junta and Cratander.

519. ἂν ἔφασκ' εἰ Porson, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores. ἔφασκε καὶ R. H. editions before Brunck. φάσκειν ἂν εἰ Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker.

524. οὐ δῆτ' ἔσθ'. ἔσθ' is omitted in the MSS., which leave the line a syllable short; and so all the editions before Brunck; and Bekker afterwards. Tyrwhitt suggested οὐδεὶς δῆθ', and Reisig οὐ δῆτ', οὐχ; but the real question is between the οὐ δῆτ' ἔσθ' of Brunck and Porson, and the οὐ δῆτ' εἴθ' of Dobree. The former, which I prefer, was adopted by Brunck to Dindorf (inclusive) and by Van Leeuwen; but Dindorf in his notes went over to Dobree, and has been followed by all subsequent editors except

Blaydes and Van Leeuwen. Dobree also remarked "Si constaret ἦ δ' ἕτερός τις pro ἦ δ' ὅς ἕτερός τις dici, ut 514, hoc mallem," a suggestion which I should have thought most improbable, but which is adopted by Blaydes. Dobree himself, however, finally preferred οὐ δῆτ' ἔσθ'.

528. κᾶντισιωπᾶν Kuster, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. κᾶντισιωπᾶθ' R. H. editions before Kuster, and Hall and Geldart afterwards. καὶ σιωπᾶθ' P¹. P². F¹. l.

531. περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν; In order to make this little system of dimeters correspond with that in 597-607 Enger proposed to divide this line into two, viz. first περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν; μῆνυν ζώην, and secondly ἀλλ' εἰ σοῦστιν τοῦτ' ἐμπόδιον: He did not indeed alter the text, but that has been done by Meineke and one or two others. Most editors, however, have wisely forborne to tamper with the text. It is by no means certain that the two systems were intended to correspond closely, and very many alterations are required to make them do so. The dimeter systems which wind up the long tetrameters in the Wasps (621-30 and 719-24) do not correspond, though those in the Birds (523-38 and 611-26) do. And I myself retain the opinion which I expressed more than forty years ago, in the Commentary on the Peace, that in these little corresponding systems we are not to expect the same exact metrical concordance which we find in the lyrical strophes and antistrophes intended to be sung by the Chorus.

535. τοῦτον δῆ Bentley. The readings here are almost identical with those in 604 infra.

539. ἀπαίρετ' ᾤ. The MSS. read ἀῖρεσθ'

ὦ, and so all editions except Grynaeus before Brunck; and Bothe afterwards. This of course is against the metre, and Bentley suggested αἰρώμεθ' ὦ, which Hall and Geldart read. But all the MSS. and the Scholiast give the second person. Grynaeus has αἴρεσθε δ' ὦ, and Scaliger proposed αἴρεσθ' γ' ὦ, but both δὲ and γε would be out of place. Brunck substituted ἀπαίρετ' ὦ, observing "Scholiastes, textus vocem exponens, ἀναχωρήσατε αἰτ; quae interpretatio manifeste refertur ad ἀπαίρετ'. Hesychius ἀπαίρει, ἀναχωρεῖ. Eccl. 818 μεστήν ἀπῆρα τὴν γνάθον χαλκῶν ἔχων. Frequens historicis verbum tam de terrestri quam de maritimo itinere." It seems to me that the compound verb is here more probable than the simple one. Brunck's emendation has been followed by all subsequent editors except Bothe, Holden, and Hall and Geldart. Meineke in his V. A. proposes ἀραισθ' ἄν, referring to Frogs 437, where however the meaning is quite different, and this is adopted by Holden.

541. ἔγωγε κ.τ.λ. This and the following verse are corrupted in the MSS., and it would be tedious to enumerate all the suggestions that have been made for setting them right. It is necessary to see clearly what their metre should be. The present line consists of a monosyllabic base followed by two paeons and two cretics —|—○○○|—○○○|—○—|—○—|. The following verse consists of three paeons and one cretic —○○○|—○○○|—○○○|—○○○|—○—|. In the present line R. H. P². have ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐποτε κάμοιμ' ἄν ὀρχουμένη, and so all editions before Brunck. This was quite right except that a trochee was substituted for the first paeon. Those inveterate conjecturers P¹. F¹.,

however, substituted an iambic verse ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐποτ' ἄν κάμοιμ' ὀρχουμένη which is quite out of place, but is adopted by Brunck, Invernizzi, and Weise. Hermann proposed to restore the first paeon by reading ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄν, and Enger by ἔγωγε γὰρ ἄν, which has been generally followed. Blaydes, though retaining Enger's reading in his text, suggested ὡς οὐδέποτ' ἔγωγ' ἀποκάμοιμ' ἄν ὀρχουμένη, a very good line, but quite unlike the reading of any MS. or grammarian. It is, however, brought into the text by Van Leeuwen.

542. οὐδὲ γόνατ' κ.τ.λ. See the preceding note. In the MSS. this line runs οὐδὲ (R. H., οὔτε P¹. P². F¹. l.) τὰ γόνατα κόπος ἐλεί (R. H. P²., ἐλοι P¹. F¹.) μου καματηρός, and so all editions before Weise; and Bergk and Hall and Geldart afterwards. Bentley emended the second half of the line as in the text ἐλοι με καματηρός ἄν, and Hermann the first half as in the text οὐδὲ γόνατ' ἄν κόπος. The whole line as in the text is read by Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Enger, Holden, Meineke, and Van Leeuwen. Blaydes substitutes a verse of his own, οὐδὲ με τὰ γόνα καματηρός ἄν ἐλοι κόπος.

545, 546. In most of the MSS. there is a δὲ before θράσος and σοφόν, but not before φιλόπολις; but recent editors have mostly arranged it as in my text, some however inserting τὸ before σοφόν.

549. ἀνδρειότατων MSS. editions (except Bothe) before Dindorf; and Hall and Geldart afterwards. ἀνδρειότατη Athenaeus iii. 39 (p. 90B), Suidas, s.v. τῆθη, Eustathius at Od. iv. 89, Bergler (in notes), Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores, except as herein appears. ἀνδρειόταται

Scaliger, Bentley, Kuster (in notes), Van Leeuwen. The MS. reading is certainly right. See the Commentary. The alternative suggestions could not have been made had their authors realized the fact that the Chorus of Women in the orchestra, the women who are speaking, are the *old* women, and the actors on the stage, the women who are addressed, the *young* women. The quotations in Suidas and the other authors are valueless to determine a reading, except when they are made for the sake of a particular word or phrase, in which case they are good evidence of the reading in the MS. which those authors used. Brunck truly observes that each of the two substantives ought to have its own adjective; and that instead of introducing into Aristophanes the misquotations in other authors "corrigendi e Comico Suidas, Athenaeus, et qui eum descripsit Eustathius."

551. *ἤνπερ γ' ὁ* Bentley, Reisig, Blaydes, comparing Knights 366. *ἤνπερ ὁ* MSS. editions before Dindorf, except Bothe. *ἤνπερ ὁ τε* Porson, Elmsley (at Med. 102), Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores, except Blaydes. But there seems no reason for insisting so strongly on the *co-operation* of Ἐρως and Ἀφροδίτη.

553. *ἐντέξῃ* R. H. P². l. and all editions except Bergk, Meineke, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. *ἐντήξῃ* P¹. F¹. (the conjecturing MSS.) Bergk and Hall and Geldart. Cobet, however, objected to *ἐντέξῃ* on the ground, I suppose, on which so many of his blunders were based, viz. that the future middle (*τέξομαι*) being in use, the future active (*τέξω*) could not be used. This is of course an entire mistake, and even as

regards this very verb Aristophanes himself twice employs the future active, Knights 1037, Thesm. 509. However, Hirschig conjectured *ἐνστάξῃ*, which Van Leeuwen reads; Meineke conjectured, and inserted in the text, *ἐντείνῃ*; and Mr. Richards conjectures *ἐμπήξῃ*.

554. *ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι* MSS. vulgo. *ἀν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι* Bergk.

557. *κάν ταῖσι χύτραις κὰν*. This is Brunck's suggestion, approved by Dindorf in his notes, and adopted by Weise and almost all subsequent editors, though a few, reading *κὰν* in the first place, read *καὶ* in the second. *καὶ ταῖσι χύτραις καὶ* MSS. editions before Weise.

565. *πράγματα παῦσαι τεταραγμένα πολλὰ δύνασθε* Tyrwhitt. *δύνασθε παῦσαι τεταραγμένα πράγματα* πολλὰ MSS. (except that l. has *δύνασθαι*) all editions before Brunck. Brunck substitutes *ἔξετε* for *δύνασθε*. Bentley and Kuster proposed to change *ὕμεις δύνασθε* into *ὕμιν δυνατόν*, and Invernizzi writes *ὕμεις δυνατόν*. Porson proposed to change *δύνασθε* into *δυναται*, and so Elmsley at Ach. 78; and this is followed by Bothe, Bekker, and all subsequent editors. But Tyrwhitt's emendation which does not change a single letter is to be preferred.

567. *ὥσπερ κλωστήρ* Bentley, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores. *ὥσπερ κλωστήρ* MSS. all editions, except Bothe, before Dindorf.

574. *πόκον* MSS. vulgo. Kuster proposed *πόκου*, "than which," says Brunck, "nihil magis inutile est." It is, however, adopted by Bothe, Dindorf (in notes), Enger, Holden, Meineke, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart.

575. *ἐπὶ κλίνῃς* P¹. P². F¹. l. Zanetti, Farreus, Enger, Holden, Bergk, recen-

tiores. ἐπικλινείς ceteri. There is a doubt about the reading of R. and H. R. is said to have ἐπὶ κλίνεις, but it is possible that the abbreviation of the last syllable may have been intended for -ης, and if so the accent shows that it *was* so intended.

589. ἦ γε διπλοῦν MSS. vulgo. ἦ διπλοῦν Dindorf, Enger, Holden. ἡ διπλοῦν Blaydes.

594. οὐκουν κἄνδρες P¹. P². F¹. l. Brunck, and so (or, at Reisig's suggestion, ἄνδρες) all subsequent editors except Weise. It seems to me that κἄνδρες is right, the meaning being simply *Do not men, as well as women, grow old?* The article is not wanted. οὐκουν γ' ἄνδρες R. H. editions before Brunck; and Weise afterwards.

598. ὅστις ζῆτι Florent Chretien, Brunck, recentiores, except Van Leeuwen, who writes, at Blaydes's suggestion, ἀλλ' ὅστις στύσασθαι δυνατός. ὅστις ἐστὶ MSS. editions, except Florent Chretien, before Brunck.

600. χοιρίον ἔσται Elmsley (at Ach. 788), Dindorf, Enger, Holden, Meineke. χωρίον ἐστὶ MSS. vulgo. Καίριον ἐστὶν Zanetti, Farreus, and (with σορὸν ὠνεῖσθαι to complete the verse) Blaydes. καίριος ἐσσί γε Brunck. ὥριον ἐστὶν Bentley. ὥριος ἐσσί (with σορὸν γ' ὠνήσει) Weise. χωρίον ἔσται Bergk.

604. τοῦτον δὴ Bentley. τουτονὶ MSS. editions before Brunck. τουτονδὶ Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe, Bekker, Weise. τουτονγι Elmsley (at Ach. 784), Dindorf, Enger, recentiores, except Bothe.

605. τοῦ δεῖ Bentley, Dindorf, recentiores. τοῦ δέει R. H. P². l. Invernizzi, Bekker. τοῦ δέη P¹. F¹. Zanetti, Farreus, Scaliger, Faber, Bothe. τοῦ δέοι Junta,

Cratander, and the other editions before Brunck. τί σε δεῖ Brunck.

613. ἐπεσκευασμένα P¹. P². F¹. l. Brunck, recentiores. ἐσκευασμένα R. H. editions before Brunck.

615. ἄνδρες P¹. P². F¹. l. Brunck, recentiores. ἄνθρωποι R. H. editions before Brunck, except Scaliger and Faber who omit the word, Scaliger however observing that some read ἄνδρες and some ἄνθρωποι.

622. ἐς Κλεισθένους I. P¹. P². F¹. l. Kuster, recentiores. ἐκ Κλεισθένους R. H. editions before Kuster.

633. Ἀριστογείτου MSS. vulgo. Though the dative is used with ἐξῆς the genitive is more frequently found. Blaydes therefore writes Ἀριστογείτονος, and is followed by Van Leeuwen.

634. αὐτόθεν. See the Commentary. αὐτὸς γὰρ MSS. all editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi, Bekker, and (obelized) Hall and Geldart afterwards. And this seems to have been the reading of the Scholiast, whose gloss, λείπει βοηθός, shows that he took the line to mean "He (Aristogeyton) is my Helper" against the women. It is unnecessary to consider whether the words can mean this, since αὐτὸς is metrically impossible. αὐτὸ Bothe, Dindorf, and subsequent editors before Blaydes. This reading is attributed to Scaliger, but wrongly. Scaliger proposed αἴτιος γὰρ (meaning I suppose to omit μοι), but added "alii αὐτὸς vel αὐτό." Bergler in his note says "mallem αὐτό." With this reading the line is translated by Enger "illud ipsum meum est ut tantquam alter Aristogiton huius anus imperium affectantis maxillas feriam," but it is difficult to see how αὐτό can

have that meaning. αὐτὸς οὖν Brunck. ταῦτο γὰρ Blaydes. τοῦτο γὰρ Van Leeuwen. πάντα γὰρ Mr. Richards.

636. εἰσιόντα σ' Bentley, Bekker, recentiores, except Bothe and (in his text) Dindorf, but Dindorf approved of it in his notes. εἰσιόντας MSS. all editions before Bekker; and Bothe and (in his text) Dindorf afterwards.

645. κᾶτ' ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν Bentley, Tyrwhitt, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores. καταχέουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν R. H. Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker. κατέχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν I. P¹. P². F¹. I. Kuster in his notes. καταχέουσιν κροκωτὸν all editions before Scaliger's. καταχέουσα κροκωτὸν Scaliger, Faber, Kuster. κατέχουσα κροκωτὸν Burmann (in Bergler's edition).

654. εἰτ' ἀναλώσαντες MSS. vulgo. Bentley said "forte ἀναναλώσαντες," and Reisigsuggested εἰσαναλώσαντες. Blaydes reads ἐξαναλώσαντες. The anapaest in the sixth place of the line is very unusual.

657. τῷδέ γ' ἀψήκτω MSS. vulgo. τῷδέ σ' ἀψήκτω Dobree, which Enger approves, and Blaydes and Van Leeuwen adopt. τῷδε τᾶψήκτω (with γὼ for τῷ later in the line) Bergk, Meineke; and (with σου for τῷ) Cobet, Holden.

664. λευκόποδες Hermann, Bothe, Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Enger, recentiores, except Bergk. λυκόποδες (contra metrum) MSS. ceteri.

673. λιπαροῦς P¹. Bentley, Bergler (in notes), Brunck, recentiores, except Weise. λιπαρᾶς (variously accented and contra metrum) the other MSS. and editions.

676. διαγράφω Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. διαγράφω (contra metrum) R. H. editions before Kuster. διαγράφαι

I. P¹. P². F¹. I. Kuster, Burmann, in Bergler's text, though Bergler himself disapproved of it. Porson proposed διαγράφειν, which would destroy the dramatic vigour of the line.

678. ἂν ἀπολίσθαι R. H. P². Dawes, Brunck, recentiores. ἂν ἀπολέσθαι P¹. F¹. I. ἀναπολίσθαι Junta, Cratander, Gelenius, Rapheleng. ἀναπολείται Zanetti, Farreus. ἂν ἀπολίσθαι Grynaeus. ἀναπολείσθαι Portus to Bergler.

679. ἐφ' ἵππων R. H. vulgo. [ἔγραψε] φιλίππῳ P¹. P². F¹. I. obviously derived from ἔγραψ' ἐφ' ἵππων. Cobet proposed ἀφ' ἵππων, which is adopted by Bergk, Meineke, Holden, and Van Leeuwen. But I entirely agree with Blaydes, who says "quum hic non de pugnando ἀφ' ἵππων, sed de insidendo ἐφ' ἵππων (ἐποχείσθαι) agatur, praestat haud dubie vulgata."

693. μ' ἐρεῖς Bentley, Dindorf (in notes), Holden. ἐρεῖς MSS. vulgo. Enger inserted the μ' earlier in the line before εἰ. Bergk proposed to insert it after ἐρεῖς, and this is done by Blaydes and Van Leeuwen.

699. πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς γέιτοσιν MSS. vulgo. Under the idea that πᾶσι would include τοῖς γέιτοσι (as to which see the Commentary) Bentley proposed to change πᾶσι into παισὶ, and Elmsley to change καὶ τοῖς into τοῖσι, which is done by Blaydes. But both these changes would leave the Athenian citizens out of account.

701. τοῖσι παισὶ R. H. vulgo. ταῖσι παισὶ P¹. F¹. Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. And this seems to have been the reading of the Scholiast, who says λείπει ταῖς ἐμαῖς.

702. κάγαπητήν P¹. P². F¹. I. Bisetus, Portus, Kuster, recentiores. καμνητήν

(a mere clerical error, the γα having been mistaken for μ) R. H. all editions before Portus. *κωπαίτην* (from a conjecture of Florent Chretien) Scaliger and Faber.

704. *παύσησθε* MSS. vulgo. *παύσεσθε* Bentley, Brunck (following the rule laid down by Dawes at Clouds 366), Meineke.

705. *λαβὼν τις ὑμᾶς* Bentley (who adds "et sic MS."), Porson, Dobree (in Adenda to Porson's Aristophanica), Bothe, Bergk, Meineke, Blaydes. *λαβὼν ὑμᾶς* R. H. editions before Kuster (except that some have *ἡμᾶς*); and Bergler afterwards. *ὑμᾶς λαβὼν τις* P¹. P². F¹. l. Kuster, Brunck, recentiores, except as aforesaid. It is not known to what MS. Bentley referred.—*φέρων* MSS. vulgo. Suidas, s. v. *ψηφοφορία*, citing this line from memory, wrote the last word *θέλων*, whence both Bentley (doubtfully) and Porson (confidently) proposed *θενών*. And *θενών* was read by Bothe in his first edition, but not in his second.

709. *ἄθυμον περιπατεῖν* (without τ') Dobree, Bekker, Weise. *ἄθυμον περιπατεῖν τ'* MSS. vulgo. Porson first, and Meineke afterwards, proposed *ἀθυμεῖν*, which is read by Holden, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen. But this does not meet the difficulty. The misconduct of her young comrades does not make Lysistrata "walk up and down" simpliciter; it makes her "walk up and down" in a despondent mood.

719. *ἀποδιδράσκουσι* R. H. vulgo. *διαδιδράσκουσι* P¹. P². F¹. l. Hall and Geldart and Van Leeuwen. The *δια*-seems to have crept in from *διαλέγουσαν* in the following line.

722. *τροχιλίας* P¹. P². F¹. l. Grynæus,

Kuster, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart and Van Leeuwen who read *τροχιλείας*. *τροχιλίας* R. H. editions (excepting Grynæus) before Kuster. Elmsley proposed to retain *τροχιλείας* and omit *αὐ*.

725. *κατέσπασα* MSS. vulgo. Meineke (in his V. A.) proposed *ἀνέσπασα*, which is read by Blaydes and Van Leeuwen. Meineke's reason is that "*κατέσπασα* cum κάτω πέτεσθαι διανοουμένην aegre coit," but it is plain that he did not realize the situation. Before the deserter on her sparrow's back could fly down to the lower city, she had to fly up to surmount the wall of the Acropolis; and it was only while she was rising for that purpose that she would be within Lysistrata's reach. She must have been still within the Acropolis, and therefore still on her upward flight, when Lysistrata seized her by the hair and dragged her down from the sparrow's back to the ground. So soon as she began *κάτω πέτεσθαι* she would have been out of Lysistrata's reach. *κατέσπασα* is the very word required and *ἀνέσπασα* is altogether unsuitable. Meineke would also change *χθές* into *τρίς*, and *μίαν* into *Μίκαν*, but there he has found no followers.

727. *ἔλκουσιν* MSS. vulgo. See the Commentary. Strange to say Wakefield (at Eur. Ion 1410 *παῦσαι πλέκουσα*) proposed to alter this into *πλέκουσιν*; and more strangely still Dobree made the same suggestion. And Meineke says "aut *πλέκουσιν* verum videtur, aut quod ego conieci *λέγουσιν*." Yet *ἔλκουσιν* is beyond all question the right word, and Holden is the only editor who has brought *πλέκουσιν* into the text.—*ἥδὲ*

Elmsley (at Ach. 108), Dobree, Fritzsche (at Frogs 170), Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. *ῥδη* MSS. vulgo.

730. *κατακοπτόμενα* MSS. vulgo. The Etym. Magn. under *σεῦς* has *κατακαμπτόμενα*, whence *κατακαπτόμενα* is read by Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen. They attribute this reading to Brunck, but though Brunck at first adopted it, he afterwards altogether repudiated it, referring to the first section of Lucian's *Adversus Indoctum*, where *κατακόπτω* occurs in a similar connexion.

733. *διαπετάννυ* P¹. P². F¹. l. Bentley, Brunck, recentiores, except Invernizzi. *διαπετάννυε* R. H. editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi afterwards. See Peace 844, Birds 666. Brunck also refers to Eur. Med. 746.

739. *ἀπέρχομαι* R. H. P¹. F¹. vulgo. *ἐπέρχομαι* I. P². Kuster proposed *ἐπανέρχομαι*, and this is approved, but not read, by Brunck and Dindorf. Brunck says "*legi possit ἀνέρχομαι vel ἐπανέρχομαι. sed vulgatum bonum est; subauditur οἴκοθεν, ἐξ οἴκου.*" However *ἀνέρχομαι* is read by Enger, Bergk, and all subsequent editors.

740. *τοῦτο σὺ* I. P¹. P². F¹. l. Scaliger (in notes), Kuster, recentiores, except as hereafter appears. *τούτου σὺ* R. H. all editions before Kuster, and Invernizzi afterwards. Before Kuster had discovered the true reading in his MSS. (I. and l.), Bentley suggested *τουτου*, which is read by Dindorf, Weise, Enger, Bergk, and Van Leeuwen. But the emphatic *σὺ* is found in all the MSS. Reisig suggested *τοῦδε σὺ*, which is read by Meineke and Holden.

761. *κακκαβιζουσῶν* R. H. P². and (originally) P¹. vulgo. *κακκαβαζουσῶν* l.

and (as corrected) P¹. Dindorf (in text), Meineke, Holden, and Hall and Geldart. Dobree proposed *κικκαβαζουσῶν* (referring to Birds 261, where *κικκαβαῦ* is given as the note of the owl), and this is approved by Dindorf in his notes and read by Enger. *κικκαβιζουσῶν* Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. But the word is found in Aristotle, Athenaeus, Pollux, Aelian, and elsewhere, and uniformly begins with *κακ*-. *κικκαβαῦ* was a mere fancy word of Aristophanes.

763. *οὐκ οἶει | ποθεῖν* MSS. vulgo. *οὐ ποθεῖν | οἶεσθ'* Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. This is very plausible, but it seems impossible to desert the reading of all the MSS., especially as Aristophanes was rather given to placing *οἶει* at the end of a line. Apart from the present passage, he has done so thrice in this very play; supra 247, 464, and infra 1149.

772. *τὰ δ' ὑπέρτερα νέρτερα* MSS. vulgo. There seems no ground for Dobree's proposed transposition *τὰ δὲ νέρτερ' ὑπέρτερα*. The two readings are identical in meaning, and the MS. reading is supported by the Scholiast; see the Commentary. In the corresponding phrase we invariably find *ἄνω* placed before *κάτω*. Dobree's proposal is however adopted by Blaydes.

774. *ἦν δὲ διαστῶσιν* (or -ι) P¹. P². F¹. l. Kuster, recentiores, except Invernizzi. *ἦν δὲ δ' ἀποστῶσιν* (or -ι) R. H. Invernizzi. *ἦν δ' ἀποστῶσιν* editions before "Scaliger's." *ἦν δ' ἄρ' ἀποστῶσιν* "Scaliger," "Faber," Bentley. But the reading in the text, which was not then known, is better in itself, and accounts for the double *δὲ* in R. and H.

777-80. *σαφῆς . . . προδόσομεν*. These four lines were assigned to the "Chorus

of Women" by the MSS. and by all editions before Enger. That this could not be strictly right is shown by the words ἀλλ' εἰσώμεν, for the Chorus, who were in the orchestra, could have had no idea of entering into the Acropolis. The lines are obviously spoken by the young women on the stage, who had been intending to desert, but are brought to their senses by hearing the oracle; or rather they are spoken by one on behalf of the rest. Enger therefore transferred them to the First Woman, but I doubt if we are able to specify the particular woman who speaks them. But then comes the astonishing Beer who leaves only half the first line to the woman, and assigns all the rest of the speech to Lysistrata, the only person who could not possibly have spoken it. The words ὦ πάντες θεοὶ are plainly the exclamation of persons hearing the oracle for the first time, and in the three lines which follow they are expressing their penitence, and the change of mind which the oracle has wrought. Yet Beer's absurdity is followed by Bergk, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen.

785. ἦν ποτε νέος Hermann, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen, and the alteration was approved by Dindorf in his notes, and adopted by him in his "Metra Aeschyli, &c." published shortly afterwards. ἦν νεανίσκος MSS. vulgo. Hermann was the first to bring these two systems into proper metrical order, and his rather daring alteration here is fully justified by the necessities of the metre. The systems are partly in trochaics, but mostly in paeonics with an admixture of spondees. The present line consists of two paeons and a cretic, the corre-

sponding line in the antistrophe being ἦν τις ἀδρυτος ἀβάτοιον ἐν, where the second syllable of ἀδρυτος, usually long, is short. Weise omits νεανίσκος and reads νεανίας, in a line by itself, before ἦν.

795. ἡμεῖς τ' R. H. vulgo. ἡμεῖς δ' P¹. P². F¹. l. Brunck, Bothe, Weise, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen.

798. κρόμμον (or κρόμμον) MSS. vulgo. κρομμύων Bentley, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen.

799. κἀνατείνας λακτίσαι Bentley, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores. κἀνατείνας τὸ σκέλος λακτίσαι MSS. all editions (except Bothe) before Dindorf. Bentley rejected τὸ σκέλος, which is obviously a gloss that has crept into the text, and it is plain that the Scholiast did not read it.

809. ἦν τις ἀδρυτος F¹. l. Suidas, s. v. ἀπορρῶγας, Hermann, Dindorf, Bergk, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. τις ἦν ἀδρυτος R. H. P¹. P². all editions (except Bothe) before Dindorf; and Weise afterwards; save that some of the earliest editions have ἀδρυτος and some ἀνιδρυτος. Bentley, retaining νεανίσκος in the strophe, proposed to read ἦν ἀδρυτός τις here, and this is done by Bothe, Enger, Holden, Meineke, and Hall and Geldart. But the metre had not been fully ascertained in Bentley's time.

810. τὰ πρόσωπα Hermann, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. τὸ πρόσωπον MSS. vulgo.

811. Ἐρινύος (or Ἐρινύος) Hermann, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores, except Bergk. Ἐρινύων (or Ἐρινυνών) MSS. vulgo.

812. οὔτος ἄρ' Hermann, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores, except Bergk and Hall and Geldart. οὔτος οὖν MSS. vulgo. All these changes are necessitated by the metre. There is a line missing here which I have

supplied by writing (in brackets) ἄθλιος ἀφ' ὑμῶν. Other suggestions are κοῦκέτι κατῆλθεν (from 792 supra) Bisetus, which Bothe brings into the text; εἰς ἀγρόν ἔρημον Meineke; and ἐς τόπον ἔρημον or εἰς ὄρος ἔρημον Blaydes, the former being brought into the text by Van Leeuwen.

817. ὑμᾶς ἀντεμίσει. This is Dobree's suggestion for the ὑμῶν ἀντεμίσει of the MSS. and editions which yields no satisfactory meaning. I do not think that the words will bear the interpretation which Blaydes gives them "in answer to you, in return for your hatred of us." They seem rather to be an alteration by some grammarian who supposed that by τοὺς ποιητοὺς Stratyllis meant only a particular section of the men, and not men universally. Bergk suggested ἡμῖν and Meineke and Holden read ὑμῖν. At 819 I. P¹. P². F¹. and l. cease, recommending with line 890.

831. ἀνδρ' ἀνδρ' ὁρῶ Brunck, recentiores. ἀνδρ' ὁρῶ R. H. editions before Brunck. But Florent Chretien had said "Legerem ἀλλ' ἀνδρ' ὁρῶ vel ἀνδρ' ἀνδρ' ὁρῶ" and Bentley "Lege ἀνδρα bis."

839. εἴη MSS. vulgo. Dobree is said to have suggested ἦδη. I do not know where he did so. In his Adversaria he proposes σὸν ἂν ἔργον or σὸν ἔργον ἂν. But Dindorf says "Scribendum ἦδη cum Dobraeo"; and ἦδη is read by Enger, Meineke, and subsequent editors. The MS. reading, however, gives a good sense, *Be it your task*. στρέφειν at the end of the line is changed by Blaydes into τρέπειν.

843. παραμένουσά γ' Bentley. R. H. and all editions before Brunck have παραμένονσ', leaving the line a syllable too short. Bentley proposed παραμένουσά γ'

and Porson σοι παραμένονσ'. There is not much to choose between these two readings. The former is adopted by Brunck, Dindorf, Bergk, and others, the latter by Enger, Meineke, Blaydes, and others.

851. καλέσω ἔγωγ Μυρρίνην σοι; Kuster (in notes), Enger, Holden, Bergk, recentiores. R. H. and all editions before Brunck have τήν before Μυρρίνην, making the line a syllable too long. Kuster, as we see, proposed to omit the τήν. Brunck omitted the ἔγωγ, in which he is followed by all editors before Enger. For καλέσω Cobet proposed ἑκαλέσω, which is read by Meineke and Holden.

862. ἔγωγέ σοι νῆ τὸν Δι' Bentley, Dindorf, Weise, Enger, recentiores, except Bothe and Van Leeuwen. The σοι is omitted, contra metrum, by R. H. and by all editions before Brunck; and by Invernizzi, Bothe, and Bekker afterwards, Brunck read ἔγωγε νῆ Δι' αὐτίκ', Van Leeuwen ἔγωγε μέντοι νῆ Δι'.

864. καταβάσα R. H. vulgo. Herwerden (V. A.) proposes to change καταβάσα into ἀναβάσα. And he gives as his reason "Cinesias enim est in aditu, Lysistrata vero supra in ipsa arce." One would have thought this a conclusive argument for reading καταβάσα. Lysistrata, being on the top of the wall at the top of the Acropolis, could only go up higher by ascending into the clouds. To find Myrrhina she has to descend from the wall into the Acropolis itself.

865. ἔχω γε τῷ βίῳ R. H. vulgo. Hermann suggested ἔγωγ' ἔχω βίου, which Meineke and Holden read; Cobet ἐγὼδα τῷ βίῳ which Blaydes reads; and Blaydes ἔχω τι τοῦ βίου, whence Van Leeuwen reads ἔχω τι τῷ βίῳ.

866. ἔξηθεν Grynæus, "Scaliger," recentiores. ξυνῆλθεν R. H. editions before Scaliger except Grynæus.

895. διατιθείς MSS. editions except "Scaliger" before Bothe's first; and Bekker, Meineke, Holden, and Van Leeuwen afterwards. διατίθης "Scaliger," Bothe, and save as aforesaid editions after Bekker. This is the old question, discussed by Porson on Orestes 141 whether the Attics ever used -είς for the second person of verbs in -ημι. As the MSS. are our only authority on the subject, it seems to me safer to follow them.

896. φορουμένης MSS. vulgo. Mr. Richards suggests φθερουμένης.

904. κατακλίθητι MSS. vulgo. Elmsley citing this line for another purpose in his note on Ach. 1033 writes, whether purposely or by a slip of memory, κατακλίνηθι, which is accordingly read by Dindorf, Enger, Bergk, and all subsequent editors.

906. ὁ Μυρρίνιον R. H. editions before Brunck, and Invernizzi and Weise afterwards. See the Commentary. ὁ Μύρριον P¹. P². F¹. l. Brunck, Bothe, Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, Hall and Geldart. ὁ Μύρτιον Enger, Meineke, Van Leeuwen. Μυρρινίδιον Dobree, Blaydes.

927. ἀλλ' οὐ δέομ' οὐδὲν ἔγωγε R. H. P¹. F¹. all editions (except Bothe) before Weise. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δέομ' οὐδὲν ἔγωγε l. and so (omitting ἀλλ') P². ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δέομ' ἔγωγε (or δέομαι ἔγωγε) Bentley, Elmsley (at Ach. 178), Bothe, Dindorf (in notes), Enger, recentiores. But the οὐδὲ seems rather out of place here, though quite right in line 934. ἀλλ' οὐ δέομ', οὔκ, ἔγωγε Weise.

934. μὰ Δι' οὐδὲ δέομαί γ' Dobree, Dindorf

(in notes), Weise, Enger, recentiores, except Bothe. And so, without the final γ', P². l. μὰ Δι' οὐ δέομαί γ' R. H. all editions before Brunck. This left the line a syllable short, which Brunck supplied by changing γ' into "γωγ" and so all subsequent editors before Weise; and Bothe afterwards. But Dobree's change of οὐ into οὐδὲ is far better. P¹. and F¹. supplied the missing syllable by changing γ' into δητ'.

944. ῥόδιον MSS. vulgo. And so the Scholiast, and Eustathius on Odyssey ii. 85. Bergk said "forte ῥόδιον," which is read by Meineke and Blaydes. Their excuse is "Rhodii unguenti nusquam alibi mentio fit." They had overlooked the passage in Pliny which I have quoted in the Commentary.

946. πῶτος P¹. P². F¹. l. Brunck, Bothe, Bekker, Meineke, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. πῶτον R. H. vulgo.

956. ταυτηνῆ. This is Reisig's proposal, which was approved by Dindorf in his notes and adopted by Weise and subsequent editors. ταύτην MSS. and all editions before Weise. The alteration is desirable for the purpose of making this line correspond with its fellow in the antistrophe μὰ Δι' ἀλλὰ φίλη καὶ παγγλυκερά.

957. Κυναλώπηξ P¹. P². F¹. l. Brunck, recentiores. Χηναλώπηξ R. H. editions before Brunck.

958. τιθήν I. P². l. Brunck, recentiores. κύστην R. and so (or κύσθην) all editions before Brunck. κύστιν H. τίθην P¹. F¹. For τὴν τιθήν John Seager suggested τινα τιθήν, which is read by Blaydes. We should perhaps read τάχα τὴν τιθήν to make the line correspond with 972.

959. ἐν δεινῷ MSS. vulgo. Cobet

suggested ἡ δεινὴ, which Blaydes and Van Leeuwen adopt. It certainly heightens the tragic character of the lines, and I should willingly have adopted it had it not been certain that Aristophanes wrote ἐν δεινῷ.

961. αἶ, αἶ, αἶ. I have added the third αἶ, the corresponding line in the antistrophe being a complete dimeter ξυστρέψας καὶ ξυγγογγυλίσας.

962. γὰρ ἂν ἡ νέφρος R. H. vulgo. γὰρ ἡ νέφρος P¹. P². F¹. l. Bekker omits the ἡ, but this can be only a clerical error since he professes to follow R. Dindorf in his text has δ' ἂν, apparently confusing this line with 964, but in his notes he reverts to the common reading. Bergk reads γὰρ νέφρος ἂν; Meineke reads γὰρ ἔρ' ἂν νέφρος, which is adopted by Blaydes and Van Leeuwen.

963. ψυχὴ MSS. vulgo. Scaliger says "Alii ψωλή," an alteration which is again suggested by Brunck, and is made by Blaydes.

964. ποῖος δ' ὄρρος. The line is so read by the Scholiast on Frogs 223, and by Florent Chretien, Bergk, Meineke, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. ποῖος δ' ἂν ὄρρος R. H. P¹. F¹. editions before Brunck. It is necessary to omit either the ἂν as in the text or the δ'. The latter course is adopted by P². l. and Scaliger in his notes and by Brunck and, save as aforesaid, subsequent editors. The omission of ἂν is more in accord with the preceding line.

970. XO. ΓΥ. μὰ Δι', ἀλλὰ φίλῃ. This line is given to the Chorus of Women by R. H. and l. It is, however, given to Cinesias by P¹. P². F¹, and this being followed by Junta has prevailed in almost all the printed editions. The

only editors who have reclaimed it for the Women are Invernizzi, Bergk, Meineke, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen; and of these all but Invernizzi indemnify Cinesias by giving him all or part of the following speech, contrary to the MSS. and, in my opinion, contrary to all probability. In both speeches I have followed the arrangement of the Ravenna MS.

972. ὦ Ζεῦ, Ζεῦ, Tyrwhitt, Brunck, and all subsequent editors, except those who divide the speech between the Chorus and Cinesias. The MSS. have ὦ Ζεῦ, ὦ Ζεῦ, and so all editions before Brunck.

975. ξυγγογγυλίσας MSS. vulgo. ξυγγογγύλας Cobet, Meineke, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen.

980. γερωχία R. H. P². l. vulgo, but some of the earlier editions omit the preceding ἄ and others annex it to γερωχία. See Müller's Dorians iii. 6. 1. γερωσία P¹. F¹. Brunck, Bothe, Weise. γερωία Valckenaer, Dindorf, Enger, Holden, Meineke, Blaydes.

982. ΠΡΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ. MSS. vulgo. And this is undoubtedly right, for that the speaker is a man of the highest authority is shown by his statement that "he will tell the Council to elect plenipotentiaries." Unfortunately Bentley suggested not on this line but on some of the subsequent speeches that the speaker is Cinesias, a manifest impossibility, for Cinesias could not have dictated to the Council the course they were to pursue; nor was he in a position to rally the Herald on his distressful condition. This has been realized by every editor except Van Leeuwen, who throughout the dialogue gives the speeches of the Probulus to Cinesias.—

σὺ δὲ τίς; *πότερον* Florent Chretien, Bothe, Meineke. σὺ δ' εἰ τίς; *πότερον* R. H. editions before Brunck. σὺ δ' εἰ *πότερον* P¹. P². F¹. l. Brunck, Invernizzi, Dindorf, Weise, Hall and Geldart. σὺ δ' εἰ τίς; *πότερ'* Bentley, Enger, Holden, Blaydes, σὺ δ' εἰ τίς; *πότερ'* Bekker. τίς δὲ σύ; *πότερόν* Porson, Bergk, Van Leeuwen.

988. *παλαιὸρ γα* Bentley, Brunck, recentiores, except as hereinafter mentioned. And this is really the reading of R. H. and of all editions before Kuster, only they divide the words wrongly, making them *πάλαι ὄργα*. *παλαιός γα* I. *παλεός γα* P¹. F¹. l. Kuster, Bergler. *παλέορ γα* Dindorf. *αλεός γα* (with the digamma prefixed) Van Leeuwen.

993. *εἰδὸτ' ἐμέ* Porson, Bothe, Dindorf (in notes), Enger, Meineke, recentiores. *εἰδὸτα με* MSS. vulgo.

998. *ἀλλ' ἄρχε μὲν* Hermann, Bothe, Bekker, Dindorf, Weise, Bergk. *ἀλλ' ἄρχα μὲν* MSS. editions before Brunck. And so Brunck read, omitting the *οῦκ* which preceded. *ἀλλ' ἄρχεν* Elmsley (at Ach. 910), Enger, Meineke, recentiores.

999. *ἔπειτα τᾷλλαι* Elmsley (at Ach. 910), Dindorf (in notes), Enger, Meineke, recentiores. *ἔπειτα δ' ἄλλαι* MSS. vulgo.

1001. *ἀπῆλαον* R. H. vulgo. *ἀπῆλασαν* P¹. F¹. *ἀπῆλααν* Enger, Meineke, recentiores.

1003. *ἀποκεκύφαμες* MSS. vulgo. *ἐπικεκύφαμες* Reiske, Dindorf (in notes), Blaydes, Hall and Geldart. *ὑποκεκύφαμες* Hamaker, Meineke, Van Leeuwen.

1010. *ἀποπέμπειν* I. P². l. Bentley, Kuster, recentiores. *πέμπειν* R. H. P¹. F¹. editions before Kuster. Florent Chretien suggested *προσπέμπειν*.

1013. *παντᾶ* "Scaliger," "Faber," Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *πάνται* R. *πάντα* the other MSS. and editions.

1016. *μέντοι σὺ* Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *σὺ* is omitted in the MSS. and in all editions before Brunck.—*πολεμείς ἐμοὶ* Hermann, Dindorf, recentiores. *πολεμείς εἰπέ μοι* MSS. editions before Dindorf. This little system 1014–35 is full of interpolations made mostly for the purpose, not always successfully carried out, of changing the disjointed lines into trochaic tetrameters.

1017. *βέβαιον ἔμ'* Hermann, Bothe, Dindorf, Enger, recentiores. *βεβαίαν μ'* MSS. editions before Portus. *βεβαίαν νῦν μ'* Portus and subsequent editors (except Bothe, Dindorf, and Weise) before Enger. Weise, always innocent of metre, writes *βεβαίαν ἔμ'*. Brunck however rearranges the line so as to make it an excellent trochaic tetrameter.

1020. *ὁρῶ* MSS. vulgo. *ὄρα* Dobree, which was approved by Dindorf in his notes and adopted by Meineke, Holden, and Blaydes.

1023. *τότ' ἀπέδυν* R. H. vulgo. *τόδ' ἀπέδυν* P¹. P². F¹. l. Kuster, Bergler. *ταύτην ἀπέδυν* Scaliger, Faber.

1025. *κᾶν με μὴ λυπῆς* Grynæus, Scaliger (in notes), Bothe, Bekker. *κᾶν μὴ με λυπείς* P². *κᾶν με μὴ λύπεις* Florent Chretien, Brunck, Invernizzi, Bergk. *κᾶν μὴ με λυπῆς* R. H. P¹. F¹. the other editions before Bothe and Bekker. *κεῖ με μὴ λύπεις* Dobree, Dindorf, recentiores, except Bothe and Bergk.

1030. *δύσκολος ἔφες* Brunck, recentiores. *δύσκολός γ' ἔφες* MSS. editions before Brunck.

1035. *καίτοι πάνν* Florent Chretien, Porson, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores, except Weise. *καίτοι γε πάνν* MSS. the

other editions. Elmsley (at Ach. 611), supposing the regular trochaics to commence here, proposed *καίτοι πάνυ γε*. But no doubt they commence with the next line.

1037. *ῥαο' ἴκοισθ'* Bothe, Dindorf, Weise, Enger, Holden, Bergk, Meineke, Hall and Geldart. *ῥας ἴκοισθ'* MSS. vulgo. *ῥαισιν ἴκοισθ'* Portus, Scaliger, Faber.

1053. *πόλλ' ἔσω γὰρ Κέν' ἔχομεν*. See the Commentary. The MSS. have *ὥς πόλλ' ἔσω'σιν* (or *ἐσώσιν*) *κάχομεν*. And so (or with *ἐσώσιν* for *ἔσω'σιν*) all editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi, Bekker, and Hall and Geldart afterwards. Brunck read *ὥς ἔσω πόλλ' ἐστὶν κάχομεν*. Hermann suggested the omission of *ὥς* from the MS. reading, and this is adopted by Bothe, Dindorf in his text, and Weise. But in his notes Dindorf approved of Reisig's conjecture *πολλὰ σὰ' σὶ κάχομεν*, while Porson suggested *πολλὰ σὰ' σὶν ἄχομεν*. But Burges's proposal *ὥς πλέα' σὶν ἄχομεν* has met with the largest support; that (or *ὥς πλε' ἐστὶν*, or *ὥς πλέω'σιν*) having been adopted by Enger and all subsequent editors except Bothe and Hall and Geldart.

1057. *ἄν* Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *ἀν* MSS. editions before Brunck.—*ἀποδῶ* P¹. P². F¹. Brunck, recentiores, except Invernizzi, who with R. H. and editions before Brunck reads *ἀποδιδῶ*, and Van Leeuwen who writes a very good new line *μηδὲν ἀποδόσω πάλιν*.

1060. *κάστιν ἔτ' ἔτνος* Reisig, Dindorf (in notes), Enger, Holden, Bergk, Meineke, and Hall and Geldart. *κάστιν ἔτνος* MSS. vulgo. Bentley proposed *κάστι μὲν ἔτνος*, but *ἔτ'* could more easily have dropped out before *ἔτνος*. Blaydes says "Displacent et Bentleii et

Reisigii correctiones vel ideo quod corripitur debet prior syllaba in *ἔτνος*," an incomprehensible remark, since in both their corrections the first syllable *is* short. Blaydes himself reads *κάστιν ἔτνος μοι*, so substituting a choriamb for a paeon; whilst Van Leeuwen's *καὶ ἐστὶ μοι ἔτνος τι* gives two cretics in a line which requires a paeon and a cretic. For in these four stanzas, as in Knights 303–11, 382–8, and many other instances, paeons and cretics are not interchangeable; a paeon in the strophe must be met by a paeon in the antistrophe, and a cretic by a cretic. In all the four stanzas the six cretico-paeonic lines are cast in the same mould; the first, second, and fourth containing a paeon and a cretic; the third (with a monosyllabic base) two paeons; and the fifth and sixth two cretics. In the following line Elmsley proposed to change the *δελφάκιον ἦν* of the MSS. and editions into *δελφάκιον ἓν*, a suggestion ingenious but unnecessary.

1062. *τέθυχ'* P¹. P². F¹. Zanetti, Farreus, Portus, recentiores. *τεθυκί'* R. the other editions before Portus. "Inconsulte Elmsleius in Mus. Crit. ii. 180 *τέθυχ'* mutare voluit in *τέθυθ'*, elisa diphthongo *αι* perfecti passivi *τέθνυται*. Putabat in *τέθυκα* penultimam produci. Sed corripitur eam in verbis *τέθυκα* et *λέλυκα* docuit Draco Stratonicensis, p. 46, line 26, p. 87, line 25." Reisig.—*ὥστε κρέ' ἔδεσθ'* (*ἔδομαι*, *will eat*) Reisig, Dindorf, Weise, Enger, recentiores, except Bothe. *ῶστε* (or *ὥς*) *τὰ κρέα ἔξεσθ'* (or *ἔξεσθ'*) MSS. (except P². which has *γένεσθ'*) editions before Dindorf, except Bothe who adopted Scaliger's suggestion of *ἔξεθ'*. Bentley for *ἔξεσθ'* proposed *ἔσθ'* (i. e. *ἔσται*).

1068. *ἔσω βαδίζειν* R. H. all editions before Dindorf. *ἔσω βαδίζειν* P¹. P². F¹. Elmsley, Dindorf, recentiores.

1070. *ὥς ἡ θύρα*. The reading of R. H. and of all editions before Bothe was *ἴσως δ' ἡ θύρα*, but Elmsley conjectured *ὥς ἡ θύρα*. And this was subsequently found to be the reading of P¹. P². which, strange to say, Brunck had not adopted or even noticed. It is followed by Bothe, Dindorf, and all subsequent editors.

1076. *τί δεῖ* P¹. P². F¹. Florent Chretien, Bentley, Brunck, recentiores, except as hereafter mentioned. *τί δῆ* R. H. editions before Brunck. Bergler however suggested either *τί δεῖ* or *τί δῆ* (supposed to be Doric for *δεῖ*). And *τί δῆ* was again suggested by Dobree, and again by Bergk, but is adopted only by Meineke and Blaydes.

1080. *τί κα λέγοι*. This was proposed by Enger, and is read by Meineke, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. *τί κἂν λέγοι* R. H. vulgo. *τί καὶ λέγοι* P¹. P². F¹.—*ὅπα* R. all editions before Brunck; and Bekker, Bergk, Meineke, and Hall and Geldart afterwards. *ὅπα* H. P¹. P². F¹. Brunck and the other editions.—*σελεῖ* I. P¹. P². F¹. Kuster, recentiores. *θελει* R. H. editions before Kuster.

1088. *νόσφ* MSS. vulgo. *νόσος* Reisig, Dobree, Dindorf (in notes), Bothe, Enger, Meineke, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen.

1096. *τὸ ἔσθος* MSS. vulgo. Bentley proposed *τόδ' ἔσθος* and Reisig *τό γ' ἔσθος* which Bothe adopts. But commentators in general consider this and the other hiatuses in the Doric speeches of this Play to be occasioned by the suppressed digamma.—*ἀμβαλώμεθα*, a suggestion of Brunck, is read by Dindorf, Weise,

Enger, Holden, Bergk, and subsequent editors. *ἐμβαλώμεθα* or *ἐμβαλώμεσθα* MSS. vulgo. With the following line l. ceases altogether. I. P¹. P². and F¹. also cease, but recommence with line 1237.

1098. *Πολυχαρίδα* Bentley, Bothe, Dindorf (in notes), Weise. *Πολυχαρίδα* MSS. vulgo. *Πολυχαρείδα* Elmsley, Meineke, Holden, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. *Πωλυχαρίδα* Enger, Blaydes. In line 1242 infra *Πολυχαρίδα* is read by P¹. P². F¹. so that it is the only form, except *Πολυχαρίδα*, which has any MS. authority.—*τᾶν πεπόνθemes*. This is Elmsley's reading at Ach. 323, save that he gives the second augment which involves an unnecessary departure from the MS. reading, and so Bothe and Dindorf. *γ' αὖ πεπόνθαμες* R. H. vulgo. Various other minute variations have been suggested. *κ' αὖ πεπόνθemes* Enger, Hall and Geldart. *κα πεπόνθemes* Bergk. *κα' πεπόνθemes* Meineke. *τοί κ' ἐπεπόνσεμες* Blaydes. *κα ἐπεπόνσεμες* Van Leeuwen.

1099. *αἷ κ' εἶδον* Brunck, recentiores, except as hereinafter appears. *αἷ κ' ἴδον* R. H. editions before Portus. *αἷκεν ἴδον* Portus and subsequent editors before Brunck. *αἷ εἶδον* Blaydes (in the preface to his first edition of the Birds A. D. 1840), Meineke, and Hall and Geldart.—*τᾶνδρες* Elmsley (at Ach. 755), Dindorf, Bothe, Enger, recentiores. *ἄνδρες* R. H. vulgo. R. H. read *ἀμέε*, and so all the earlier editions, but Enger's correction *ἀμέ* has been followed by all subsequent editors.

1102. *ταῦτογί* Bentley. *τουτογί* H. vulgo. *τοῦτογί* R. *γ' οὔτοι* Cobet, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen.

1105. *κἂν λῆτε, τὸν Δυσίστρατον* R. (as

corrected), and, save as herein appears, all printed editions. But R.'s original reading was *καλείτε*, and that is also the reading of H. Hirschig therefore proposed to read *καλήτε τὸν Λυσιστράταν*, and this is done by Bergk, Meineke, Holden, and Blaydes. But both MSS. have τὸν *Λυσίστρατον* with which *κἂν λήτε* is indispensable. And it seems to me that Hirschig's line is infinitely less vigorous and graphic than the common reading.

1109. [*χαλεπὴν*]. In R. and H. and all editions (except Bothe) before Dindorf the line is given with a foot wanting. Apparently the first to observe the omission was Bentley, who asked "An legendum *δεινὴν*, *δειλὴν*, *ἀγαθὴν*?" The same suggestion is said to have been made by Tyrwhitt, and it is adopted by Bothe, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. Meineke inserts *ἀφελή* after *φαύλην*, and Van Leeuwen, after his manner, instead of amending the line, composes a new one which commences *ἐν τοῖσι λόγοις κομψὴν* and omits both *ἀγαθὴν* and *φαύλην*. But Dindorf and the other subsequent editors content themselves with marking a lacuna in the line. I have inserted *χαλεπὴν* before *ἀγανὴν* because it seems to me that the missing word should give the idea of *severity* in a Judge, as contrasted with the idea of *gentleness* involved in the epithet *ἀγανὴν*. And *χαλεπὸς* bears that precise meaning in Wasps 942.

1113. *μὴ ἑκπειρωμένους* R. H. Dindorf, Bothe, Enger, recentiores. *μὴ πειρωμένους* Zanetti, Farreus, Portus, and all subsequent editors before Dindorf; and Weise afterwards. But I think the compound verb is essential. *μὴ ἡπειρωμένους*

Junta, Cratander, Grynaeus, Gelenius, and Rapheleng.

1121. *τούτου λαβομένη* Dobree, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen. *τούτους λαβομένη* R. H. vulgo.

1123. *ἐνθένδε θ'* H. Portus and all subsequent editors before Meineke. *ἐνθένδε τ'* (which of course means the same thing) R. and all editions before Portus. Bergk is thought to have suggested *ἐνθένδε δ'*, which is adopted by Meineke and subsequent editors, but seems inferior to the MS. reading.

1129. *ἐκ χέρνιβος* Bentley, Brunck, Bekker, Weise, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. *τε χέρνιβος* R. H. vulgo. *τ' ἐκ χέρνιβος* Reiske, Invernizzi. *γε χέρνιβος* Bothe, Dindorf, Enger, Bergk. *γ' ἐκ χέρνιβος* Van Leeuwen.

1132. *ἄλλους* R. H. vulgo. This being obviously the right word, it is amazing that Meineke should in his note have proposed *ἄθλους*, and in his V. A. *ἀγόρους*.

1133. *στρατεύματι* R. H. all editions before Brunck; and Bergk, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen afterwards; and Meineke in his notes reverts to the MS. reading. *στρατεύμασιν* Reiske, Brunck, and, save as aforesaid, all editors subsequent to Brunck.

1148. *ἀδικούμες* all editions except as hereinafter mentioned. *ἀδικιοῦμες* R. H. *ἀδικίόμες* Dindorf, Bergk, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. *ἀδικεῖμες* Meineke and Van Leeuwen.—*ἄφατος ὡς καλός* Bentley, Bothe, Dindorf (in notes), Enger, recentiores, except Blaydes. *ἄφατος καὶ καλός* R. H. editions before Bothe's first. Dindorf in his text has *ἄφατος ὡς καλός*, obviously a mere clerical error, but it is adopted by Weise. Meineke conjec-

tures ἀπαλὸς καὶ καλός, which is brought into the text by Blaydes.

1149. μ' οἶε Dobree, Dindorf (in notes), Enger, Holden, Meineke, recentiores. οἶε (without μ') R. H. vulgo.

1153. ἑταίρους Ἰππίου. R. H. have ἑτέρους ἱππίους, and so all editions down to and including Portus. Scaliger in his notes proposed ἑταίρους Ἰππίου, but the edition which bears his name reads ἑταίρους Ἰππία. This is how Suidas, s. v. κατωνάκη, gives the line (at least in Gaisford's edition, though the MSS. vary between ἱππία, ἱππίαν, and ἱππείαν) and so Faber. Then Kuster changed Ἰππία into Ἰππίου, and so all subsequent editors.

1154. ξυνεκμαχοῦντες MSS. vulgo. The word has not given entire satisfaction, and Meineke conjectured ξυνεκμοχλοῦντες, Herwerden ξυνεκβαλόντες, and Mr. Richards ξυνεκγονοῦντες or possibly ξυνεκδραμόντες. But the only editor who has altered the text is Van Leeuwen who reads καὶ ξυμμαχοῦντες, omitting the copula at the commencement of the following line.

1159. ὑπηργμένων γε Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores. ὑπηργμένων τε R. H. vulgo.

1162. λῶμες Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. λῶμεσθ' R. H. editions before Brunck. And in the next line R. H. all the editions before Brunck and Bergk afterwards have ἀποδόμεν. Brunck altered this into the infinitive ἀποδόμεν, and is followed by every subsequent editor except Bergk.

1164. ἄσπερ Bergler (in notes). ἄσπερ or τᾶσπερ Elmsley (at Ach. 441). ἄσπερ is read by Bothe, Dindorf, and all subsequent editors, except Blaydes and Van Leeuwen who have τᾶσπερ. ὥσπερ R. H.

and all editions, except Bothe's, before Dindorf.

1165. οὐ δράσετε R. H. vulgo. οὐ δράσομεν Cobet, Bergk, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart who rightly retain the MS. reading. οὐ δράξετε Bothe, second edition.

1167. τοῦτου χωρίου Bentley, Dawes (at Eccl. 70), Brunck, recentiores. τοῦτου τοῦ χωρίου R. H. editions before Portus. τοῦτου χωρίου Portus and subsequent editors before Brunck.

1171. ὁ λυσσάνιε. R. H. all editions before Brunck; and Bekker and Bergk afterwards. And that the Scholiast so read is plain from his explanation ὁ μαινόμενε. But Voss pointed out that Hesychius has λισσάνιος ἀγαθός, Λάκωνες. And Bentley added that Photius has λισσάνιε ἀγαθὸς ἢ φίλος, Λάκωνες. And ὁ λισσάνιε is introduced into the text by Brunck and all subsequent editors save as aforesaid, and save that Dindorf has λυσσάνιε in his text, though in his notes he prefers λισσάνιε. Of course if Hesychius and Photius are referring to the present line, which is uncertain, they must have had λισσάνιε in their copies; but even so the evidence in favour of λυσσάνιε preponderates. And it seems to me more probable that the Laconian, vexed at the grasping character of the Athenian's demand which he considers to include "everything," should have addressed him as ὁ μαινόμενε than as ὁ ἀγαθέ.

1172. περὶ τοῖν σκελοῖν Bentley, Meineke, Holden. περὶ σκελοῖν R. H. vulgo. Van Leeuwen says "melius, ni fallor, abest articulus: cf. Av. 1639." Will it be believed that the line to which the learned Professor refers is ἡμεῖς περὶ

γυναῖκος μιᾶς πολέμησομεν ; where the article was impossible ?

1174. γὰ πρῶ Bisetus, Scaliger, and all subsequent editions before Brunck ; and Dindorf, Weise, and Meineke afterwards. γὰ πρῶτα R. H. editions before Scaliger. γὰ πρῶτα (with ναὶ σιῶ) Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe ; and (with ναὶ τῷ σιῶ) Bekker and Hall and Geldart. γὰ λῶ Reisig, Enger, Holden, Blaydes. γὰ πρόκα Bergk. Elmsley suggested γὰ ποτὶ (for γὰ πρὸς), which Van Leeuwen reads. To Enger πρῶ appeared a “satis inepta scriptura,” but he had not considered the under current which runs through these speeches. The meaning resembles that of τοὺς ὄρθρους supra 966.

1188. ὥς τάχιςτά γε R. H. vulgo. ὥς τάχιςτ' ἄγε Beer, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, and Hall and Geldart. But the alteration seems to impart heaviness to a line which ought to be as light as possible.

1190. ἐστί μοι Elmsley, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores. ἔστιν ἐμοὶ R. H. editions (save as aforesaid) before Dindorf. ἐστ' ἐμοὶ Bentley. Elmsley's restorations of the Ode will be found in the first volume of the Museum Criticum.

1192. πᾶσι παρέχειν Bentley, Elmsley, Brunck, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores. πᾶσιν παρέχειν R. H. the other editions before Dindorf.

1194. κληφορῇ Bergler (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. κληφορεῖ R. H. editions before Brunck.

1199. ῥύπους R. H. vulgo. τύπους Zanetti, Farreus, Scaliger, Faber.

1200. χ' ἄττ' ἔνδον Elmsley, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores. χ' ἄττ' ἔνδον R. χ' ἄτ' ἔνδον H. the other editions before Dindorf. καθ' ἄτ' ἔνδον Bentley.

1207. ὁ δ' ἄρτος R. H. vulgo. Hermann proposed to read τὸν δ' ἄρτον . . . νεανίαν. Apparently he took πυρίδια λεπτὰ to be accusatives after λαβεῖν, but they are really nominatives to be construed with ἔστι. Van Leeuwen reads ὁ δ' οὖν ἄρτος “metri causa” he says. But the insertion of οὖν seems destructive of the metre.

1211. σάκους R. H. all editions before Meineke. σάκκους Bentley, Meineke, recentiores.

1212. οὐμός αὐτοῖς Bentley, Elmsley, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores. αὐτοῖς οὐμός R. H. all other editions before Dindorf.

1216. παραχωρεῖν οὐ θέλεις Scaliger (in notes), Bentley, Dindorf, Meineke, Holden, and Hall and Geldart. οὐ παραχωρεῖν θέλεις R. H. vulgo. Bentley suggested both the reading in the text, and, as an alternative, σύ. παραχωρεῖν θέλεις, and the latter is adopted by Bothe, Enger, Bergk, and Blaydes ; while Van Leeuwen reads σύ. παραχωρεῖν ἔδει.

1218. φορτικὸν τὸ χωρίον R. H. vulgo. Blaydes (amongst many other alternatives) suggested φορτικοὶ τοιχωρύχοι and φορτικὸν τὸ χρῆμ' ἄγαν. He introduces the former into the text, but says in his notes that he prefers the latter which (with the change of χρῆμ' into πρᾶγμ') is brought into the text by Van Leeuwen.

1220. χαρίσασθαι προσταλαιπωρήσομεν Bentley, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. And so Enger, except that he changes the final syllable into -μαι. R. and H. read χαρίζεσθαι προσταλαιπωρήσασθαι, and so all editions before Scaliger, who changed -σασθαι into -σομεν, in which he is followed by Faber and Kuster. Brunck got over the metrical difficulty by reading ταλαιπωρήσομεν,

which is followed by all subsequent editors down to and including Dindorf, and by Bergk. Blaydes suggested *προσταλαιπωρητέον* which Van Leeuwen adopts.

1222. *κακύσεσθε* R. H. Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *κακύσετε* editions before Brunck.

1228. *οτι νήφοντες* Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *οτι νήφοντες* R. H. editions before Brunck.

1236. *ει μέν γε τις* R. H. vulgo. *ει τις μέλος* Blaydes. With the following line I. P¹. P². and F¹. recommence.

1242. *Πουλυχαρίδα* P¹. P². F¹. The readings here are precisely the same as in 1098 supra, to which the reader is referred.

1243. *καείσω* Suidas (s. v. *διποδία*), Bentley, Kuster, recentiores, except Van Leeuwen. *κάτω* R. H. editions before Kuster. *καὶ κινήσω* I. P¹. P². F¹. *καείω* Van Leeuwen. Blaydes changes *καλὸν* (MSS. vulgo) into *μέλος*.

1244. *κῆς ἡμᾶς* Brunck and all subsequent editors before Meineke, except that Bothe in his second edition writes *ἄμμες γ'* for *ἡμᾶς*. *καὶ ἡμᾶς* R. H. editions before Brunck. *καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς* P¹. P². F¹. Hall and Geldart. *κᾶς ἡμᾶς* Bentley. Bergk, while retaining the reading in my text, unfortunately suggested *κῆς ἄμ'* (i.e. *ἀμὲ*) *ᾄσμ'*, a suggestion which nobody has adopted, but which opened the floodgates of conjecture. Meineke reads *χᾷμ' ᾄεισμ'*, which is as different as possible from the MS. reading, but is followed by Holden and Van Leeuwen, whilst Blaydes reads *χᾷμ' αὐτῶς*, and in his notes proposes to close the line with a wholly unauthorized *μέλος* as he had already done in lines 1236 and 1243.

1246. *ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν* Bentley, Brunck, re-

centiores. *ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς* R. H. editions before Brunck, except that several of the older editions—Zanetti, Farreus, Gelenius, and Rapheleng—have *ἡμᾶς* for *ὑμᾶς*. *ὁρῶν* is omitted by P¹. P². F¹.

1247. *ἔρμαον κ.τ.λ.* This song is rightly attributed to *Λάκων* (who had promised, four lines above, to sing it) by R. and apparently all the other MSS., except P¹. (who assigns it to *Λαμπιτῶ*), and by all editors before Brunck, and Enger and Van Leeuwen afterwards. Brunck changed *Λάκων* to *Πρέσβυς*, as indeed he had done with the preceding speeches of *Λάκων*. This was a change for the worse, for there were Athenian as well as Laconian *πρέσβεις* on the stage. It was however followed by subsequent editors before Dindorf who, without a word, changed it to *Χορὸς Λακόνων*. There was, and could be, no such chorus; see the Commentary on 1243. Dindorf's error was, however, followed by all subsequent editors, except as aforesaid.

1248. *τὼς κυρσανίως* MSS. vulgo. The Scholia here are very conflicting, and while most of them recognize the accusative plural, one of them gives the sentence in Attic Greek as *ὁρμησον, ὃ Μνημοσύνη, τῷ ἐφήβῳ τὴν σὴν μοῦσαν*. Bergler therefore thought that we should perhaps read *τῷ κυρσανίῳ*, meaning "to the piper," and so Van Leeuwen reads. Meineke reads *τοῖς κυρσανίοις*, and is followed by Holden, and by Blaydes in his text, though in his note he approved of Bergler's proposal.—*ὃ Μναμόνα* R. H. vulgo. *ὃ Μναμοσύνα* I. P¹. P². F¹. Kuster, Bergler, Brunck, and Weise. *ὃ Μναμούνα* Enger, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart.

1249. *τὰν τεὰν* R. H. vulgo. *τὰν τ' ἐμὰν* P¹. P². F¹. Brunck, Bothe, Dindorf (in

notes), Bergk, and Hall and Geldart. τὰν ἐμὴν τε Enger.

1250. οἶδεν MSS. vulgo. ᾔδεν was conjectured by Florent Chretien, and εἶδεν by Meineke. There is some sense in Florent Chretien's conjecture, but Meineke should have remembered that the province of Memory is not to *see* the present but to *know* the past.

1252. θείκελοι MSS. Scholiast, vulgo. θευσείκελοι Enger. σιοείκελοι Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. σιείκελοι Van Leeuwen. In this song, as everywhere else, Commentators vie with each other in transforming the lightly-flavoured language of Aristophanes into the strictest Doric, and so rendering it less easily comprehensible by an Athenian audience. It does not seem desirable, as a rule, to mention these ill-judged attempts.

1259. ἀφρὸς ἱερο MSS. vulgo. The repetition of ἀφρὸς seems to me very pleasant and poetical; but it has not found favour with all editors, and some have omitted, and others bracketed, the word in this line. Bergk proposed to read ἰδρὸς and Meineke λύθρος in its place.

1261. τὰς ψάμμας (variously accented) MSS. vulgo. τὰς ψάμμω Elmsley, Blaydes. But ψάμμη is found in Herodotus, and may have been the form in use with the Dorians.

1262. 'Αγρότερ' Ἀρεμι σηροκτόνε MSS. vulgo. But several recent editors read Ἀραμι and some omit Ἀρεμι altogether. For εὐπορος (MSS. vulgo) a little below Blaydes reads ἔμπεδος. εὐπορος seems to mean *abundant*.

1274. τὰςδε τε R. H. vulgo; though some have τὰς δέ τε. τασδεῖ P¹. P². F¹.

τασδεῖ Dindorf, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen.

1279. πρόσαγε. The Ravenna MS. gives no sign of a new speaker here, nor do any of the earlier editions; but the lines are obviously sung by the regular chorus of the Play, and the later editors prefix Xo. or (unnecessarily) Xo. Αθ. And so it is said do P¹. and P². As regards the metre, to say, as the Commentators do, that the first line is iambic, the second trochaic, and so on, seems to me to be idle talk. It is really a series of trisyllabic feet, dactyls and tribrachs, indiscriminately strung together; as in the great word of many lines at the close of the Ecclesiastusae, and should perhaps be looked upon rather as dance-music than as a regular poem. I have inserted δὴ between πρόσαγε and χορὸν. It is not found in the MSS. and editions.—ἐπαγε Χάριτας MSS. vulgo. ἐπαγε δὲ χάριτας Enger, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. ἐπάγαγε χάριτας Meineke. ἐπαγέ τε χάριτας Bergk, Holden.

1281. ἀγέχορον (or ἀγ.) Gelenius, Bergler (in notes), Brunck, recentiores, except as hereinafter mentioned. ἄγε χορὸν R. H. editions (except Gelenius) before Brunck. ἄγετε χορὸν P¹. P². F¹. ἀγεσίχορον Bergk, Holden. The word is omitted by Enger, and bracketed by Blaydes, and seems to be a mere echo of the πρόσ—αγε χορὸν two lines above. It encumbers the metre and has no business here. I have transposed ἰήιον and εὐφρον', as indeed Van Leeuwen had done before.

1283. βάκχιος Burges, Dindorf, Weise, Bergk, Holden, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. Βάκχειος R. H. editions

before Dindorf. *Βακχείους* P¹. P². *Βακχίους* F¹. Bergk in the Rhenish Museum proposed to read *βακχιοῖ*, changing *ῥμμασι* into *εὐάσι* and omitting *δαίεται*; and this is done by Enger, and by Holden in his first edition, but Bergk did not repeat his proposal in his own edition, and Holden in his second returned to the ordinary reading. Meineke for *Βάκχιος ῥμμασι* reads *βακχίσιν οἰνάσι*, and Blaydes, omitting *Βάκχιος*, changes *ῥμμασι* into *λαμπάδι*.

1289. *μεγαλόφρονος* MSS. vulgo; an epithet exactly suited to the arrangement, which was not merely Peace, but Peace with Honour. In Birds 1321 the Birds speak of *ἀγανόφρονος Ἡσυχίας*, an epithet exactly suited to the Bird-song, but which would be simply unmeaning here. Yet Reisig, I know not why, suggested that *μεγαλόφρονος* should be ousted from the present passage, and *ἀγανόφρονος* enthroned in its place, and this proposal is approved by Dindorf in his notes, and adopted by Enger, Holden, Meineke, and all subsequent editors.

1295. *ΛΑΚΩΝ*. *πρόφαινε* κ.τ.λ. In the MSS., and generally in the editions, this line runs as follows,

*Λάκων πρόφαινε δὴ σὺ μούσαν
ἐπὶ νέα νέαν,*

as if the whole were part of a speech; and as there is no sign prefixed to indicate a new speaker, the words were supposed to be a continuation of the preceding lines, and to be spoken by the Coryphaeus to the Laconian who had sung the former solo. *ἐπὶ νέα* is explained by the Scholiast to mean *ἐπὶ νεώτερα πράγματα*. But Bergler saw that we should read *ἐπὶ νέα* (sc. *μούση*), and

his correction is adopted by Brunck and all subsequent editors except Invernizzi. Bothe wrote it in one line, and so Bergk, Meineke, and Hall and Geldart, Bergk bracketing, and Hall and Geldart omitting the word *Λάκων*. Bergk also ascribed the line to Lysistrata, and in this he is followed by all subsequent editors except Van Leeuwen, who ascribes the line to the First Athenian and converts it into a rhyming couplet,

*νέαν, Λάκων, πρόφαινε δὴ
σὺ μούσαν ἐπὶ νέα τύχη.*

He could not have made this charming little rhyme out of Blaydes's text, for the latter, without the slightest provocation, changes *δὴ* into *καὶ*. Holden reads *ΛΥ. ἄγ' ὃ Λάκων | πρόφαινε κ.τ.λ.*

1297. *Ταῦτέον* κ.τ.λ. The omission of the prefix to line 1295 necessitated the invention of some prefix for the present line; and somebody prefixed *Χο. Λακ.* which is found in all the MSS. and editions except Van Leeuwen who has *ΛΑΚΩΝ*, which would be quite right if any prefix were required.

1298. *Μῶα μόλε* MSS. vulgo. The last words of the line, *Λάκαινα πρεπτόν ἄμιν*, tally with the last words of the preceding line, *ἐραννὸν ἐκλιπῶα*, and efforts have been made to bring the commencements into equal correspondence. Hermann proposed *Μῶα, μόλε*, *μόλε*, a rather ludicrous suggestion which Dindorf approved and Van Leeuwen adopts. Reisig, with greater probability, ὦ *Μῶα μόλε*, which Enger adopts. Burges, *Μῶα μόλ' ἰδὼ*. The metre is too uncertain to justify any correction; otherwise I should have proposed the

omission of αῦτ' in the preceding line. For *πρεπτόν* (MSS. vulgo) Maittaire suggested *πρᾶτον*.

1299. τὸν Ἀμύκλαις Ἀπόλλω σιὸν MSS. vulgo. τὸν Ἀμύκλαισι σιὸν Ἀπόλλω Hermann. But Valckenaer's suggestion that Ἀπόλλω should be omitted, as a mere explanatory gloss on τὸν Ἀμύκλαις σιὸν which had somehow crept into the text, seems clearly right; and the word has accordingly been omitted or bracketed by Brunck and every subsequent editor except Invernizzi and Bothe.

1300. Ἀσάναν MSS. vulgo. The Scholiast says διχῶς ἀνασσαν Ἀθήνην. This is interpreted to mean that there was another reading ἀνασσαν, which was a common epithet of Athene; see Eumenides 226, 278, 421, 852. And ἀνασσαν is read by Enger, Meineke, Holden, and Van Leeuwen.

1304. ῶια (or ὠϊα or ὠία) R. H. editions before Kuster; and Invernizzi, Bothe, Bekker, and (in his text) Dindorf afterwards. ῶ εἶα (or ὦ εἶα) P¹. P². F¹. Kuster, recentiores, except as aforesaid, and so Dindorf in his notes. It is

strange that Blaydes, who had collated R., should say "ω εἶά (sic) R.," for nothing can be more plain than R.'s ὠϊα.

1313. παιδδῶαν. This was first suggested by Kuster, and was afterwards found in P¹. P². F¹. It is adopted by Brunck, Bothe, Bekker, Weise, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. παιδδοῶν R. H. editions before Portus. παιδδῶαν Portus and subsequent editions before Brunck. Reisig proposed παιδδοῶν which Dindorf read in his text, but in his note preferred παιδοῶν. παιδῶαν Enger, Holden, Bergk, Meineke, Blaydes.

1314. Λήδας MSS. vulgo. Λατοῦς (or Λατῶς), suggested by Bisetus and Bergler, is read by Bothe and Blaydes.

1316. ἀλλ' ἄγε. Here we get a more settled metre, the following six lines being alternately iambic and trochaic. Each couplet combined into one line forms an iambic tetrameter catalectic; and several recent editors so combine them. But such a combination, besides being against the evidence of all the MSS., forms a very unnatural conclusion to a song of this kind.

THE
THESMOPHORIAZUSAE OF ARISTOPHANES

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ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΑΖΟΥΣΑΙ

THE

THESMOPHORIAZUSAE OF ARISTOPHANES

ACTED AT ATHENS IN THE YEAR B.C. 410

THE GREEK TEXT REVISED

WITH A FREE TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH VERSE
INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

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INTRODUCTION

IN the legends of Demeter and Persephone, their divine personalities are never wholly disentangled from the natural objects and the natural processes upon which those legends were based. Demeter is always ¹ γῆ μήτηρ (Δᾶ μάτηρ in the Doric) the fair visible Earth, the mother of the golden grain. Every autumn, at seed-time, she beholds her offspring sinking into the unseen world; every winter she languishes and mourns; every spring, as the blades of corn reappear, she welcomes back her child to the realms of life and light. In the sorrow of the Goddess, "her of the rich fruit and golden sickle" (Δήμητρος χρυσασόρου ἀγλαοκάρπου), for the loss of her divinely beautiful daughter (περικαλλῆς Περσεφόνηια), none could fail to recognize the gloom which overspreads the Earth, when the grain has descended for a while into the unseen world ("Ἄδης), thence ² to arise in a joyful resurrection, when all the land is fragrant

Δημήτηρ θεὰ,
γῆ δ' ἐστίν, ὄνομα δ' ὀπότερον βούλει, κάλει.—Eur. Bacchae, 275.

And again—

Δαμάτηρ θεὰ, πάντων γὰ τροφός.—Id. Phoenissae, 685.

Proserpinam frugum semen esse volunt, absconditamque quaeri a matre fingunt. Mater autem est a gerendis frugibus Ceres; a Graecis Δημήτηρ, quasi Γῆ μήτηρ, nominata est.—Cicero, De Naturâ Deorum, ii. 26. A similar statement is attributed in the De Civitate Dei, vii. 20, to Varro, whom St. Augustine apostrophizes in vi. 6 of the same treatise as "homo omnium acutissimus, et sine ullâ dubitatione doctissimus."

²

Νεῦσε δέ οἱ κόρυνη ἔτεος περιτελλομένοιο
τὴν τριτάτην μὲν μοῖραν ὑπὸ ζῶφον ἡρόεντα,
τὰς δὲ δύο παρὰ μητρί.—Homeric Hymn to Demeter, 445.
ὀπότε δ' ἄνθεσι γαῖ' ἐῷδεσιν εἰαρινούσιν
παντοδαποῖς θάλλει, τότε' ἀπὸ ζῶφου ἡρόεντος
αὔτις ἄνει.—Id. 401.

with the pleasant flowers of Spring. It absent, Earth mourns, and¹ withholds her life-sustaining gifts. To the quick and lively sympathies of the Hellene, the legend of this divine sorrow was shrouded with a solemn and ineffable awe, in consequence of its connection with that unseen world: and no mysteries were so high and sacred as the two great solemnities in which it was commemorated. In the Eleusinia were unfolded the Mysteries of the Four Last Things—Death, Judgement, the Reward of the Good, and the Punishment of the Wicked—mysteries which were naturally open to the queen of the unseen world below. In the Thesmophoria² the Mother and Daughter were worshipped under quite a different aspect, as the Civilizers of the visible world above.

Earth, with her corn and wine and oil, was to the Hellenic mind emphatically the civilizer of men. Her attractions drew them from the nomad state of wandering hunters; they became under her influence settled and agricultural peoples; she taught them the joys of *HOME*. To her and her life-sustaining (*φερέσβιος*) produce was ascribed the institution of social laws (*θεσμὰ*), the rights of property, the laws of wedlock and the family. They were the *Θεσμοφόροι*³, the Givers and

¹

Οὐδέ τι γαῖα

σπέρμ' ἀνίει· κρύπτειν γὰρ ἑϋστέφανος Δημήτηρ.—Hymn 307.

² In the Panegyric, § 29, Isocrates speaks of Demeter as the giver of gifts, αἴπερ μέγισται τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, τοὺς τε καρποὺς, οἱ τοῦ μὴ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἡμᾶς αἴτιοι γεγόνασι (*this is the subject of the Thesmophoria*), καὶ τὴν τελετὴν, ἧς οἱ μετασχόντες περὶ τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν (*this is the Eleusinia*).

³ Servius (on Virgil's Aen. iv. 58) explaining the epithet "Legifera," Virgil's translation of *θεσμοφόρος*, as applied to Demeter, says "Leges enim ipsa dicitur invenisse. Nam et sacra eius *Thesmophoria*, id est *legum latio*, vocatur. Sed hoc ideo fingitur, quia, ante inventum frumentum a Cerere, passim homines sine lege vagabantur; quae feritas interrupta est invento usu frumentorum, postquam ex agrorum discretionem nata sunt iura." And later in the same note he cites two lines of Calvus, who says of Demeter—

Et leges sanctas docuit, et cara iugavit

Corpora connubiis, et magnas condidit urbes.

Hyginus (Poet. Astr. ii. 14 *Ophiuchus*) says "Ceres Triptoleum iussit omnium nationum agros circumeuntem semina partiri, quo facilius ipsi posterique eorum a fero victu segregarentur." And hence, tribes intended to continue in the

Guardians of Home. Let us not tell, says Callimachus (Hymn to Demeter, 18), of the things which drew tears from Demeter :

Rather tell how she to Cities
Gave their social customs sweet,
Taught the hind to reap and garner
Ripened sheaves of wholesome wheat,
And the golden grain to sever,
Sever with the oxen's feet.

And it was in this character that the high festival of the Thesmophoria was held in their honour, held at the fall of the year, when the Daughter once more descended into the lower world, to return four months later in all the freshness of immortal youth to greet the Mother again.

In the celebration of these solemn mysteries women alone took part. Men must not¹ know, or if they knew, must not speak of, the things which took place in these holy solemnities. Herodotus² says that he knows them, but dares not tell. And Miltiades³ leaping over the fence of the Thesmophorium at Paros, was seized with religious dread, and not merely feared to venture further, but sprang back with such precipitation that he sustained the injury which resulted in his death.

The Athenians celebrated the Thesmophoria⁴ on four consecutive days towards the end of October ; from the 10th to the 13th (inclusive) of the month Pyanepsion. Each of the four days had its special service and its distinctive appellation :

nomad state were forbidden to sow corn, or plant fruit-trees, or drink wine, or build houses. Such was the case with the Nabathaeans (Diod. Sic. xix. 94) and the Rechabites (Jer. xxxv.).

¹ Τὰ ἐς ἔρσενα γόνον ἄρρητα ἱρά.—Hdt. vi. 135.

² Καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι, τὴν οἱ Ἕλληνες Θεσμοφόρια καλοῦσι, καὶ ταύτης εἰδότε μοι πέρι, εὖστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὁσὶν ἐστὶ λέγειν.—Hdt. ii. 171.

³ Hdt. vi. 134.

⁴ All ancient writers agree that the Athenian Thesmophoria were celebrated in the month of Pyanepsion. The precise days of the month are given by Photius ; Θεσμοφορίων ἡμέραι δ'· δεκάτη, Θεσμοφορία· ἐνδεκάτη, Κάθοδος· δωδεκάτη, Νηστεία· τρισκαιδεκάτη, Καλλιγένεια. The Scholium on Thesm. 80, a curious medley of truth and error, will be found cited a little further on. Of course we are considering the *Athenian* Thesmophoria only. At other places, the Thesmophoria were celebrated at different times, and in a different manner.

Pyanepsion	10th	was the	Θεσμοφορία.
„	11th	„	Κάθοδος.
„	12th	„	Νηστεία.
„	13th	„	Καλλιγένεια.

(Note that the day is ἡ Θεσμοφορία, the feast τὰ Θεσμοφόρια. And again, the day is ἡ Καλλιγένεια, the sacrifice τὰ Καλλιγένεια.)

I. ἡ Θεσμοφορία.

On this, the first day of the festival, the women went up to the Temple (τὸ Θεσμοφόριον), which was situated on an ¹ eminence, and there made the necessary preparations for the great ceremonial of the next three days. From this “going up” to the Temple, the day was sometimes called the Ἄνοδος.

Each of these appellations Θεσμοφορία and Ἄνοδος has been the source of considerable misapprehension. The Scholiast on Theocritus iv. 25 is so totally ignorant of the very meaning of the word Thesmophoria, viz. the *institution* by Demeter of the unwritten laws of society, that he supposes it to mean the *carrying* of written law-books by the Athenian women; a mere blunder, but one which has misled many. And the Ἄνοδος, the *Ascent of the women* to the Thesmophorium, which took place on the *first* day of the festival, is, by a converse process, perpetually confounded with the Κάθοδος, the *Descent of Persephone* into the invisible world, which was commemorated on the *second* day of the festival. Of this latter aberration we have seen two instances in the preceding note, Hesychius placing the Ἄνοδος on the 11th of Pyanepsion, which is the day of the Κάθοδος; whilst the Aristophanic Scholiast, though rightly observing that the first day of the festival was called the Ἄνοδος, the

¹ On the word ἀναπέμψαι in Thesm. 585 the Scholiasts write ὅτι ἀναπέμψαι κυρίως. διὸ καὶ Ἄνοδος ἡ πρώτη λέγεται, παρ' ἐνίοις δὲ κάθοδος. διὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ Θεσμοφορίου· ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἄνοδον τὴν εἰς τὸ Θεσμοφόριον ἀφίξιν λέγουσιν· ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ γὰρ κείται τὸ Θεσμοφόριον. See also Thesm. 623, 1045. And Hesychius explains Ἄνοδος by ἀνάβασις· ἡ ἐνδεκάτη τοῦ Πυανεψιώνος, ὅτε αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνέρχονται εἰς τὸ Θεσμοφόριον οὕτω καλεῖται. It was situated, Pausanias tells us, ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην, Ἐννεάκροννον.—Attica, xiv. 1.

Ascent of the Women, is not afraid to add, in so many words, that some called it *Kάθοδος*, that is, *the Descent* of Persephone.

To the Scholiast on Theocritus, *ubi supra*, we owe another egregious mistake, though here too he is not without companions in his error. For he supposes that the Temple to which the women "went up" on the first day of the festival was not the Thesmophorium at Athens, but the Temple of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis. In other words, he confounds the Thesmophoria with the Eleusinia. The Athenian Thesmophoria were celebrated entirely at Athens. The various Hellenic cities which kept the festival kept it at their own doors. The story told by Aen. Tact. (Poliorc. 4) about the plot of the Megarians to seize the Athenian women who were keeping the Thesmophoria at Eleusis, and the successful counterplot of Peisistratus, refers to the local Eleusinian, and not to the Athenian, Thesmophoria. We have already alluded to the Parian Thesmophorium, and many others are mentioned by various writers. At Thebes the Thesmophoria were celebrated in the citadel (Xenophon, Hellenics, V. ii. 29). Pausanias (Attica, xxxi. 1) speaks of a Thesmophorium at the little sea-side village of Halimus (not far from Peiræus), where doubtless the Halimusians held their own little Thesmophoria. And he elsewhere (Phocica, xxxiii, ad fin.) mentions a Thesmophorium at Drymaea in Phocis, where, he observes, the Thesmophoria were celebrated every year. He gives no description of the Athenian Temple, but that it was of considerable size may be inferred from the fact that it contained *συσσίτια*, or common mess-rooms, where the women lived while the festival was going on. *τρία Ἀθήνησι συσσίτια*, says Hesychius (s. v. *πρυτανεῖον*), and as one of the three he names the Thesmophorium.

It seems probable that the confusion of the *Ἀνοδος* with the *Κάθοδος* is also made by Alciphron (Epistle iii. 39), but he keeps clear of the mistake about Eleusis. The epistle in question is supposed to be written by a country lad at Athens to his mother at home, and may, with perhaps sufficient accuracy for our present purpose, be translated as follows :—

"In the name of all the Gods and Demons, mother, leave for a while your rocks and country life, and see before you die the splendid sights to be seen at Athens. For what wonderful things, O what wonderful things, are you missing, the Haloa, the Apaturia, the Dionysia, and the most holy¹ festival of the Thesmophoria which is now proceeding. For on the first day the *Ἄνοδος* took place; and to-day the *Νηστεία* is being celebrated amongst the Athenians; and to-morrow they sacrifice τὰ Καλλιγένεια. If then you make great haste and arrive here before daybreak, you can join with the Athenian ladies in to-morrow's sacrifice. Do pray come, and don't delay, I adjure you by the safety of my brothers and myself. Heaven forbid that you should depart this life without having tasted the pleasures of the city."

II. ἡ Κάθοδος.

That on this day the Descent of Persephone into Hades was commemorated is certain; but of the manner in which, and the ritual wherewith, it was commemorated, no information has come down to us. "Women," says Praxagora in the *Ecclesiazusae* (442), "never blab out their Thesmophorian secrets," a statement which, strange as it may seem, appears unfortunately to have been strictly true. But we may conjecture that the day commenced with dance and song, as of Persephone going forth with her maidens into the soft and fragrant meadow, to² gather the roses, the violets, the hyacinths and the crocuses, and the wondrous daffodil. And perchance if the great Dance-song of the present Play be really (as seems probable) imitated from the actual proceedings in the Thesmophoria, it was sung not on the Day of Mourning, to which it is here of course adapted, but on the morning

¹ Ἡ νῦν ἐστῶσα σεμνοτάτη τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἐορτή. ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἄνοδος κατὰ τὴν πρώτην γέγονεν ἡμέραν, ἡ Νηστεία δὲ τὸ τήμερον εἶναι παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐορτάζεται, τὰ Καλλιγένεια δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν θύουσιν. Wellauer, in his learned little treatise on the Thesmophoria, proposes to insert after ἡμέραν the words χθὲς δὲ ἡ Κάθοδος. This would make Alciphron's statement accurate; but it seems to me infinitely more probable that he was inaccurate. Bergler's unfortunate suggestion to change τὰ Καλλιγένεια into τῇ Καλλιγενείᾳ has been justly repudiated by subsequent editors.

² Homeric Hymn, 5-10.

of the *Kάθοδος*, before the shadow of her approaching doom had chilled the gaiety of Persephone.

She stepped upon Sicilian grass,
Demeter's daughter fresh and fair,
A child of light, a radiant lass,
And gamesome as the morning air.
The daffodils were fair to see,
They nodded lightly on the lea,
Persephone! Persephone!—(JEAN INGELow.)

But the day which commenced so joyously ended in sorrow and gloom. The attendant maidens had lost their Queen of May. The earth had opened, and she had disappeared to become the Queen of Hades. It may be that the propitiatory sacrifice called the *Ζημία*¹ was offered on the evening of this day.

III. ἡ Νηστεία.

This was the day of Bereavement, typifying the winter of Demeter's discontent, when her divinely beautiful Daughter had disappeared from her sight, and gone she knew not whither. It was, to use the words of Plutarch², the gloomiest day of the Thesmophoria, and the women spent it, sitting on the ground with fasting and mourning, in sympathy with the sorrowing mother. It was more than sympathy, it was here, as apparently throughout the festival, a *representation* of the sacred legend. Because the Goddess, with flaming torches³ in her hands, sought after her vanished daughter, therefore on this day the air was aglow with the smoke and the glare of the torches. Because the Goddess during her

¹ *Ζημία* θυσία τις, ἀποδιδόμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐν Θεσμοφορίοις.—Hesychius.

² Τὴν σκυθρωποτάτην τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἡμέρων ἄγουσαι, παρὰ τῇ θεῇ νηστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες (τῇ θεῇ in the singular, because Persephone was absent).—Plutarch, Demosth. 30. Ἀθήνησι νηστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες χαμαὶ καθήμεναι. καὶ Βοιωτοὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς μέγαρα οἰκοῦσιν (so Toup for κινουῦσιν), Ἐπαχθῇ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐκείνην ὀνομάζοντες, ὥς διὰ τὴν τῆς κόρης Κάθοδον ἐν ἄχει τῆς Δήμητρος οὔσης.—Id. Isis and Osiris, 69.

³ Αἰθομένης δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσα.—Homeric Hymn, 48, 61. Δημήτηρ μετὰ λαμπάδων νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ζητοῦσα περιήει.—Apollodorus, Bibl. i. 29. Compare Thesm. 280, 1153.

bereavement would¹ neither eat nor drink, therefore her worshippers must this day abstain from all manner of food. The severity of their fast became almost proverbial. "What," says a speaker in Athenaeus, vii. 80, "are we keeping the Νηστεία, the Μέση, of the Thesmophoria, that we are fasting like κεστρεῖς²?" In the Birds, the Gods, being strictly blockaded, are reduced to the direst extremities, and Prometheus describes them as fasting like the women in the Thesmophoria.

Ἄλλ' ὥσπερὶ Θεσμοφορίοις νηστεύομεν
ἄνευ θυηλῶν.—Birds, 1519.

This day of Fasting represented the period, the τριτάτην μοῖραν ἔτεος, during which Persephone was absent in the unseen world; and from its interposition between the Κάθοδος or Descent into Hades, and the Καλλιγένεια, the fair new birth of the Resurrection morning, it acquired the name of the Μέση, the Intermediate Day. We might almost call it the Athenian Easter Eve, for few can fail to recognize in the process which this great festival represented, Nature's unconscious symbolism of the Death and Resurrection of the Eternal Son.

Or if this be too bold a comparison, we may at all events remember that from the time of St. Paul the sowing and springing up of the corn has always been the favourite symbol of a Christian's Death and Resurrection. Death, says Prudentius in his Graveside Hymn (Cathermerinon, x. 120), is but a *reparatio vitae*:

¹ Οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρος ἡδυπότοιο
πάσσαι' ἀκηχεμένη.—Homeric Hymn, 49.
ἀλλ' ἀγέλαστος, ἀπαστος ἐδητύος ἡδὲ ποτῆτος,
ῆστο.—Id. 200.
οὐ πῖες, οὐτ' ἄρ' ἔδες τῆνον χρόνον.—Callimachus, Demeter, 12.

Compare Thesm. 949, 984. The insinuations in lines 630 and elsewhere are of course mere comic jests.

² The κεστρεῖς, or mullet, was called νῆστις, apparently from its aversion to live food; ἐπεὶδὴ οὐ σαρκοφαγεῖ, and again ὅτι οὐδὲν δέλεαρ ἐσθίει ξμψυχον.—Athenaeus vii. 78 and 80. "The grey mullet is the only fish of which I am able to express my belief that it usually selects for its food nothing that has life." Mr. Couch's manuscript account of the Grey Mullet quoted in Yarrell's British Fishes, i. 238.

Sic semina sicca virescunt,
Iam mortua, iamque sepulta,
Quae reddita cespite ab imo
Veteres meditantur aristas.

And indeed the same idea is embalmed in the familiar name "God's Acre" given to the burial-places of our dead.

Nor was the solemnity of the *Νηστεία* confined to the women fasting in the Temple precincts. All business was suspended, all offices closed for the day.

IV. ἡ Καλλιγένεια.

After seed-time, winter; after winter, the up-springing of the corn. Persephone is returning to the light of day. The season of sorrow and fasting is over; it is time to sacrifice τὰ Καλλιγένεια, to rejoice and be glad in the fair new birth. The name Καλλιγένεια attached itself both to Demeter and to Persephone, the divinely¹ beautiful Mother and the divinely beautiful Daughter; although it afterwards, by the common process of disintegration, became severed from the Goddesses, and personified as one of the handmaidens.

Possibly the invocation in lines 1148-1159 of this Play is taken from the hymn sung at the sacrifice of the Καλλιγένεια, since Persephone, who was absent during the *Νηστεία*, is supposed in these lines to be present as well as her Mother.

Such was the cycle of events commemorated, and in part represented, at the Thesmophorian festival. And we shall now, I think, find no difficulty in solving the problem propounded by Hesychius (s. v. τρίτη Θεσμοφορίων); ζῆτεται πῶς ἅμα μὲν λέγει, τρίτην Θεσμοφορίων εἶναι, ἅμα δὲ Μέσην, τεττάρων οὐσῶν ἡμερῶν². For we have seen that Μέση means,

¹ Ὡ περικαλλῇ Θεσμοφόρῳ.—Thesm. 282. Cf. Homeric Hymn, 405, 493.

² See also the Scholiast's observations on Thesm. 80 Τοῦτο τῶν ζητουμένων ἐστὶ, πῶς καὶ τρίτην καὶ μέσην εἶπεν. ἰα' γὰρ Ἀνοδος (he is confusing it with the Κάθοδος), εἶτα ἰβ' Νηστεία, εἶτα γ' Καλλιγένεια, ὥστε μέση μὲν εἶναι δύναται, τρίτη μὲν οὐ, ἀλλὰ δευτέρα. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ψυχρεύεσθαι τις δύναται λέγων ὅτι τρίτη ἢ τρισδεκαταία. ὥς "ἐκταία ἑκατηβόλος σελάνα," ἑκαδεκαταία. ἡ γὰρ μέση οὐκ ἔστιν γ' ἀλλὰ δωδεκάτη. ἡ λύσις οὖν ἦδε· δεκάτη ἐν Ἀλιμοῦντι Θεσμοφόρια ἄγεται, ὥστε τρίτην μὲν ἀπὸ δεκάτης ἰβ'

not the *middle* day of the festival in the sense of having an equal number of days before and after it; but the *Intermediate* Day, the Day between the *Κάθοδος*, the Descent into Hades, and the *Καλλιγένεια*, the fair new birth of Persephone.

The earlier scholars had a short and easy way of dealing with the difficulty. "Aristophanes says that the *Νηστεία* is the third and also the middle day of the Festival. Therefore the Festival lasted five days." Such was the view of Meursius, Wesseling, and others, and it is repeated by Brunck¹ with his usual clearness and confidence. Yet nothing is more certain than that the festival lasted four days only. And in truth so far is Aristophanes from implying that it was a five-days' festival, that he really implies the reverse. For if it really lasted for five days, is it conceivable that, after stating that this was the Third Day, he should have thought it necessary to go through an arithmetical calculation, and announce that the Third was also the Middle Day of the Five? He added the description *ἡ Μέση*, because it conveyed an idea *not* involved in the statement that it was the Third Day: because it was a *name* and not a statement of its position amongst the days of the Thesmophoria generally. It is just as if he had said "This is the third Day, the *Νηστεία*," or "This is the fourth Day, the *Καλλιγένεια*."

εἶναι, μέσην δὲ μὴ συναριθμουμένης τῆς δεκάτης. τοῦτο δὲ αἰνιγματῶδες κατὰ Καλλιμάχον ἂν τις φαίη, ἔνθα μὲν τρίτη λέγεται, συναριθμεῖν τὴν ἴ', ἔνθα δὲ μέση, μηκέτι συναριθμεῖν. καὶ ὅπου γε λιμώττουσιν, ἀσπεύζομενοι τὴν μέσην τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἄγειν φασὶν (cf. Athenaeus, vii. 80), ἐπεὶ αὕτη ἡ *Νηστεία*. ἐνδεκάτῃ Πυανεψιώνος Ἄνοδος (again confusing it with the *Κάθοδος*). δωδεκάτῃ *Νηστεία*, ἐν ᾗ σχολὴν ἄγουσαι ὑπόκεινται αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκκλησιάζουσαι περὶ Εὐριπίδου. τρισκαιδεκάτῃ *Καλλιγένεια*. τρίτῃ οὖν συναριθμουμένης ἴ', μέσην δὲ τῆς Ἀνόδου καὶ τῆς *Καλλιγενείας*. The Scholiast rightly rejects the absurd notion about Halimus, but he does not see that his last seven words, though erroneous in themselves, contain the germ of the true solution of the problem. He is hampered by his confusion of the Ἄνοδος with the *Κάθοδος*, which gave three days only to the festival, so that, as he says, the *Νηστεία* might be the μέση, but could not be the third day. His difficulty was with the *τρίτη*, not with the μέση.

¹ Ἐπεὶ τρίτῃ ὅτι Θεσμοφορίων ἡ μέση.—Thesm. 80. "Nihil unquam clarius fuit dictum. Dies, quo haec agi fingit poeta, Thesmophoriorum est tertius, idemque medius; ergo per quinque dies Thesmophoria celebrabantur."—Brunck.

Wellauer, by combining several errors, struck out a more ingenious solution. We have already noticed the blunder of the Scholiast on Theocritus about the celebration of the festival at Eleusis. Plutarch, in the passage to which reference has already been made (Dem. 30), says that Demosthenes committed suicide at Calauria on the 16th of Pyanepsion, the day on which the women keep the *Νηστεία*. If this is not a mere oversight on the part of the author or his transcribers, Plutarch is doubtless referring to the date on which the *Νηστεία* was kept at Calauria, or possibly in his own Chaeronaea. Wellauer, though he did not himself confuse the *Ἄνοδος* and the *Κάθοδος*, yet adopts the erroneous statement of Hesychius (based on that confusion) that the *Ἄνοδος* took place on the 11th of Pyanepsion. He next, misled by, and to some extent mistaking, the Scholiast on Theocritus, supposes that the women on that day "went up" to the Temple at Eleusis, returning to celebrate the rest of the Festival at Athens. He then, misled by Plutarch, imagines that *the Athenians* celebrated the *Νηστεία* on the 16th, and consequently the *Κάθοδος* on the 15th, and the *Καλλιγένεια* on the 17th. There would thus be an interval of three entire days between the *Ἄνοδος* and the *Κάθοδος*. Having by these means persuaded himself that the festival, though in reality lasting four days, yet was celebrated in Athens itself for three days only, he proceeds to solve the problem which Hesychius places before us by adopting the idea, justly repudiated by Callimachus and the Scholiast on Thesm. 80, that when Aristophanes calls the *Νηστεία* the Third Day of the Festival, he is reckoning the *Ἄνοδος* as the first day: and that when in the same line he calls it the *μέση*, he is omitting the *Ἄνοδος*. But in truth the women went up to the Temple on the 10th to make preparations for the great religious drama which was to be enacted there on the 11th, 12th, and 13th. It is absolutely certain that the entire festival was celebrated at Athens on four consecutive days. The whole difficulty has arisen from the assumption that *Μέση* means the middle day of the festival, instead of the Intermediate Day between the sorrow of the *Κάθοδος* and the joy of the *Καλλιγένεια*.

The other solutions which have been offered have met with no acceptance, and it would be a mere waste of time to discuss them here.

It was on this Day of the Festival, the Intermediate Day, the Day of Fasting, "when women most have leisure¹," that the women had arranged to hold a great Assembly in the Thesmophorium, after the fashion of an Athenian ἐκκλησία, to determine on the punishment to be inflicted on Euripides for his persistent hostility to the female sex. It is true that many² eminent scholars have of late years questioned the existence of this hostility, and pointed to the characters of Alcestis, Polyxena, and others, as evidence that Euripides was not incapable of appreciating, or unwilling to embody in his poetic creations, the highest and noblest types of womanhood. And doubtless in a great dramatic poet, looking at life from every point of view, and speaking through the lips of every variety of character, it is impossible to find an absolute uniformity of sentiment upon any topic whatever. Nevertheless, it remains the fact that Euripides, in marked contrast to the other members of the great Tragic triumvirate, was in the habit of exhibiting women a prey to the most ungovernable and most ignoble passions; and that beyond any other writer of any period (and I am not unconscious of the undercurrent of antipathy towards women which had run through Hellenic poetry from the very earliest times) he loved to embalm in a pithy and proverbial form, a sentiment of dislike and contempt for the female character generally. To collect the various passages of this description which are found in his Plays would be wearisome to the reader, and distasteful to myself. I will merely mention one circumstance to which attention has not, I think, been hitherto directed.

1

Τῇ Μέσῃ

τῶν Θεσμοφορίων, ἥ μάλιστα ἡμῶν σχολή.—Thesm. 375.

² Such as the illustrious author of the "Christian Year" (Keble's Praelect. Acad. xxix.), C. O. Müller (Hist. Greek Literature, chap. xxv.), Mahaffy (Social Life in Greece, chap. vii.), Arthur S. Way (Preface to vol. ii. of The Tragedies of Euripides in English Verse), and many others.

Stobaeus was in the habit of collecting, and arranging under various heads, the most striking and pointed passages of the ancient classical writers. One of these collections (Anthology, Title 73) bears the ominous title of *Ψόγος γυναικῶν*, *Passages in censure of women*. Stobaeus was a man of wide and various reading. His Anthology (not to mention his other works) contains citations from about 350 authors; and yet, out of sixty-four passages collected under this particular heading, no fewer than thirty-five (if not thirty-six) are contributed by Euripides alone; Sophocles supplies two; Aeschylus not one; and most of the remaining twenty-seven (or twenty-six) are taken from professedly satirical or comic writers.

Whatever therefore may have been the poet's real attitude towards the women, they certainly had some excuse for considering him the inveterate traducer and enemy of their sex.

At the commencement of the Play, Euripides, in alarm at this formidable movement against him, is seen walking with a companion towards the house of the Tragic Poet Agathon. The companion is one Mnesilochus, who, throughout the Play, is vaguely described as his *κηδεστής*, or connection by marriage. In the Greek Life of Euripides (written by Manuel Moschopoulos, and first published by Elmsley in his edition of the *Bacchae*, A.D. 1821) it is stated that Choerile, the Poet's second wife, was the daughter of a Mnesilochus; and that her three sons were named respectively, Mnesilochus (after his maternal grandfather), Mnesarchides (after his paternal grandfather), and a younger Euripides. And it has, since that time, been generally assumed that the Mnesilochus of the Play was the father-in-law of Euripides. But the relation of the two characters towards each other, and the tone of their conversation, are scarcely those of a father-in-law and son-in-law; Euripides was at this time an old man of seventy, and it is hardly probable that his father-in-law was alive; it seems extremely unlikely that Aristophanes, with such convenient words as *πενθερός* and *γαμβρός* ready to his hand, should so persistently have employed the indefinite word *κηδεστής*, *κηδεστής τις*, had he really intended to identify his character with the father-in-law of

Euripides; the name was doubtless a common one amongst the relatives of Choerile: and in my opinion Aristophanes was either referring to a brother or cousin of Choerile; or (more probably) merely borrowing a name from her family, without meaning to identify the character with any particular individual.

The object of their visit to Agathon was to induce that Poet, whose soft and effeminate appearance and manners might well be mistaken for a woman's, to attend the Thesmophorian assembly in woman's dress, and endeavour to create a diversion in favour of Euripides. This Agathon politely, but firmly, declines to do, parrying the request of the elder bard by the help of various worldly-wise maxims drawn from the latter's own writings; and Euripides, as usual in these Comedies, τοῖς αὐτοῦ πτεροῖς ἀλίσκεται.

The tone in which Agathon is satirized in these scenes makes us appreciate with more pleasure the kindly tribute which Aristophanes pays him in the *Frogs*; whilst the manner in which Plato brings Socrates, Aristophanes, and Agathon together in his *Symposium* seems to show that the shafts of comic satire were not necessarily inconsistent with personal goodwill. It is true that the *Symposium* is supposed to have taken place before the date of the *Thesmophoriazusae*, though after the date of the *Clouds*; but Plato is doubtless intending to record the habitual relations which existed, or might reasonably be represented as existing, between these famous Athenians.

On Agathon's refusal, Mnesilochus offers himself as a substitute, and Agathon is generous enough to place his own wardrobe, well stocked with articles of feminine attire, at the disposal of the two friends. And after a long and farcical scene (supposed to be borrowed in part from a Play of Cratinus), in which Mnesilochus is shaved and singed and dressed in womanly habiliments, he is at length despatched on his perilous mission. His interposition in the women's debate does indeed give rise to so much uproar and hubbub, that the Assembly would in all probability have broken up in confusion, but for the sudden appearance of Cleisthenes, a man for more than twenty years the constant butt of

the comic stage for his profligate and degrading effeminacy. Cleisthenes comes, in his character of the women's advocate, to warn them that there is a traitor in their midst; that Euripides has sent an old rogue, a connection of his own, *κηδεστήν τινα*, to spy upon and defeat their hostile machinations; that a MAN is at this moment profaning¹ by his presence the sacred mysteries of the Thesmophoria. An immediate investigation results in the detection of Mnesilochus, who is arrested, and guarded by the women until the arrival of one of the Scythian archers who formed the City Police at Athens. By the Scythian he is tied to a plank, and ignominiously exposed in his women's clothes to the mockery of the passers by.

Both while the women are guarding him, and afterwards while he is in the custody of the Scythian, various schemes, based on certain incidents in the tragedies of Euripides (the *πανοῦργος*, the inventor of ingenious tricks and devices), are set on foot for the purpose of delivering him out of the hands of his captors. These, as too subtle, fail to effect their aim. But at last Euripides wiles away the Scythian by a gross and sensual, and therefore a wholly un-Euripidean, allurements. And the final scene of the Play shows us Euripides and Mnesilochus fleeing for their lives in one direction; whilst the Scythian, misdirected by the Chorus, who have now come to terms with Euripides, is racing full pelt, to overtake the fugitives, in the precisely opposite direction.

In the rescue-scenes Aristophanes draws specially on three Tragedies of Euripides—the Palamede, the Helen, and the Andromeda. He has a scornful word for the Palamede²; but his witty parodies of the Helen and the Andromeda are not intended as a satire on the Plays themselves. The spectacle of Euripides endeavouring to effect the release of Mnesilochus, as the Perseus and Menelaus of his own Plays, was

¹ Like Clodius, afterwards, at the mysteries of the Bona Dea. The presence of Cleisthenes seems to have been considered as no profanation at all. He partook too much of the womanly character.

²

Οὐκ ἔσθ' ὕπως

οὐ τὸν Παλαμήδην ψυχρὸν ὄντ' αἰσχύνεται.—Thesm. 848.

doubtless abundantly¹ entertaining to an Athenian audience. The humour of the situation is quite irrespective of the actual merits or demerits of the Tragedies.

I. THE PALAMEDE.

To this Play there is but a brief allusion, and that confined to a single incident. Palamede had been put to death in Troy-land by the treachery and violence of his rivals. And Euripides, in the Tragedy, seems to have made Oeax, Palamede's brother, carve the sad story on oar-blades, which he then launches on the sea, in the hope (which was fulfilled) that they or one of them might float across the Aegean, and convey the intelligence to their father Nauplius in his island-realm of Euboea. Mnesilochus, desiring to send word of his own sad plight to Euripides, resolves to follow this precedent, but is at once pulled up by the circumstance (which he had overlooked) that he has not got any oar-blades. However, he substitutes the votive tablets suspended in the Temple, carves his story on these, and flings them about in all directions, in the hope that some of them will come to the hands of Euripides, as they apparently do. The action of Oeax can hardly have been represented on the stage; it was doubtless merely described in some narrative or song; and it seems improbable that the language of Mnesilochus, as he is carving his story on the tablet, is to any extent borrowed from the Tragedy of Euripides.

II. THE HELEN.

This is the only one of the Three Tragedies which is still extant; and it may be convenient to give a slight outline of its plot, with special reference to the parody in the present Play.

In his Helen, Euripides, it is hardly necessary to say, followed that

¹ "These parodied scenes, composed almost in the very words of the Tragedies, are inimitable. Everywhere in this Poet, the moment Euripides comes into play, we may count on finding the cleverest and most cutting ridicule; as though the mind of Aristophanes possessed quite a specific talent for decomposing the poetry of the Tragedian into Comedy."—SCHLEGEL, Sixth Lecture on the Drama.

strange perversion of the old Homeric legend (so familiar to us from the Palinode¹ of Stesichorus) which sent a merely phantom Helen to Ilium, whilst the real Helen, a pure and stainless wife, was wafted by Hermes into Egypt, and entrusted to the charge of the good King Proteus. But after the death of Proteus, his son and successor Theoclymenus sought, against her will, to make her his wife; and at the commencement of the Play of Euripides she is discovered sitting on the tomb of Proteus, as her best refuge from the persecutions of his son. From that coign of vantage she commences the Prologue, explaining in the form of a soliloquy, after the usual Euripidean fashion, all the circumstances of the case. The soliloquy extends over sixty-seven lines, and is terminated by the entrance of Teucer. And all the passages placed in the mouth of Mnesilochus previously to the entrance of Euripides are taken from these sixty-seven lines. The Prologue commences with—

Νείλου μὲν αἶδε καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαί,
 ὅς, ἀντὶ δίας ψακάδος (*rain from heaven*), Αἰγύπτου πέδον,
 λευκῆς τακείσης χιόνος, ὑγραίνει γύας.—Helen, 1-3.

(where γύας is strangely employed in apposition to πέδον). And with these lines, as altered by Aristophanes, Mnesilochus in the Play before us commences his assumption of the character of Helen :

Νείλου μὲν αἶδε καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαί,
 ὅς, ἀντὶ δίας ψακάδος, Αἰγύπτου πέδον
 λευκῆς νοτίζει, μελανοσυρμαῖον λεῶν.—Thesm. 855-857.

(where λευκῆς is absurdly joined with Αἰγύπτου, and the words μελανοσυρμαῖον λεῶν are an imitation and exaggeration of the apposition formed by γύας). After detailing the death of Proteus, leaving two children, Theoclymenus the present king, and Theonoe the seer who knows all things that are, and that are to be, she proceeds to explain who she

¹ Some lines of the Palinode are frequently quoted; as, for example, by Plato, in the Phaedrus:—

IT WAS NOT TRUE, that legend of old;
 For never thou settest thy foot on their ships,
 Or camest to Troy's strong Hold.

herself is, and from what country she springs, and who are her father and mother :

ἡμῖν δὲ γῆ μὲν πατρὶς οὐκ ἀνώνυμος
Σπάρτη, πατὴρ δὲ Τυνδάρεως.—Helen, 16, 17 ; Thesm. 859, 860.
Ἑλένη δ' ἐκλήθη.—Helen, 22 ; Thesm. 862.

She tells how her phantom was carried off to Troy, whilst she herself was wafted to Egypt :

κἀγὼ μὲν ἐνθάδ' εἴμ'· ὁ δ' ἄθλιος πόσις,
στράτευμ' ἀθροίσας, τὰς ἐμὰς ἀναπαγὰς
θηρᾷ, πορευθεὶς Ἰλίου πυργώματα.
ψυχαὶ δὲ πολλαὶ δι' εἴμ' ἐπὶ Σκαμανδρίοις
ροαῖσιν ἔθανον.—Helen, 49-53.

which Aristophanes transposes and alters as follows :

MN. ψυχαὶ δὲ πολλαὶ δι' εἴμ' ἐπὶ Σκαμανδρίοις
ροαῖσιν ἔθανον. KPITYΛΛΑ. ὦφελες δὲ καὶ σύ γε.
MN, κἀγὼ μὲν ἐνθάδ' εἴμ'· ὁ δ' ἄθλιος πόσις
οὔμους Μενέλαος οὐδέπω προσέρχεται.—Thesm. 864-867.

She then falls to bewailing her unhappy lot :

τί δῆρ' ἔτι ζῶ ;—Helen, 56 (and again 293) ; Thesm. 868.

Presently Teucer enters, and his first words are—

τίς τῶνδ' ἐρυμνῶν δωμάτων ἔχει κράτος ;—Helen, 68.

a question transferred by Aristophanes to Euripides on *his* first entry (Thesm. 871) in the character of Menelaus.

Teucer's visit appears to be introduced for no other purpose than that of impressing Helen with a false belief in her husband's death. And so undoubting is her belief that she immediately begins to discuss with the Chorus which is the best method of putting an end to her miserable existence, whether she shall hang herself, or stab herself to death. The Chorus however make the somewhat obvious suggestion that before proceeding to so extreme a course as that, it would be wiser to inquire of Theonoe, who knows everything that is passing in the world, whether Menelaus is really alive or dead. And Helen accordingly goes with them into the palace to consult the Royal seer.

During their absence who should enter but Menelaus himself? Like

a true Euripidean hero, he is clad in rags and tatters; and finding the stage vacant, he improves the occasion by soliloquizing on his own woes, exactly as Helen had done on hers at the beginning of the Play. He and Helen (really of course the Phantom, but he does not know that) have been tempest-driven from coast to coast, and finally shipwrecked on this unknown shore. His ship had been dashed to pieces, a catastrophe necessary for putting him in a helpless condition from which it would require all the ingenuity of Euripides to extricate him. And he has left Helen with his surviving comrades in the deep recesses of a sea-side cave, whilst he has come up alone to seek for assistance.

Having thus made the situation perfectly clear to the audience, for assuredly neither Menelaus here, nor Helen in the prologue, has been *ἀσαφής ἐν τῇ φράσει τῶν πραγμάτων*, he proceeds to knock at the Palace-door. The old woman who keeps it refuses him admittance, and after some valorous threats, the hero is reduced to tears. However, he contrives to ask her where he is, and to whom the Palace belongs; and the following dialogue ensues:

ΓΡ. Πρωτεύς τὰδ' ¹ οἰκεῖ δώματ', Αἴγυπτος δὲ γῆ.

MEN. Αἴγυπτος; ὦ δύστηνος, οἱ πέπλευκ' ἄρα.—Helen, 460, 461.

MEN. Ἔστ' οὖν ἐν οἴκοις, ὅντιν' ὀνομάζεις, ἄναξ;

ΓΡ. Τόδ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ μνήμα' παῖς δ' ἄρχει χθονός.

MEN. ποῦ δῆτ' ἂν εἴη; πότερον ἐκτὸς ἢ 'ν δόμοις;

ΓΡ. οὐκ ἔνδον "Ελλησιν δὲ πολεμιώτατος.—Helen, 465-468.

Portions of these lines reappear in the Thesmophoriazusae, broken up by the interruptions of the woman on guard.

MN. Πρωτέως τὰδ' ἐστὶ μέλαθρα.—Thesm. 874.

EYP. ποίαν δὲ χώραν εἰσεκέλισαμεν σκάφει;

MN. Αἴγυπτον. EYP. ὦ δύστηνος, οἱ πεπλώκαμεν.—Thesm. 877, 878.

EYP. αὐτὸς δὲ Πρωτεύς ἔνδον ἔστ' ἢ ἑξώπιος.—Thesm. 881.

MN. τόδ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ σῆμ' ἐφ' ᾧ καθήμεθα.—Thesm. 886.

On Menelaus asking why the son of Proteus is so hostile to the Hellenes,

¹ As Proteus is dead, this seems an impossible statement; and I suspect that the true reading is to be gathered from the Aristophanic parody, *Πρωτέως τὰδ' ἐστὶ δώματ'*. It is not unlikely that many of the minor variations between the original and the parody are due to the errors of copyists.

he receives some surprising information. "In this Palace," says the portress, "dwells Helen, the daughter of Zeus, the child of Tyndareus, erewhile the Queen of Sparta." With that she re-enters the Palace, and shuts to the door. Menelaus is naturally taken aback by this piece of information, well knowing (as he thinks) that Helen is safe in the sea-side cave; but the argumentative subtlety with which Euripides endows his ragged heroes is fully equal to the occasion. True it is that he has heard of only one Zeus, one Helen, one Tyndareus, one Sparta; but what of that? There *may* be a man named Zeus living on the banks of the Nile: there may be another Helen, another Tyndareus, another Sparta in Egypt.

πολλοὶ γὰρ, ὥς εἴξασιν, ἐν πολλῇ χθονὶ
ὀνόματα ταῦτ' ἔχουσι, καὶ πόλις πόλει,
γυνή γυναικί τ' οὐδέν οὖν θαυμαστόν.

When he has arrived at this satisfactory conclusion, out come Helen and her companions from the Palace in great glee, having heard from the prophetess that Menelaus is still in the land of the living. But Helen's rapture is cut short by the sight of the ruffianly desperado at the door, and though she runs like a young racing mare, ὥς δρομαία πῶλος, to regain the protecting tomb, he seizes her just as she reaches it. However, she soon recognizes her husband, whilst he on his part is amazed at the extraordinary likeness which this stranger lady bears to Helen. Aristophanes draws largely on this scene, but it must be remembered that whilst in the Thesmophoriazusae there is full mutual recognition between the husband and wife; in the "Helen" Menelaus merely recognizes the resemblance, and does not for a moment believe that Helen herself is really before him.

MEN. τίς εἶ; τίν' ὄψιν σὴν, γύναι, προσδέρομαι;

ΕΛ. σὺ δ' εἶ τίς; αὐτὸς γὰρ σέ κ' αἶμ' ἔχει λόγος.

¹ [MEN. Ἑλληνίς εἶ τίς, ἧ' πιχωρία γυνή;]

ΕΛ. Ἑλληνίς· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σὸν θέλω μαθεῖν.

MEN. Ἑλένη σ' ὁμοίαν δὴ μάλιστ' εἶδον, γύναι.

¹ This line, though necessary to the sense of the dialogue, had dropped out of the Helen. It was restored by Markland from the Thesmophoriazusae.

ΕΛ. ἐγὼ δὲ Μενελάῳ γε σ' οὐδ' ἔχω τί φῶ.

MEN. ἔγνωσ γὰρ ὀρθῶς ἄνδρα δυστυχέστατον.

ΕΛ. ὦ χρόνιος ἐλθὼν σῆς δάμαρτος ἐς χέρας.

Helen, 557, 558, 561-566.

These lines are found in the Thesmophoriazusae (905-912) with only two material alterations. The first line becomes ὦ θεοί, τίν' ὄψιν εἰσορῶ, τίς εἶ γύναι; where the exclamation ὦ θεοί is perhaps a reminiscence of Helen 560 ὦ θεοί· θεὸς γὰρ καὶ τὸ γινώσκειν φίλους. And in the sixth line the words γέ σ' οὐδ' ἔχω τί φῶ are converted into σ' ὅσα γ' ἐκ τῶν ἰφύων for the purpose of pointing a joke at the parentage of Euripides. But in the Tragedy, when Helen says ὦ χρόνιος ἐλθὼν σῆς δάμαρτος ἐς χέρας, instead of taking her into his arms (as he does in the Thesmophoriazusae) he indignantly repulses her, ποίας δάμαρτος; μὴ θύγῃς ἐμῶν πέπλων. Nor will he believe that she is really Helen, until a sailor, arriving from the sea-side cave, informs him that the Phantom has vanished into air.

With the rest of the Play the Thesmophoriazusae has nothing to do; and it will be sufficient here to mention that the husband and wife, having recognized each other, take counsel together how to deceive the king and escape from Egypt. The superior ingenuity of Helen soon devises a plan; she gains over to her side the omniscient Theonoe, and when Theoclymenus returns, she passes off the ragged ruffian with whom she is conversing as a seaman from the ship of Menelaus, who has brought her tidings of her husband's shipwreck and death. Now then, she says, she is ready and willing to marry Theoclymenus, but he must first allow her to pay the last honours, in Hellenic fashion, to her late Hellenic husband. It is the custom of their people, they explain, when such a one as Menelaus is lost at sea, to send out a vessel with a suit of armour, and provisions of all sorts, to the distant horizon, and there the stores are to be cast into the waves. Theoclymenus falls into the trap, and furnishes the ship, the arms, and the provisions, with which the pair make their escape. The outwitting of the dull barbarian by the cunning Greek is fully as humorous in the Tragedy as in the Comedy, and of

course in the Tragedy there is none of the grossness which discolours the closing scenes of the Thesmophoriazusae. Theoclymenus now turns his anger against his sister Theonoe, apparently¹ for no other purpose than to provide a somewhat lame excuse for the familiar apparition of the *Deus ex machina* (in this instance Castor and Polydeuces) at the ending of the Play.

III. THE ANDROMEDA.

The Andromeda, which was exhibited at the same festival as the Helen, was considered by the ancients to be one of the most beautiful² and pathetic of all the Tragedies of Euripides; and there is nothing in the Aristophanic parody to throw doubt upon the justice of this estimate. Like the Iphigeneia in Aulis, and the Rhesus, it dispensed with the ordinary Euripidean prologue; and the fall of the curtain discloses Andromeda already bound to the rock, awaiting the break of day, and the coming of the sea-monster to devour her. She is singing a lament over her mournful fate, and the opening lines are repeated, apparently without alteration, in Thesm. 1065 seqq.: *O holy Night*, she sings, *how long*³ *a course thou pursuest, driving thy car over the star-studded ridges of holy Aether, through most august Olympus.* And as she pauses, her closing

¹ "The scepticism of Ion and the anger of Theoclymenus are minor issues, devices to bring about the appearance of the deity, which is an object in itself." WAY'S Euripides, III. xxi. note.

² Τῶν καλλίστων Εὐριπίδου δράμα ἡ Ἀνδρομέδα.—Scholiast on Frogs, 53. We are told by Dionysus in that Comedy that it was while he was reading the Andromeda that he was suddenly smitten with an intense longing to bring back Euripides to the stage once more. And Lucian in his *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit* (ad init.) tells us with, I suppose, equal veracity, that the people of Abdera being, on some occasion, stricken with fever, were perpetually singing and reciting passages from the Tragic poets, and especially passages from the Andromeda of Euripides, such as the address of Perseus to the God of Love.

³ It seems surprising that Andromeda should complain of the slow passage of the night. "Why surprising?" asks Fritzsche, in his note on line 1066, "Strepsiades does the same at the commencement of the Clouds." But Strepsiades was not expecting to be devoured by a sea-monster, so soon as the night had passed away.

words are softly wafted back by the echo of the surrounding hills; doubtless a dainty, and even a touching, device in the Andromeda, although, in the Thesmophoriazusae, Aristophanes prolongs and perverts it into most laughable comedy. And presently the virgins, who were her fellows in her father's court, come in, as the Chorus of the Play, to mingle their sorrows and lamentations with those of their hapless Princess. The long monody of Mnesilochus, commencing with the words *φίλαι παρθένοι, φίλαι*, and extending from line 1015 to line 1055, is throughout a parody of Andromeda's address to these "dear, dear Maidens," and of their sympathetic replies; the old Athenian everywhere embellishing the narrative of his own misfortunes with the plaintive wailings of the tender damsel, doomed to a miserable death in her early youth, unwedded and unwooed. So the night wears away, and with the dawn the monster is to come. Probably its approach is supposed to be visible to Andromeda, though of course invisible to the audience. But before it can reach its helpless victim, there enters upon the scene the Hellenic Saint George, Perseus of the winged sandals, *ἀμφὶ δὲ ποσσὶν ἔχε πτερόεντα πέλδιλα*. At first he does not perceive the maiden, and merely wonders at what coast he has happened to arrive (Thesm. 1098 seqq.). And even when his eye falls upon the strange spectacle, at first he takes her for a marble figure, carved in rare beauty from the rock itself by some cunning sculptor's hand.

*ἔα, τίν' ὄχθον τόνδ' ὄρῳ, περίρρυτον
ἀφρῷ θαλάσσης, παρθένου τ' εἰκώ τινα
ἐξ αὐτομόρφων λαΐνων τεχνασμάτων
σοφῆς ἀγαλμα χειρός;*¹

But when he finds that she is really a living damsel bound to the rock, he is moved with admiration and compassion, and hastens at once to address her. The dialogue which ensues is adumbrated in Thesm. 1105 seqq. and is there terminated by the attempt of Perseus to unloose her bonds, an attempt frustrated by the Scythian archer. In the

¹ See Musgrave, Eur. Fragm. Porson at Phoen. 466; Bp. Monk, at Alcestis, 358.

Tragedy, doubtless, he does not unloose her bonds until he has slain the monster of the deep.

With this abortive attempt at rescue the parody of the Andromeda in the Thesmophoriazusae concludes. But the first five words of line 105¹ of the Frogs are supposed to be taken from a later scene in the Andromeda, and to be spoken by Cepheus (Andromeda's father), who is unwilling to disclose his intentions with regard to his daughter's marriage, and resents the pertinacity with which Perseus endeavours to elicit them. There is no room in the Tragedy of Euripides for any antecedent promise on the part of the king to give his daughter in marriage to her rescuer. It is Andromeda² herself who in the Play gives the promise. *O Lady*, says Perseus, *if I deliver you, will you look favourably upon me?* *O Stranger*, she replies, *take me as your handmaid, or your wife, or your captive, whichever you will.*

And now, what is the date of the Comedy before us? The Lysistrata, as we know from the didascalia preserved in the Greek Argument to that Play, was exhibited in the archonship of Callias (the Callias who succeeded Cleocritus), that is, at the commencement of the year B.C. 411, *after* the appointment of the πρόβουλοι, but *before* the revolution of the Four Hundred. And the Thesmophoriazusae is commonly assigned to the same date. But it seems clear that this is erroneous, and that it was produced a year later, in the archonship of Theopompus, at the commencement of the year³ B.C. 410, *after* the disappearance of the Four

¹ Μὴ τὸν ἐμὸν οἴκει νοῦν. See the Commentary there.

² Π. ὦ πάρθεν', εἰ σώσαιμί σ' εἶργ' μοι χάριν;
Α. ἄγου δέ μ' ὦ ξέν' εἴτε πρόσπολον θέλεις,
εἴτ' ἄλοχον, εἴτε δμωίδ'.—See WAGNER, Frag. 23 and 24.

The previous promise of King Cepheus is alleged by Apollodorus, ii. 44; Ovid, Metamorph. iv. 703.

³ This is the conclusion arrived at by Dobree, Adversaria, vol. ii. 236; Fritzsche, in his note on line 807; Sir Richard Jebb, "Greek Literature" (Literature Primer Series), p. 98; and Professor Mahaffy, "Greek Classical Literature," vol. i, chap. xx. § 270. But Fynes Clinton, Dindorf, Enger, and (I believe) all other editors assign it to B.C. 411. It is the only one of these Comedies which has come down

Hundred. We have no didascalia, or other direct statement, purporting to give its exact date; but there are various chronological notes which seem to point conclusively to the later year.

1. One circumstance which would of itself almost carry conviction to my mind, though many would probably disregard it, is the remarkable difference in tone between the two Plays. In the *Lysistrata* everything is sombre and anxious; there are tears even in its mirth. The *Thesmophoriazusae* is everywhere gay, light-hearted, and playful: the poet wrote it in his most frolicsome mood.

In this respect the *Lysistrata* faithfully reflects the feeling prevalent in Athens at the close of the year B. C. 412. The Sicilian catastrophe which had taken place in the autumn of the preceding year not merely annihilated the Athenian fleets; it had also demonstrated, or seemed to demonstrate, the superiority of the Syracusan seamen to those of Athens. And all through the year B. C. 412, allies were falling away, hostile forces gathering in ever increasing numbers, and even the triumphant Syracusan triremes were speeding over the sea, to be present at the downfall of Athens. In the petty naval engagements which had occurred, the Athenian ships had met with varying fortunes, and had shown no sign of maintaining their former maritime superiority. And at the time when the *Lysistrata* was composed the prospect was in every way more gloomy than it had ever been before, and than it ever became again until the final disaster of Aegospotami. But at the close of the year B. C. 411 (when, in my opinion, the *Thesmophoriazusae* was composed) men's minds were lighter and more buoyant, and hopes were once more entertained that Athens might yet emerge in safety from the war. The commencement of this happier period is traced by Thucydides¹ to the downfall of the revolutionary Council of 400, and the restoration of

to us without a Greek Argument, and (with the exception of the *Ecclēsiazusae*) the only one which has no didascalia.

¹ Καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα δὴ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον ἐπὶ γε ἐμοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι φαίνονται εὖ πολιτεύσαντες· μετρία γὰρ ἦ τε ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ξύγκρασις ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐκ πονηρῶν τῶν πραγμάτων τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀνήνεγκε τὴν πόλιν.—Thuc. viii. 97.

the old constitutional Council of 500. And then too the ever-successful genius of Alcibiades was again enlisted in his country's service; whilst in the battle of Cynossema (about Sept. 411) her renovated fleet of seventy-six triremes entirely defeated a more numerous Peloponnesian fleet (supposed to have consisted of eighty-six triremes), which included the dreaded Sicilian squadron under the leadership of Hermocrates. When the news of this unhopèd for good-fortune reached Athens, Thucydides¹ tells us (and they are almost the last words he ever wrote), the Athenians were greatly invigorated, and concluded that by strenuous efforts they might yet be able to get the better of their difficulties. And this victory was followed, a month later, by a still more splendid one off Abydos, when, after the battle had raged from morn to eve without any decisive result, Alcibiades with eighteen triremes arrived in the nick of time to turn the scale so completely in favour of the Athenians, that they captured no less than thirty of the Peloponnesian triremes, and but for the intervention of Pharnabazus would in all probability have destroyed the entire fleet². To the sanguine and cheerful spirit which now succeeded their despondency, the bright and playful tone of the Thesmophoriazusæ seems to me exactly to correspond.

2. In the Parabasis the Chorus are instituting a comparison between the relative merits of men and of women. They take the name of a man, and the name of a woman, and placing them side by side, show that in each case the woman is the superior of the two. And the first instance they give is *Ναυσιμάχης μὲν γ' ἥττων ἐστὶν Χαρμῖνος*· δῆλα δὲ τάργα. They are referring to the defeat, *ἥττα*, of the Athenian general Charminus in a naval engagement, *ναυσιμάχη*, off the little island of

¹ Οἱ δὲ, ἀφικομένης τῆς νεώς, καὶ ἀνέλπιστον τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἀκούσαντες, πολὺ ἐπερρώσθησαν, καὶ ἐνόμισαν σφίσιιν ἔτι δυνατὰ εἶναι τὰ πράγματα, ἣν προθύμως ἀντιλαμβάνονται, περιγενέσθαι.—Thuc. viii. 106. The numbers of the ships which took part in the battle are not quite certain; but the figures given in the text are adopted by Dr. Arnold, Bp. Thirlwall, and Mr. Grote.

² Xenophon's Hellenics, I. i. 5, 6, 7.

Syme: and it is important, for our present purpose, to ascertain, as nearly as we can, when that engagement took place. The story is told by Thucydides, Book VIII, chaps. 39-43.

It was about the winter solstice¹, Dec. 21, B. C. 412, that the Spartans sent out a detachment of twenty-seven triremes to join their main fleet at Miletus. The main fleet of the Athenians was stationed at Samos, a little to the north-west of Miletus. The detachment started from Cape Malea at the south-eastern extremity of Laconia, and proceeded in a straight course to Melos. There it fell in with ten Athenian ships, three of which it destroyed, having captured them without their crews. The other seven took to flight. This incident disarranged all the plans of the Peloponnesian commanders. They had on board several very important officials for whose safety they were bound to take all possible precautions; and they rightly anticipated that the fugitives would make for Samos, and report to the Athenian fleet the approach of the Peloponnesian reinforcements. Consequently, instead of continuing their journey to the north-east, they turned southward, fetched a wide circuit by Crete, and arrived, after a prolonged voyage, at Caunus, on the south coast of Caria, a little beyond the island of Rhodes. Thence they sent messengers to the Peloponnesian fleet asking it to come down and convoy them back to Miletus.

Meanwhile, what they had anticipated had occurred. Their approach had been reported by the fugitives from Melos to the Athenian fleet, and Charminus had been sent down with twenty triremes from Samos to intercept the detachment. Charminus, having ascertained that it had taken shelter at Caunus, kept cruising about the islands of Syme, Chalce, and Rhodes on the one side, and as far as the Lycian coast on the other, ready to attack it when it again put to sea.

But now, in answer to the appeal from Caunus, the entire Peloponnesian fleet, under Astyochus, was moving southward from Miletus. They stopped at Cos, sacked the town and ravaged the country; and

¹ Ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χειμῶνι . . . περὶ ἡλίου τροπᾶς.—Thuc. viii. 39. See the note on Ecclesiastus, 416.

then passed on to Cnidus. It was night when they reached Cnidus, and hearing that Charminus was at the neighbouring island of Syme, Astyochus, without disembarking at Cnidus, pressed on the same night to Syme. The night was wet and cloudy, and he arrived at Syme without Charminus having any suspicion of his proximity. The Athenians, being on the look-out for ships approaching from Caunus, would naturally be stationed on the south side of the island, while Astyochus, arriving from Cnidus, would approach the island from the north. In the dark and stormy night he found it impossible to keep his numerous ships in hand, and a few of them drifted round the eastward coast of the island, and when the day broke became visible to Charminus. Thinking them to be part of the detachment for which he was lying in wait, he at once attacked them, sinking three ships, and damaging others; when suddenly he found himself in the midst of the whole Peloponnesian fleet, and was glad to escape with the loss of six triremes; first, to a friendly island, and then to Halicarnassus.

What period of time was covered by these operations we cannot now even conjecture. But since they did not commence until Dec. 21, B. c. 412 or thereabouts, it seems unlikely that the news of the defeat of Charminus could have reached Athens before the dramatic contests at the commencement of B. c. 411 had actually taken place; and quite certain that it could not have done so before the competing Plays had been accepted by the Archon, and were in a forward state of preparation for the stage. Though, even if the story could by any possibility have arrived in time for Aristophanes to embody it in his Play, it is inconceivable that he should have made a jest of it while the wound was still fresh. At that moment, as we have already seen, the fortunes of Athens were at their lowest ebb, and every piece of good or ill tidings would send a thrill through the entire community. The loss of three triremes at Melos and six at Syme would have been a sore discouragement to the Athenians; and the poet would have been as little inclined to make, as the audience to listen to, a joke on so unwelcome a disaster.

A year later¹, when fortune had again begun to smile upon the Athenian navy, it was natural to make light of their previous discouragements.

3. A few lines later in the Parabasis, Aristophanes reflects on the conduct of last year's Councillors in surrendering to others the rights and duties of their senatorial office:

ἀλλ' Εὐβούλης τῶν πέρυσιν τις βουλευτῆς ἔστιν ἀμείνων
 παραδούς ἐτέρῳ τὴν βουλείαν;—808, 809.

Is any one of our last year's Councillors—a man who surrendered his councillorship to another—superior to (Eubule) the Lady of good counsel? Paulmier de Grentemesnil, a man of extraordinary erudition and scholarly acumen for the times in which he lived (1587–1670), saw at once that this could only refer to the memorable incident described by Thucydides in the eighth Book of his History (chaps. 69 and 70) when the Four Hundred oligarchic revolutionaries suddenly entered the Council-house, and ordered the 500 constitutional Councillors to take their pay and begone. About a century before, when a Spartan king², assisting one Athenian faction against the other, had in like manner attempted to dissolve the Council of 500, he was met with so stout and determined a resistance on the part of that body that his political schemes were entirely frustrated, and he himself compelled to flee from Athens. A similar resistance was naturally anticipated now, and every preparation had been made to overcome it. But the preparations were needless. The Four Hundred had not even to disclose the daggers which they carried concealed on their persons; nor were the services of the 120 Hellenic youths, who were accustomed to carry out their behests, on this occasion required. Not a blow was struck, not a voice was raised, in defence of the 500, or of their constitutional rights and duties. The Councillors quietly pocketed their salary (the salary for their entire year

¹ Thiersch's objection that Charminus was dead at the commencement of B.C. 410 would be unimportant, if true; but it rests on a misunderstanding of Thuc. viii. 73, where the words 'Υπέρβολον ἀποκτείνουσι μετὰ Χαρμίνου mean "they slew Hyperbolus *with the aid of* Charminus," and not, as Thiersch supposed, "they slew both Hyperbolus and Charminus."

² Hdt. v. 72.

of office, and not merely so much of it as had already been earned) and evacuated the Council-house without a remonstrance. This tame surrender by the democratic Council of all its powers and privileges was not only a very striking event, it was also an event of the greatest importance, removing every obstacle in Athens to the success of the oligarchical revolution. It took place in the early months of B. C. 411, Mr. Mitford thinks in the February, Mr. Grote about the February or March, of that year, a date exactly suiting the note of time in the *Thesmophoriazusae* if the Play was exhibited at the commencement of B. C. 410, but quite incompatible with the earlier date.

Those who contend that the Play was acted in the year B. C. 411 find an insuperable difficulty in the allusion before us. Paulmier himself suggests that Thucydides narrates the dissolution of the 500 out of its chronological order, and that it really occurred in the early part of B. C. 412, but this is plainly inadmissible. C. O. Müller (*Greek Lit.* xxviii. § 9) thinks that the Chorus are referring to the appointment of the *πρόβουλοι* in B. C. 412, but this appointment involved no surrender of the Councillorship. Others frankly admit that they cannot imagine what the Chorus can mean.

4. The civic arrangements in the two Plays, the *Lysistrata* and the *Thesmophoriazusae*, exhibit a difference exactly corresponding to the two dates, the winter of 412, 411; and the winter of 411, 410. At the former period the *πρόβουλοι*, who preceded the Four Hundred, were in office; and in the *Lysistrata*, it is they who intervene to keep order, and employ for that purpose the Scythian archers. At the later period, the *πρόβουλοι* and the Four Hundred had alike passed away, and the constitutional Council of 500 had been restored to, and was in quiet enjoyment of, its normal privileges; and accordingly in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, order is kept and the Scythian archers employed in the normal manner by the council acting through its *prytanes*, just as in the *Acharnians* and the *Knights*.

5. In the data which we have next to consider the reader must carefully bear in mind—what even the most eminent chronologers seem

occasionally to forget—that the Athenians, in employing such numerals as *τρίτος*, *τέταρτος*, and the like, include as well the day, time, or thing from which the calculation starts, as the day, time, or thing with which it concludes. Thus, if we start with Monday, Tuesday is *ἡ ὑστεραία*, and Wednesday ¹ *ἡ τρίτη*, the *third*, and not (as we should say) the *second*, day from Monday. It would be difficult to give a better example than is found at the commencement of the *Euthydemus* of Plato. There three persons were sitting in the following order: Socrates, Cleinias, Euthydemus. *We* should call Euthydemus the *second* from Socrates, but Plato calls him the *third*. Crito is asking who Euthydemus is; and to make it clear whom he means, he says to Socrates, *ὁν μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, ἐκ δεξιᾶς τρίτος ἀπὸ σοῦ καθήστο· ἐν μέσφ δ' ὕμῶν τὸ Ἀξιόχου μαιράκιον* (Cleinias) *ἦν*. There was but one between Euthydemus and Socrates, yet Euthydemus was *τρίτος ἀπὸ Σωκράτους*. It is hardly necessary to add that, as a rule, the years mentioned by the Scholiasts are those of the Athenian archons, extending (about) from Midsummer to Midsummer. Putting these two rules together, we may observe that if one event happened in May 411, and another in September 410, although *we* should consider the second event as happening in the year after the first, an Athenian would reckon it as happening in the *third* year from the first. It will make the matter clearer if I here set down the list of Athenian Archons during the 91st, 92nd, and 93rd Olympiads:

Olympiad 91.	Athenian Archon.	Years B.C.	Events.
1 . .	Arimnestus	416, 415	{ Sicilian expedition sailed about midsummer 415.
2 . .	Chabrias	415, 414	
3 . .	Peisander	414, 413	{ Death of Lamachus. The " Birds." Demosthenes sent to Sicily.
4 . .	Cleocritus	413, 412	
Sicilian catastrophe.			
Olympiad 92.			
1 . .	Callias (ὁ μετὰ Κλεόκριτον).	412, 411	{ Defeat of Charminus. The " Lysistrata." Revolution of the 400.
2 . .	Theopompus	411, 410	
			{ The 500 restored. [The " Thesmophorizusae."]

¹ See the Grammarians cited in the Commentary on *Eccl.* 796.

Olympiad 92.	Athenian Archon.	Years B.C.	Events.
3 . .	Glaucippus	410, 409	The "Philoctetes" of Sophocles.
4 . .	Diocles	409, 408	{ The "Orestes" of Euripides. The first "Plutus."
Olympiad 93.			
1 . .	Euctemon	408, 407	Dictatorship of Alcibiades.
2 . .	Antigenes	407, 406	The gold coinage.
			{ The victory of Arginusae. The deaths of Sophocles and Euripides.
3 . .	Callias (ὁ μετὰ Ἀντιγένῃ) . .	406, 405	{ The bronze coinage. The "Frogs."
			{ The disaster of Aegospotami and surrender of Athens.
4 . .	Alexias	405, 404	

Now, in Thesm. 841 Aristophanes mentions Lamachus in a very complimentary manner. And the Scholiast says, *ἐπαινεῖ τὸν Λάμαχον νῦν ἥδη γὰρ ἐτεθνήκει ἐν Σικελίᾳ τετάρτῳ ἔτει πρότερον*. If then the Thesmorphiazusae was exhibited in the archonship of Theopompus (B. C. 410), he must, for the reasons we have just been considering, have placed the death of Lamachus in the archonship of Peisander. And this is the true date. Thucydides indeed, who divides the year into two periods, the summer and the winter, (irrespective of archonships), merely says that he died in the summer (of B. C. 414) which would include the last quarter of the archonship of Chabrias, as well as the first quarter of the archonship of Peisander; but fortunately Diodorus is more precise, and expressly assigns it to the year of Peisander's archonship (Book xiv, chaps. 7 and 8).

6. Again, the Scholiast on Thesm. 190 says, *γέρων γὰρ τότε Εὐριπίδης ἦν· ἔκτῳ γοῦν ἔτει ὕστερον τελευτᾷ*. Taking then the archonship of Theopompus (B. C. 410) as our starting-point, we have to pass over the four succeeding Archons—Glaucippus, Diocles, Euctemon, and Antigenes, and the next Archon will be the sixth from Theopompus. Accordingly, the next Archon, we shall find, is Callias ὁ μετὰ Ἀντιγένῃ; in whose year of office, as we know, the death of Euripides occurred.

Strangely enough Mr. Fynes Clinton in his *Fasti Hellenici* (anno 411) relies on these very references to the death of Lamachus, and the death of Euripides, as showing that the Play was acted in the archonship of Callias; whereas they both plainly show that it was acted in the archon-

ship of Theopompus. He sees, indeed, that there is something wrong about the reference to the death of Euripides, and observes, "If the Scholiast placed the death of Euripides in the year of Antigones, the *sixth year* would be the exact description. Euripides however died in the year of Callias B.C. 406, between whom and the present Callias are five archons; which sufficiently agrees with the date of this comedy at the Dionysia of B.C. 411." This is a singular way of making the Scholiast prove the reverse of what he says.

Here then are six notes of time all unmistakeably pointing to the archonship of Theopompus as the date of the production of the Thesmorphiazusae. There is but one argument in favour of the earlier date B.C. 411, and although that is undoubtedly a strong one, it seems to me altogether insufficient to turn the balance against the cumulative weight of all these arguments in favour of B.C. 410.

In line 1060 of the Play we are told that Echo in the preceding year, *πέρυσιν*, contended on the Attic stage in conjunction with Euripides; a statement which the Scholiast, no doubt rightly, explains by saying *ἐπεὶ πέρυσιν ἐδιδάχθη ἡ Ἀνδρομέδα*. In line 850 Mnesilochus speaks of the Helen as a "new play" of Euripides, *τὴν καινὴν Ἑλένην*, and the Scholiast on line 1012 tells us that the Andromeda was exhibited on the same occasion as the Helen, *συνδεδίδασται τῇ Ἑλένῃ*.

Now the Scholiast on Frogs 53 informs us that the Andromeda was produced in the eighth year before the Frogs. The latter Play was acted, as we know, in the Archonship of Callias (the Callias who succeeded Antigones). And if we look at the list of Archons given above, bearing in mind the rules already laid down, we shall find that the eighth Archonship before that of Callias was the archonship of Cleocritus. This would place the exhibition of the Andromeda at the commencement of the year B.C. 412; and therefore the Thesmorphiazusae, as well as the Lysistrata¹, would have to be assigned to

¹ The statement of the Scholiast on Lysistrata 963 (*ποία ψυχὴ κ.τ.λ.*), that the line is *παρὰ τὰ ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας* "*ποῖα λιβάδες, ποῖα Σείρην*;" seems to mean merely that the two passages are parallel, and not that the one is a parody of the other.

the year B. C. 411, in direct conflict with the statements in the Scholia about the death of Lamachus and the death of Euripides, and with all the indications of time to be found in the Comedy itself.

However, in the matter of dates the Scholiasts are of little authority. Either by their own mistakes, or by the carelessness of transcribers, they are so frequently wrong, that their chronological statements cannot stand against any real historical evidence. To take one instance out of many. On line 32 of the present Play, the Scholiast says that Agathon exhibited his first Tragedy¹ only three years before the date of the Thesmophorizusae. Nobody attaches any weight to this statement. It is known that Agathon gained the prize in the Tragic competition of B. C. 416, when Euphemus was archon. Some therefore would alter the word "3" in the Scholium to "6" or "5"; an alteration which can only be justified on the assumption that the Scholiast was sure to be always right. Doubtless he wrote "3," and was wrong. So in the Scholium on the Frogs², which gives rise to all the mischief, Dobree would alter "8" into "7." I have no doubt that the Scholiast wrote "8," and was wrong.

On the whole, therefore, there seems ample reason for affirming that the Thesmophorizusae was produced at the commencement of the year B. C. 410, when Theopompus was archon.

I am not aware of any poetical translation of the Thesmophorizusae in the English language³.

At some subsequent period Aristophanes wrote another comedy under the same name. It was commonly called αἱ δεύτεραι (or αἱ ἔτεραι)

¹ Ἐπειδὴ οὐ πάλαι ἤρξατο διδάσκειν, ἀλλὰ τρισὶν πρὸ τούτων ἔτεσιν.

² Ἡ Ἀνδρομέδα ὀγδόῳ ἔτει προεισηλθεν. "In Schol. ad Ran. 53 legendum puto ἑβδόμῳ pro ὀγδόῳ, et interpretandum, non *septem annos ante*, sed *septimo anno*, i. e. *quinque annis integris intercedentibus inter eum quo Andromeda, et eum quo Ranae*."—Dobree, Adv. ii. 236.

³ To the translations of the Frogs, mentioned in my Introduction to that Play, p. xl, must now be added the bright and witty version by Mr. Gilbert Murray, published about ten months after my own. It is gratifying to find that Mr. Murray had independently arrived at the conclusion that in the Antepirrhema of the Frogs the gold and bronze coinages are not *identified* but *contrasted*.

Θεσμοφοριάζονσαι. Demetrius of Troezen named it αἱ Θεσμοφοριάσασαι¹, and though the name took no root, it tends to show that the action of the second Play was laid at a later stage of the festival than the action of the First. And there seems every reason to believe that in the second Play the Νηστεία, during which the scenes of the present Comedy are supposed to have taken place, was represented as already past, and the Καλλιγένεια, the fourth and last day of the Festival, was already dawning. We know that Calligeneia herself appeared as the Prologist² of the second Play; and that Aristophanes represented her as the nurse³ of Demeter. Her appearance would indicate that the whole-day Fast was over, and the prologue by the nurse of Demeter may well have been, to some extent, a parody on the Euripidean prologue by the nurse of Medea. The women appear to have been faint and exhausted after their long fast, and one speaker⁴ is anxiously inquiring of another whether any fish or flesh has been provided to sustain the weary worshippers.

So far we seem to be on tolerably safe ground: but to the further question, whether the action in the Second Play proceeded on the same lines as the action in the First, or whether the plot was altogether different, the fragments do not enable us to give any confident answer. Yet there were certainly some points of similarity between the two Plays. The injunction to abstain from stimulating wines⁵, which Bergk

¹ Athenaeus, i. chap. 52. Of course all the authorities cited in this section of the Introduction will be found in any collection of the fragments of Aristophanes; and many of the deductions drawn from them here have already been suggested by Dindorf, Bergk, and others.

² See the Commentary on line 297 of this Play.

³ Καλλιγένειαν· Ἀπολλόδωρος μὲν τὴν γῆν· οἱ δὲ Διὸς καὶ Δήμητρος θυγατέρα· Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ὁ Κωμικὸς τροφόν.—Photius.

⁴ Athenaeus, iii. chap. 64, Fragm. 3. The numerals attached to the fragments refer to Bergk's collection and edition of the Aristophanic fragments in Meineke's Fragm. Com. Graec. vol. ii.

⁵

Οἶνον δὲ πίνειν οὐκ ἔασω Πράμνιον,
οὐ Χῖον, οὐδὲ Θάσιον, οὐ Πεπαρήθιον,
οὐδ' ἄλλον ὅστις ἐπεγρεῖ τὸν ἔμβολον.

Athenaeus, i. chap. 52, Fragm. 1.

ἔμβολον· Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις τὸ αἰδοῖον.—Hesychius.

strangely supposes to be a portion of the address of Calligeneia to the female chorus, is, on the face of it, obviously addressed to a man, and is just the advice which might be given to one who, disguised as a woman, was about to mingle in an assembly of women. And a subsequent fragment¹ shows that the precept either was not followed, or had not the anticipated result. The list of articles pertaining to a woman's toilet, which forms the longest of all the fragments², could scarcely be more appropriate to any scene than to one in which a man was being dressed up as a woman. Two other lines³, also preserved by Pollux, would seem to refer, not to the putting on, but to the taking off, of the woman's clothes. The statement by the same author that "in the Thesmophoriazusae the name ὀκλασμα was given to the 'Persian dance'⁴" might lead us to suppose that Elaphium's dance was repeated in the second Play: unless indeed (which seems possible) Pollux is making an erroneous reference to the present Play, and ought to have said that "in the Thesmophoriazusae the ὀκλασμα was given the name of the 'Persian dance.'"

There is no ground for supposing that Euripides, or Agathon, or any other character of the earlier Play reappeared in the later; yet the lines which Hephaestion⁵ preserves as a specimen of mixed paeonics and cretics—*Call not upon the Muses of the waving curls, nor summon to the Chorus the Olympian Graces, for they are here, so the Poet says*—sound almost

¹ Fragm. 8, where the verb ἀναβῆναι is probably a joke on some preceding allusion to the ascent (ἀνάβασις, ἀνοδος) of the hill on which the Thesmophorium stood.

² Pollux, vii. segm. 95; Clemens Alexandrinus, Paedag. II. xii. 124; Fragm. 6.

³ Τὴν πτέρυγα παραλύσασα τοῦ χιτωνίου
καὶ τῶν ἀποδέσμων οἷς ἐνὴν τιτθίδια.

Pollux, vii. segm. 66, Fragm. 14.

⁴ Ὀκλασμα. οὕτω γὰρ ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις ὀνομάζεται τὸ ὄρχημα τὸ Περσικόν.—Pollux, iv. segm. 100. See Thesm. 1175 and the commentary there.

⁵ Μῆτε Μούσας ἀνακαλεῖν ἐλικοβοστρήχους,
μήτε Χάριτας βοᾶν εἰς χρόρον Ὀλυμπίας,
ἐνθάδε γὰρ εἰσιν, ὥς φησιν ὁ διδάσκαλος.

Hephaestion, chap. xiii, Fragm. 16. See Thesm. 40–42.

like a reference to the language of Agathon's servant that *the Muses are here and are making their odes, In my Master's abodes*. And in another passage¹ both Agathon and his antitheses are mentioned, but in a way from which no inference can be drawn.

It is impossible to put the matter higher than to say that the passages to which the reader's attention has been directed are quite *consistent* with the idea that the second Comedy was framed on somewhat similar lines to the first; we cannot add that they would be *inconsistent* with an altogether different plot. Their evidence therefore amounts to little or nothing. And the other fragments (about twenty in number) afford no clue to the nature of the drama from which they were taken.

Other writers have been able to arrive at a more definite conclusion. From the name which Demetrius of Troezen gave to the Play (as mentioned above), Dindorf and Bergk are both satisfied that the Second Comedy was in reality a *continuation* of the First; "nunquam enim," says the former (Aristophanes, ii. 503), "de inscriptione fabulae in hunc modum mutandâ cogitare potuisset Demetrius, nisi Thesmophoriazusas editione alterâ non tam repetitam quam *continuatam* esse vidisset." Bergk (Meineke's *Fragm. Com. Graec.* ii. 1074) is still more explicit. "Demetrii auctoritas," he says, "etsi non invaluit, tamen indicio est, actionem in superstite fabulâ inchoatam, in hac altera comoedia perfectam consummatamque esse, ita ut continuo quasi vinculo utrumque drama fuerit conjunctum." This seems to me a very improbable conjecture.

Yet it is not more improbable than the theory propounded by Bernard Thiersch in the little essay *De Thesmophoriazusis secundis* prefixed to his edition of the present Play. Thiersch infers from the name Θεσμοφορίδασαι that the Thesmophoria had come to an end; and he thinks that Calligeneia, in the prologue, came forward to complain of the mean and niggardly manner in which the Athenian matrons had kept the festival: And he concludes (the italics are his own) *Aristophanem in Thesmophoriazusis secundis Athenienses castigasse, quod sancta maiorum pietate exuti deorum festa splendide celebrare et decorare negligerent*.

¹ Καὶ κατ' Ἀγάθων' ἀντίθετον ἐξευρημένον.—Fragm. 7.

One of Fritzsche's Aristophanic tracts was entitled "De Aristophanis Thesmophoriazasis secundis Commentatio." It was first published at Rostock in 1831, and was republished at the end of his edition of the present Play. He argues that the action of the later Comedy was laid on the Καλλιγένεια, the last day of the festival, and in this I entirely agree with him ; and arrives at a conclusion exactly opposite to that propounded by Thiersch ; " Illud igitur certum, summam rei et quasi cardinem totius fabulae in eo verti, ut *luxus Atticarum mulierum, quae die potissimum Calligeniae pretiosam vestem sumsisse videntur ac mirifice corpus exornasse suum*, rideatur, atque edacitas earum immoderatusque amor vini, adde etiam Veneris, exagitetur." Here again the italics are in the original.

I cannot myself see sufficient in the Fragments either to support or to overthrow any of these theories.

EASTWOOD, STRAWBERRY HILL,
August, 1903.

ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΑΖΟΥΣΑΙ

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΜΝΗΣΙΛΟΧΟΣ.

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ.

ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ Ἀγάθωνος.

ΑΓΑΘΩΝ.

ΚΗΡΥΚΑΙΝΑ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΑΖΟΥΣΩΝ.

ΓΥΝΗ Α.

ΓΥΝΗ Β.

ΚΛΕΙΣΘΕΝΗΣ.

ΚΡΙΤΥΛΛΑ.

ΠΡΥΤΑΝΙΣ.

ΣΚΥΘΗΣ.

ΗΧΩ.

ΕΛΑΦΙΟΝ.

ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΑΖΟΥΣΑΙ

MN. ὦ Ζεῦ, χελιδὼν ἄρά ποτε φανήσεται;

THE fall of the curtain discloses to the audience two elderly men walking in a street at Athens. One is Euripides; the other his wife's kinsman Mnesilochus. The latter is obviously consumed by weariness and annoyance, which at length find vent in the ejaculation, *O Zeus, will the swallow NEVER make its appearance?* The swallow in the east, as in the west, of Europe is the *praenuntia veris* (Ovid, *Fasti* ii. 853, cf. Horace, *Epistles* I. vii. 13), the herald and harbinger of Spring. Its advent in Hellas was greeted with the cry *ὦρα νέα, χελιδὼν*, *Knights* 419. And in Rhodes the children went round to the doors of the wealthy, demanding a largess in the name of the newly arrived swallow. The pretty little carol, or song of the swallow, with which they announced their visit and preferred their request, is preserved by Athenaeus viii. 60. Our proverb that "one swallow does not make a summer" was familiar to Aristotle under the form *μία χελιδὼν ἔαρ οὐ ποιεῖ*, *Eth. Nic.* I. vii. 16; a proverb already used by Cratinus a century before; Cramer's *Anecd. Par.* i. p. 182. And the brief section which Aelian (*N. A.* i. 52) devotes to the swallow is so thoroughly English in its tone and sentiment that I cannot

forbear giving it in full: *Χελιδὼν δὲ ἄρα τῆς ὥρας τῆς ἀρίστης ὑποσημαίνει τὴν ἐπιδημίαν. καὶ ἔστι φιλόανθρωπος καὶ χαίρει τῷδε τῷ ζῳῷ ὁμωρόφιος οὖσα, καὶ ἄκλητος ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ὅτε οἱ φίλον καὶ ἔχει καλῶς, ἀπαλλάττεται. Καὶ οἱ γε ἄνθρωποι ὑποδέχονται αὐτὴν, κατὰ τὸν τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς ξενίας θεσμὸν, ὃς κελεύει καὶ φιλεῖν τὸν παρόντα, καὶ ἵεναι βουλόμενον ἀποπέμπειν.* Cf. Peace 800, *Birds* 714. The return of Spring has in all countries furnished a familiar type of bright prospects restored after a long interval of darkness and distress. And the question "Will the swallow *never* appear?" is here an expression of desponding impatience on the part of Mnesilochus worn out with the tedious journey, of which he does not know the object, and cannot foresee the termination. *τοῦτο ἔφη ἐν ᾗθει*, says the Scholiast, *οἷον πότε ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι τοῦ κακοῦ τούτου, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ χειμῶνος ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἔαρ ἀφικέσθαι.* The line is happily paraphrased by Bisetus; *πότε τοίνυν οὗτος ἐμὲ περιάγων, καταπονῶν, καὶ λυπῶν παύσεται; πότε τὸ ποθεῖνόν ἔαρ ἐλεύσεται, καθ' ὃ αἱ χελιδόνες φαίνονται; πότε ταύτης τῆς λύπης ἀπαλλάξομαι;* So in the closing lines of the "*Pervigilium Veneris*" the desponding lover exclaims (as the text should perhaps be constituted),

ἀπολεῖ μ' ἀλοῶν ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ.
οἶόν τε, πρὶν τὸν σπλῆνα κομιδῇ μ' ἐκβαλεῖν,
παρὰ σοῦ πυθέσθαι ποῖ μ' ἄγεις, δῦριπίδη;

ΕΥ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκούειν δεῖ σε πάνθ' ὅσ' αὐτίκα

5

ᾔψει παρεστώς. MN. πῶς λέγεις; αὖθις φράσον.
οὐ δεῖ μ' ἀκούειν; ΕΥ. οὐχ ἄ γ' ἂν μέλλης ὁρᾶν.

Quando ver venit meum?

Quando mi facit chelidon, ut tacere desinam? . . .

Cras amet, qui nunquam amavit, quique amavit, cras amet.

Kuster refers to the fragment preserved by Harpocration (s. v. ἄττα), Eustathius (on Iliad i. 554), and others

Πυθοῦ χελιδὼν πηνίκε' ἄττα φαίνεται;
'Οπηνίκε' ἄτθ' ὑμεῖς κοπιᾶτ' ὀρχοῦμενοι.

The appeal of Mnesilochus is to Zeus, as the lord of the sky and the seasons.

2. ἀλοῶν] The word is borrowed from the threshing-floor; and from the operations which were there carried on, it acquired the double signification of *driving round and round* and *pounding*. Hesychius gives πλανῶ as the meaning of ἀλοῶ, and both πλανῶν and τύπτων as the meanings of ἀλοῶν. The former is of course the signification which it bears here. ἔωθεν (vulgo ἔξωθεν) ἐν κύκλῳ

Perii! cor LIENOSUM, opinor, habeo; iamdudum salit;
De labore pectus tundit.

And in Mercator, I. i. 13 (to which I observe Bothe also refers) Acanthio, panting and out of breath, says

genua hunc cursorem deserunt.

Perii! seditionem facit LIEN; occupat praecordia.

5. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκούειν κ.τ.λ.] Euripides talks in a high philosophic strain, quite above the comprehension of his simple, though shrewd, companion. ὁ μὲν τραγικώτερον καὶ ὑψηλότερον φράζει, says the

περιάγων, says the Scholiast, ὥς οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀλωσι. And so Suidas. The disgust of Mnesilochus is aptly expressed, as well by the use of this strong metaphor as by his application of the term ἄνθρωπος, *the fellow*, to his illustrious companion. Euripides was obliged to pay his visit at this early hour because the women's assembly itself was to be held at day-break, ἔωθεν, infra 376, and see Eccl. 20 and the note there.

3. σπλῆνα] The ancients attributed to the action of the spleen (*lien*) the internal heavings and palpitations occasioned by violent exercise or excitement. Thus in Plautus, Casina, II. vi. 62, Olympio says

Scholiast, ὁ δὲ (Mnesilochus) ταπεινότερον. With the present line Bergler compares Orestes 81, τί σοι λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄ γε παροῦς' ὁρᾶς;

6. αὖθις φράσον] We know that Aris-

MN. οὐδ' ἄρ' ὁρᾶν δεῖ μ' ; ΕΥ. οὐχ ἃ γ' ἂν ἀκούειν δέη.

MN. πῶς μοι παραινείς ; δεξιῶς μέντοι λέγεις.

οὐ φῆς σὺ χρῆναί μ' οὐτ' ἀκούειν οὐθ' ὁρᾶν.

10

ΕΥ. χωρὶς γὰρ αὐτοῖν ἐκατέρου 'στὴν ἡ φύσις.

MN. τοῦ μήτ' ἀκούειν μήθ' ὁρᾶν ; ΕΥ. εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι.

MN. πῶς χωρὶς ; ΕΥ. οὕτω ταῦτα διεκρίθη τότε.

tophanes, when he was composing this Comedy, had the recent "Helen" of Euripides very much in his mind, and possibly he may here be thinking of line 471 of that Play, where Menelaus says to the keeper of the palace door πῶς φῆς ; τί ν' εἶπας μῦθον ; αὐθίς μοι φράσον.

12. τοῦ μήτ' ἀκούειν μήθ' ὁρᾶν] Tyrwhitt was the first to observe that these five words should be severed from, and are really a comment on, the preceding line. They are rightly explained by the Scholiast, ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν τοῦ ἀκούειν καὶ ὁρᾶν, εἶπε τοῦ μήτ' ἀκούειν μήθ' ὁρᾶν. Fritzsche indeed, considering them a continuation of Euripides's speech, would render that speech as follows: "Imo aliud est horum alterutrum, aut audire aut videre; aliud neutrum, neque audire neque videre." "I said that you were not to hear *and* see; which is something quite different from saying that you were neither to hear *nor* to see." But this, though harmonizing excellently with the dialogue up to this point, is quite inconsistent with the explanation which Euripides now proceeds to unfold. "What you see," he says in effect, "you must not hear: and what you hear you must not see: the objects of these two senses (sight

and hearing) must be kept distinct, even as the organs by which they act are in the nature of things essentially distinct." The words εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι here, as in Peace 373, constitute an emphatic answer in the affirmative to the preceding question.

13. τότε] *Then*, ὅτε διεκρίθη. An anonymous critic would read ποτὲ, but of course τότε is constantly used in reference to a former period to which the speaker's mind has travelled, but which has not been actually mentioned. So in the fourteenth of Lucian's Sea Dialogues, where the Nereids are told that Andromeda has been rescued from the sea-monster which they had sent against her, one of them answers, Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ πάντῳ γεγονότι ἄχθομαι· τί γὰρ ἡ παῖς ἡδίκηε ἡμᾶς, εἴ τι ἡ μήτηρ ἐμεγαλύνει ΤΟΤΕ, καὶ ἡξίου καλλίων εἶναι; where, since no allusion had previously been made to the mother's offence, Graevius conjectures ποτὲ. So in Iph. in Aul. 46 the old servant says

σὴ γὰρ μ' ἀλόχῳ ΤΟΤΕ Τυνδάρεως
πέμπει φερνήν.

where again Barnes and Musgrave would read ποτὲ, but the MS. reading is rightly retained by Markland and Bishop Monk, who cite Orestes 99, Al-

Αἰθήρ γὰρ ὅτε τὰ πρῶτα διεχωρίζετο,
καὶ ζῶ' ἐν αὐτῷ ξυνετέκνον κινούμενα,
ὃ μὲν βλέπειν χρῆ, πρῶτ' ἐμηχανήσατο
ὀφθαλμὸν, ἀντίμιμον ἡλίου τροχῷ,
ἀκοῇ δὲ χοάνην, ὧτα διετετρήνατο.

15

MN. διὰ τὴν χοάνην οὖν μήτ' ἀκούω μήθ' ὀρώ;

cestis 915, Helen 1081, Sophocles Ajax 650, 1240, and the present passage. For other examples in Aristophanes see Peace 694, Lys. 1023, infra 642, and Frogs 136. And see generally Eur. Medea 1402, Electra 975, 1149, 1203. Thuc. i. 86; viii. 40, 86.

14. Αἰθήρ] Ether, always put forward by Aristophanes as the chief Euripidean deity (see Frogs 892 and the note there), is throughout this passage regarded as the great active and intelligent Principle, evolving out of her own

MENELAUS. Καὶ τίς βλέποντα σώματ' ἐξεργάζεται;

HELEN. Αἰθήρ.—Helen, 583, 584.

Bergler refers to the famous oration of Μελαίνιππη σοφῇ (Wagner Fragm. 5) where that ingenious young lady, who has hidden her illegitimate children in the cow-house, is endeavouring to persuade her father, by an argument drawn from the original homogeneity of all matter, that it is as natural for cows to give birth to boys, as to calves.

Κοῦκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα,
ὡς οὐρανὸς τε γαῖά τ' ἦν μορφῇ μία·
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δόξα,
τίκτουσι πάντα, κἀνέδωκαν εἰς φάος
δένδρη, πετεινὰ, θήρας, οὓς θ' ἄλμη τρέφει,
γένος τε θνητῶν.

substance the various forms of the animal creation. *When Ether was first parting and dividing herself, and giving birth within herself to living and moving bodies.* διεχωρίζετο, which is universally taken in a passive sense, and translated *secerni coepit*, seems to mean *divided herself*; for who but Ether, in this philosophy, could divide Ether? And here again, as in line 6 supra, Aristophanes may be thinking of the "Helen."

It was from the same philosophic comedy that Aristophanes borrowed line 272 infra, "Ὅμνυμι τοῖνυν αἰθέρ' οἴκησιν Διός.

17. ἀντίμιμον] Both these comparisons, that of the eye with the sun, and that of the ear with a funnel, are found in the Republic of Plato. In vi. 19 (508 B) he calls the human eye ἡλιοειδέστατον τῶν περὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὀργάνων. And in iii. 18 (411 A) he observes "He who allows the strains of plaintive and touching music to sink down into his soul, through his ears, as it were through a funnel (διὰ τῶν ὥτων ὥσπερ διὰ χώνης), at first indeed moulds and tempers the iron element

νῆ τὸν Δί' ἡδομαί γε τουτὶ προσμαθών. 20
οἶδν γέ πού 'στιν αἱ σοφαὶ ξυνουσίαι.

ΕΥ. πόλλ' ἂν μάθοις τοιαῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ. ΜΝ. πῶς ἂν οὖν
πρὸς τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τούτοισιν ἐξεύροις ὅπως
ἔτι προσμάθοιμι χωλὸς εἶναι τῶ σκέλη;

ΕΥ. βάδιζε δευρὶ καὶ πρόσσεχε τὸν νοῦν. ΜΝ. ἰδοῦ. 25

ΕΥ. ὁρᾷς τὸ θύριον τοῦτο; ΜΝ. νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα

of his mind, and makes that serviceable which before was rigid and useless; but if he lend himself too long to those soft and tender melodies, they will at last melt and dissolve his soul, and he will become, what Homer calls, but a nerveless warrior." I suspect that in this opening dialogue there is a far more extensive parodying of the words of Euripides than we are now in a position to detect.

21. αἱ σοφαὶ ξυνουσίαι] The Scholiast cites a line, σοφοὶ τύραννοι τῶν σοφῶν ξυνουσίαι, about the authorship of which there was much discussion amongst ancient writers. It seems to have made its first appearance in the "Locrian Aias" of Sophocles, and to have been borrowed from thence by Euripides, to whom it was consequently ascribed by Plato, Antisthenes, and Stobaeus, and, according to the Scholiast here, by Aristophanes himself in the "Heroes." Such was apparently the conclusion at which Aulus Gellius (xiii. 18) arrived; and he gives other instances of lines borrowed by Euripides from preceding poets. And see the note on Frogs 1182. The authorities on the subject will be found in Wagner's Fragments of the "Locrian Aias." With the form

in which it here appears, Porson compares a line of Eupolis preserved by the Scholiast (and, in part, by Eustathius) on Iliad ii. 333 οἶδν γέ πού 'στι γλώσσα κἀνθρώπου λόγος.

[24. προσμάθοιμι] The MSS. have προσμάθοι μὴ, and it is not altogether easy to determine whether this should be altered into προσμάθοιμι or into προσμίλω μὴ. Each alteration makes perfectly good Greek, and is supported by eminent scholars: and in each there would of course be the same gird at Euripides as the great χολοποιός; Ach. 411, Peace 147, Frogs 846. But though in the translation, using Bekker's edition, I followed Bekker's reading προσμάθω μὴ, yet I quite concur with most of the recent editors in thinking that the genuine reading is προσμάθοιμι, and that the words χωλὸς εἶναι τῶ σκέλη are added παρὰ προσδοκίαν, as a mere piece of impertinence on the part of Mnesilochus. And the Scholiast's explanation ἵνα μὴ περιπατήσῃ μετ' αὐτοῦ, however inaccurate in itself, yet shows that he read προσμάθοιμι.

26. ὁρᾷς τὸ θύριον τοῦτο;] He is pointing to the house of Agathon in the background of the stage. The words are repeated from Clouds 92.

- οἶμαί γε. ΕΥ. σιώπα νυν. ΜΝ. σιωπῶ τὸ θύριον ;
 ΕΥ. ἄκου'. ΜΝ. ἀκούω καὶ σιωπῶ τὸ θύριον ;
 ΕΥ. ἐνταῦθ' Ἀγάθων ὁ κλεινὸς οἰκῶν τυγχάνει
 ὁ τραγωδοποιός. ΜΝ. ποῖος οὗτος Ἀγάθων ; 30
 ΕΥ. ἔστιν τις Ἀγάθων— ΜΝ. μὼν ὁ μέλας, ὁ καρτερός ;
 ΕΥ. οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἑτερός τις· οὐχ ἑδρακας πώποτε ;

27. σιωπῶ τὸ θύριον ;] This seems to be simple nonsense, intended to represent the effect produced on the old man's mind by the philosophic subtlety of his companion's talk. The same sort of mild imbecility is evident in line 19 *Then it is all along of the funnel that I am neither to hear nor to see!*; and indeed in the οἶμαί γε of the present line, which indicates a want of confidence in his own eyesight, after Euripides's abstruse explanation of the origin and functions of the eye. Compare the language of Strepsiades on first listening to the luminous wisdom of Socrates; Clouds 236. There is however great ingenuity in the view advanced by Fritzsche, who supposes that the remarks of Mnesilochus in this and the following line are mere recapitulations whereby he is endeavouring to impress upon his memory the several points which, as he supposes, Euripides requires him to observe, πρόσσεχε τὸν νοῦν, 25 supra. Euripides first bids him observe the *wicket*; then he tells him to be *silent*. Mnesilochus runs over in his mind these two points (1) *I am to be silent* (2) the *wicket*. Then Euripides adds a third point; he is to *listen*. "Itaque augetur Mnesilocho omnia re-

cordandi commemorandique labor: vel sic tamen bene rationem tenet, neque ordinem rerum perturbat" (1) ἀκούω *I am to listen*; (2) καὶ σιωπῶ *and to be silent* (3) τὸ θύριον, *the wicket*. The Scholiast has a different explanation λείπει διὰ, οἷον σιωπῶ διὰ τὸ θύριον. This would give a very happy turn to the speech. "*I am to be blind and deaf διὰ τὴν χοάνην, I am to be dumb διὰ τὸ θύριον.*" But it is impossible to supply διὰ.

31-33. ὁ μέλας, ὁ καρτερός, ὁ δασυπόγων] These epithets are selected for the purpose of ridiculing the delicate and effeminate appearance of Agathon who is described infra 191, as

εὐπρόσωπος, λευκός, εἴσθημενος,
 γυναικόφρωνος, ἀπαλός, εὐπρεπὴς ἰδεῖν.

Whether there was any other Athenian of the name, to whom the epithets would apply, is very doubtful. The Scholiast says, οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον καὶ Δίδυμόν φασιν εἶναι τοιοῦτον Ἀγάθωνα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ ἠγοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ βούλεται κωμῶδεῖν τὸν Ἀγάθωνα ὥς μήτε καρτερόν μήτε μέλανα, τοῦτο εἶπεν. Mnesilochus does not seem as much impressed as Euripides expected, by the celebrity of a Tragic Poet.

MN. μὴν ὁ δασυπῶγων; ΕΥ. οὐχ ἑόρακας πώποτε;

MN. μὰ τὸν Δί' οὔτοι γ', ὥστε καὶ γ' εἰδέναι.

ΕΥ. καὶ μὴν βεβίνηκας σύ γ', ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶσθ' ἴσως.

35

ἀλλ' ἐκποδὼν πτήξωμεν, ὡς ἐξέρχεται

θεράπων τις αὐτοῦ πῦρ ἔχων καὶ μυρρίνας,

προθυσόμενος, ἔοικε, τῆς ποιήσεως.

ΘΕ. εὐφημος πᾶς ἔστω λαὸς,

34. ὥστε καὶ γ' εἰδέναι.] Wishing to be very exact, he qualifies the strength of his original denial by adding "At least, if I *did* ever see him, I did not know who he was." Cf. Clouds 1252, Eccl. 350, Plato, Theaetetus, chap. 2. So in the Latin dramatists. "Nunquam ante hunc diem meis oculis eam, quod nossem, videram," Terence, Hecyra V. iv. 23. "(A) Non me novisti? (B) quod quidem nunc veniat in mentem mihi," Plautus, Epidicus V. i. 32. The vice imputed to Agathon in the next line is again suggested infra 50, 200-207 and elsewhere. Plato (Protagoras, chap. 7) implies that he was the παιδικὰ of Pausanias; whilst Aelian (V. H. ii. 21, xiii. 4) speaks of Euripides as being also his lover. And Plato's own epigram on Agathon is not altogether pleasant reading.

37. πῦρ καὶ μυρρίνας] The θύριον now opens, and Agathon's servant comes out. He brings with him a pan of live coals, and some myrtle branches, and is therefore obviously about to offer up a solemn prayer or sacrifice. In the Wasps (860) fire, myrtles, and incense, are mentioned as the concomitants of prayer: in the Frogs (871) fire and incense: and here, fire and myrtles. And cf. Birds 43. Wreaths and decora-

tions of "the myrtle's sacred tress" (μυρρίνας ἱερὰν φόβαν, as Euripides calls it, Ion 120) were commonly used in divine worship. Pollux i. segm. 27, 28. And suppliants carried myrtle in their hands when they approached the altar of the gods. Thus, when Alcestis was praying to the gods for her husband and children, we are told

πάντας δὲ βωμοὺς, οἱ κατ' Ἀδμήτου δόμους,
προσῆλθε, κάξέστεψε καὶ προσήγατο
πτορθῶν ἀποσχίζουσα μυρρίνης φόβην.

Eur. Alc. 170-172.

It was in religious decorations of this kind that Harmodius and Aristogeiton concealed their "swords in myrtle dressed." See Ilgen's Scolia, p. 62.

38. ἔοικε] λέπει τοῦ ὡς ὡς ἔοικε Scho-liast. ὡς ἔοικε is, of course, the regular form. θύσων γὰρ ἀνὴρ, ὡς ἔοικ', ἐξέρχεται Ach. 240.

39. εὐφημος κ.τ.λ.] The servant now commences his recitative, which, though singularly melodious, is somewhat dreamy and affected, and doubtless reproduced, in a manner which we have now no means of tracing, some peculiarities of his master's style. He calls on all Nature to be still, whilst Agathon is engaged in the arduous task

στόμα συγκλείσας· ἐπιδημῇ γὰρ

40

θίαςος Μουσῶν ἔνδον μελάβρων

τῶν δεσποσύνων μελοποιῶν.

ἔχέτω δὲ πνοὰς νήνεμος αἰθήρ,

κῦμα δὲ πόντου μὴ κελαδεῖτω

γλαυκόν· MN. βομβάξ. ΕΥ. σίγα. τί λέγεις;

45

ΘΕ. πτηνῶν τε γένη κατακοιμάσθω,

of fashioning his delicately moulded odes. Of these a specimen will be given presently; infra 101-129. The language is calculated, if not designed, to recall Alcman's well-known description of

a sleeping world, of which (as I do not remember having seen it in English) I venture to append not only the original, but also a free translation.

Εὐδουσιν δ' ὀρέων κορυφαί τε καὶ φάραγγες·

πρώονές τε καὶ χαράδραι·

φύλλά θ' ἔρπετων, ὅσσα τρέφει μέλαινα γαῖα·

θήρες ὀρεσκῶί τε

καὶ γένος μελισσῶν·

καὶ κνώδαλ' ἐν βένθεσι πορφυρέας ἄλός·

εὐδουσι δ' οἰωνῶν

φύλλα τανυπτέρυγων.—Bp. Blomf. Gloss. in Choeph. 579.

Now sleep the mountain summits; cleft and rill

Sleep, and are still;

Sleep the wild creatures, all the countless breeds

That dark earth feeds;

The bees are slumbering; in the noiseless deep

The fishes sleep;

And long-winged birds their drowsy pinions close

In hushed repose.

The statement here that an inspired band of Muses is composing the odes means of course exactly the same thing as the statement below that Agathon himself is composing them.

43. νήνεμος αἰθήρ] This Homeric phrase (Iliad viii. 552, *the breathless hush of the air*.—Way) is found, slightly altered, in Birds 778. Lucian's σίγα μὲν αἰθήρ

νήνεμος ἔστω (Tragopodagra 129) is doubtless a mere reminiscence of the present passage. Compare the expression νηνεμίαν ἀνέμων in Agathon's peroration in the Symposium of Plato (chap. xix), a peroration which elicited from Socrates an ironical compliment, answering to the καλλιπεπής Ἀγάθων here, on the wondrous beauty of its diction, τὸ

θηρῶν τ' ἀγρίων πόδες ὕλοδρόμων
μὴ λυέσθων. MN. βομβалоβομβάξ.

ΘΕ. μέλλει γὰρ ὁ καλλιεπὴς Ἀγάθων
πρόμος ἡμέτερος— MN. μὼν βινεῖσθαι;

50

ΘΕ. τίς ὁ φωνήσας; MN. νήνεμος αἰθήρ.

ΘΕ. δρυόχους τιθέναι δράματος ἀρχάς.
κάμπτει δὲ νέας ἀψίδας ἐπῶν,
τὰ δὲ τορνεύει, τὰ δὲ κολλομελεῖ,

κάλλος τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων.

45. βομβάξ] The flow of soft words is interrupted by an ejaculation of derision on the part of Mnesilochus, which corresponds very nearly to Mr. Burchell's "Fudge" in the Vicar of Wakefield. It is employed in much the same way by Plautus; Pseudolus I. iii. 131.

48. μὴ λυέσθων] *not be unloosed*, from sleep or stillness: the very reverse of Homer's phrase, γυῖα λέλυνται, of limbs *relaxed* by death or weariness.

52. δρυόχους] *the stocks*: the framework or scaffolding on which a ship is built in the dockyard: κυρίως δρυόχοι εἰσιν οἱ ἐντιθέμενοι πάσσαλοι ναπηγουμένης νεώς.—Scholiast. Eustathius in his note on Odyssey xix. 574, partly cited by Brunck, is very clear and elaborate in his explanation of the word; δρυόχοι δὲ κυρίως πάσσαλοι, ἐφ' ὧν στοιχηθὲν διατεθειμένων ἢ τρόπις ἴσταται τῶν καινουργουμένων πλοίων διὰ ἰσότητα (*to keep it level*). καὶ ἄλλως δὲ εἰπεῖν, δρυόχοι πάσσαλοι ἐκ δρυός, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀπλῶς ξύλου, καθιστῶντες τὴν τρόπιν ἐν τῇ περίξ αὐτὴν συνέχειν. . . γίνονται δὲ δρυόχοι παρὰ τὸ τὴν δρῦν, ὃ ἐστὶ τὴν τρόπιν, συνέχειν ἐκατέρωθεν, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως παρὰ τὸ ξύλα συνεκτικὰ εἶναι τρόπεως. Some writers indeed, both ancient and

modern, take the δρυόχους themselves to be the ribs of the vessel. Torr's "Ancient Ships," p. 39 note. The question is too long to be discussed in a footnote, but I am satisfied that the explanation of Eustathius is the true one, and that the δρυόχοι were a framework *external to the ship*. And this is to some extent confirmed by the present passage. Agathon merely *sets* or *erects*, τίθῃσι, the δρυόχους; he *bends* and *shapes*, κάμπτει, the timber for the keel and ribs. ἀψίς signifies anything circular or curved, and is here applied to the curved ship-timber.

54. τορνεύει] Of the seven verbs which follow, the first and (in part) the second and third, carry on the ship-building metaphor. (1) *τορνεύει turns*, as with a turner's lathe: see Odyssey v. 249. (2) *κολλομελεῖ, glues together melodies*, probably a word coined by Aristophanes. (3) *γνωμοτυπεῖ, casts thoughts into the mould*. (4) *ἀντονομάζει, employs one word for another*, ὄνομα ἀντὶ ὀνόματος τίθῃσιν.—Scholiast. (5) *κηροχυτεῖ, pours like melting wax*. (6) *γογγύλλει, rounds off*: see Peace 28; and (7) *χοανεύει, funnels, moulds*. The last two processes are, possibly, enumerated merely for

καὶ γνωμοτυπεῖ κἀντονομάζει

55

καὶ κηροχυτεῖ καὶ γογγύλλει

καὶ χοανεύει. MN. καὶ λαικάζει.

ΘΕ. τίς ἀγροιώτας πελάθει θριγκοῖς ;

MN. ὃς ἔτοιμος σοῦ τοῦ τε ποιητοῦ

τοῦ καλλιπεοῦς κατὰ τοῦ θριγκοῦ

60

συγγογγυλίσας καὶ συστρέψας

τουτὶ τὸ πέος χοανεύσαι.

ΘΕ. ἦ που νέος γ' ὦν ἦσθ' ὑβριστῆς, ὦ γέρον.

ΕΥ. ὦ δαιμόνιε τοῦτον μὲν ἔα χαίρειν, σὺ δὲ

Ἀγάθωνά μοι δεῦρ' ἐκκάλεσον πάσῃ τέχνῃ.

65

ΘΕ. μηδὲν ἰκέτευ'· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔξεισιν τάχα.

καὶ γὰρ μελοποιεῖν ἄρχεται· χειμῶνος οὖν

ὄντος, κατακάμπτειν τὰς στροφὰς οὐ ῥᾶδιον,

the purpose of assisting the retort of Mnesilochus. In a note on Horace A. P. 441 (et male tornatos incudi reddere versus), Bentley translates these lines as follows: *flectit autem novas versuum curvaturas; nunc tornat, nunc conglutinat; nunc sententias ponit, nunc antonomasias; nunc incerat, nunc rotundat, nunc conflat.*

58. θριγκοῖς] *eaves*. θριγκός· ἡ στεφάνη τοῦ τείχους, περίφραγμα, τὸ ἀνώτατον τοῦ τείχους, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ στέγη κείται.—Hesychius. τῶν οἰκῶν τὰ ἀνωτάτω μεταφορικῶς ἀφ' ἡμῶν, διότι τὰ ἀνωτάτω σώματα ἡμῶν θριξὶ περιπέφρακται.—Suidas. Eustathius too, on Odyssey vii. 87, connects the word with τρίχες. And if this is the true derivation, the word is, as it were, the converse of our common metaphor, *the penthouse of the brow*. Mnesilochus borrows from the servant

the words γογγύλλει, χοανεύει, and θριγκοῖς, and gives them a different and perverted signification. With him θριγκοῦ is equivalent to *πρωκτοῦ*. The words συγγογγυλίσας καὶ συστρέψας would recall to the audience a line (975) of the Lysistrata, acted in the preceding year; and though he is embarrassed by having to employ words not cognate to his subject, “tamen apparet,” says Bergler, “ad quid paratum se dicat Mnesilochus: est autem id, quod eum Euripides dicebat antehac etiam commisisse in Agathonem supra 35.”

63. ἦ που] Perhaps the most accurate rendering of these words is *I guess that*; cf. Frogs 803, Plutus 832. The expression is a favourite one with Euripides, and occurs nowhere so frequently as in his “recent Helen.” See the notes on lines 6 and 14 supra. In that Play

- ἦν μὴ προῖη θύρασι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον.
 MN. τί οὖν ἐγὼ δρῶ; ΕΥ. περίμεν', ὥς ἐξέρχεται. 70
 ὦ Ζεῦ τί δρᾶσαι διανοεῖ με τήμερον;
 MN. νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐγὼ πυθέσθαι βούλομαι
 τί τὸ πρᾶγμα τουτί. τί στένεις; τί δυσφορεῖς;
 οὐ χρῆν σε κρύπτειν, ὄντα κηδεστὴν ἐμόν.
 ΕΥ. ἔστιν κακόν μοι μέγα τι προπεφυραμένον. 75
 MN. ποῖόν τι; ΕΥ. τῇδε θῆμέρα κριθήσεται
 εἴτ' ἔστ' ἔτι ζῶν εἴτ' ἀπόλωλ' Εὐριπίδης.
 MN. καὶ πῶς; ἐπεὶ νῦν γ' οὔτε τὰ δικαστήρια
 μέλλει δικάζειν οὔτε βουλῆς ἐστ' ἔδρα,
 ἐπεὶ τρίτη 'στὶ Θεσμοφορίων, ἡ Μέση. 80
 ΕΥ. τοῦτ' αὐτὸ γάρ τοι κάπολεῖν με προσδοκῶ.
 αἱ γὰρ γυναικες ἐπιβεβουλεύκασί μοι,
 κὰν Θεσμοφόροι μὲλλουσι περὶ μου τήμερον

it is found no less than four times, viz. 575, 600, 791, 1465. It occurs twice in the Phoenissae, the Supplices, and the Troades, but in no other Play have I observed it more than once.

66. αὐτός] of himself, without being summoned, as in *Lysistrata* 1107, *Plutus* 965, and elsewhere. At the close of this speech this servant re-enters the house of Agathon; and Euripides is again alone with Mnesilochus.

75. προπεφυραμένον] already concocted, literally, kneaded beforehand. Bergler compares *Birds* 462 προπεφύραται λόγος I have a speech all ready.

79. ἔδρα] a sitting. This vacation, so to call it, would naturally be confined to the Νηστεία or day of fasting, and therefore there would be no reason to doubt the statement of Xenophon (*Hell.* V. ii. 29) that the Theban Council was

sitting, whilst the women in the *Cadmeia* were celebrating the *Thesmophoria*, even if the Theban *Thesmophoria* were celebrated at the same time (which is not the fact) and under the same conditions (which is not probable) as the Athenian festival.

80. ἡ Μέση] *The Intermediate Day*, the day between the Κάθοδος, or Descent into Hades, and the Καλλιγένεια, or fair new birth of the Resurrection Morning. The details of the *Thesmophoria* are discussed at length in the Introduction, where also the scholium on the present passage will be found set out in full.

83. κὰν Θεσμοφόροι] Here, as in ἐς Θεσμοφόροι six lines below, the word Θεσμοφόροι is in the genitive case, τῷ ἱερῷ being understood here, and τὸ ἱερὸν there. The Scholiast says, Ἀττικῇ σύνταξις καὶ δυϊκῇ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ τῶν

- ἐκκλησιάζειν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ. MN. τῇ τί δή;
 ET. ὅτι τὴ τραγῳδῶ, καὶ κακῶς αὐτὰς λέγω. 85
 MN. νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, καὶ δίκαιά γ' ἂν πάθοις.
 ἀτὰρ τίν' ἐκ ταύτης σὺ μηχανὴν ἔχεις;
 ET. Ἀγάθωνα πείσαι τὸν τραγῳδοδιδάσκαλον
 ἐς Θεσμοφόρου ἐλθεῖν. MN. τί δράσοντ'; εἰπέ μοι.
 ET. ἐκκλησιάζοντ' ἐν ταῖς γυναιξί, κὰν δέη, 90
 λέξονθ' ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. MN. πότερα φανερὸν ἢ λάθρα;
 ET. λάθρα, στολὴν γυναικὸς ἡμφιεσμένον.

Θεσμοφόρων ἱερῶ, Δήμητρος καὶ Περσεφόνης.

87. ἐκ ταύτης] ἐπιβουλῆς, understood from ἐπιβεβουλεύκασι just above. Mnesiochus, knowing that his companion is the prince of tricksters (infra 94) with ten thousand shifts and artifices at his command (infra 927), does not doubt that he is provided with a scheme for evading the present difficulty; and consequently his question is not "Have you any scheme" but "What is your scheme" for doing so?

94. ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμοῦς] *Ours is the champion's cake*. Like Dionysus in Frogs 1214, he is for the moment identifying himself with the art,

and the cause, of Euripides. The phrase is repeated from Knights 277. A *πυραμοῦς* was a cake of which the principal ingredients were parched wheat and boiled honey, and which is specially known as the prize awarded to the man who in an all-night drinking-bout, with all his companions asleep around him, kept awake till sunrise, like Socrates in the Symposium of Plato, or the "doctor of tremendous paunch" in Thomson's Seasons. A comic poet of the name of Callippus is known to us only by two lines which Athenaeus (xv. chap. 7) preserves from his *Πανυχίς* or "All-night Revel."

Who keeps awake shall take the cake (τὸν πυραμοῦντα λήψεται)
 And kiss whichever girl he pleases.

And that a kiss was a recognized prize, Athenaeus goes on to say, is shown by these lines of Eubulus.

O Ladies, dance the whole night through,
 And keep with mirth and joyance due
 The tenth-day of this child of mine.
 And I'm prepared, with bounty free,
 To give the winner ribbons three,
 And apples five, and kisses nine.

MN. τὸ πρᾶγμα κομψὸν καὶ σφόδρ' ἐκ τοῦ σοῦ τρόπου·

τοῦ γὰρ τεχνάζειν ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμοῦς.

ΕΥ. σίγα. MN. τί δ' ἔστιν; ΕΥ. Ἀγάθων ἐξέρχεται.

95

MN. καὶ ποῖός ἐστιν; ΕΥ. οὗτος· οὐκκυκλούμενος.

MN. ἀλλ' ἢ τυφλὸς μὲν εἰμ'· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ ὀρῶ

ἄνδρ' οὐδέν' ἐνθάδ' ὄντα, Κυρήνην δ' ὀρῶ.

ΕΥ. σίγα· μελωδεῖν νῦν παρασκευάζεται.

(μυνηρισμός)

MN. μύρμηκος ἀτραποὺς, ἢ τί διαμνύεται;

100

The Scholiast on Knights 277 says Πυραμοῦς· εἶδος πλακοῦντος ἐκ μέλιτος ἐφθοῦ καὶ πυρῶν πεφρυγμένων. ταῦτα δὲ ἐτίθεσαν ἄλλα τοῖς διαγρυπνηταῖς. εἰώθασι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ἀμιλλᾶσθαι περὶ ἀγρυπνίας, καὶ ὁ διαγρυπνήσας μέχρι τῆς ἔω ἐλάβανε τὸν πυραμοῦντα. And the Scholiast here adds, νῦν οὖν ταύτῃ τῇ μεταφορᾷ ἐχρήσατο ὡς νικῶντας αὐτοῦ τῇ πανουργίᾳ πάντας. And see Athenaeus xiv. chap. 56 ad fin.

95. ἐξέρχεται] The same word is used of Agathon's servant, supra 36, but the master and servant do not make their exit in the same fashion. Here by the operation of the machine called the ἐκκύκλημα, the front wall of Agathon's house slowly revolves outward as on a hinge, bringing with it a part of the interior, and discovering Agathon in his chamber, preparing to sing the lyrics which, as we have already been informed, he has just been engaged in composing. Both the chamber and its occupant are arrayed in the softest and most luxurious style, and Mnesilochus affects to mistake the effeminate poet for the courtesan Cyrene, who is men-

tioned again in Frogs 1328. Brunck thinks that Agathon here, like Euripides in the Acharnians, is in the upper story, where the women's apartments would be: but considering the ease with which he hands articles to the actors on the stage, this seems to me very unlikely. As a prelude to his songs, he gives out a little fantastical warble, which in the stage direction is called μυνηρισμός.

100. μύρμηκος ἀτραποὺς] *Ant-runs*. ὡς λεπτὰ καὶ ἀγκύλα ἀνακρονομένου μέλη τοῦ Ἀγάθωνος· τοιαῦται γὰρ αἱ τῶν μυρμήκων ὁδοί.—Scholiast. The expression is intended to signify both the finikin and the intricate character of the notes, by comparing them to the tiny and innumerable galleries in an ant-hill. Pherecrates in the well-known passage preserved by Plutarch (*De Musica*, chap. 30) describes as ἐκτραπέλους μυρμηκίας the musical novelties introduced by the celebrated Timotheus of Miletus; and Meineke, in his note on that fragment, refers to Aelian (*H. A.* vi. 43), μυρμήκων δὲ ἐν γεωρυχίᾳ, ποικίλας τε ἀτραποὺς, καὶ ἐλιγμοὺς, καὶ περιόδους; which, at all events, shows the idea

ΑΓ. (ὡς ὑποκριτής) Ἱερὰν Χθονίαις δεξάμεναι
λαμπάδα, κοῦραι, ξὺν ἐλευθέρα
πατρίδι χορεύσασθε βοᾷ.

(ὡς χορός) τίνι δὲ δαίμόνων ὁ κῶμος;
λέγε νυν· εὐπίστως δὲ τούμῳ
δαίμονας ἔχει σεβίσαι.

105

which the ancients attached to the galleries in an ant-hill.

101-129. Agathon sings the lyrical dialogue which he has just composed. It purports to be a dialogue between a Leader and a band of female worshippers: but both parts are sung by Agathon himself, and to insert "Agathon's Chorus" amongst the *Dramatis Personae*, as is universally done by modern editors, from Brunck and Bekker downwards, is really the height of absurdity. ὁ Ἀγάθων, says the Scholiast, ὑποκριτικὰ μέλη τέως ποιεῖ, ἀμφοτέρω δὲ αὐτὸς ὑποκρίνεται. And again, μονοῦ δὲ ὁ Ἀγάθων ὡς πρὸς χορὸν, οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, ἀλλ' ὡς ποιήματα συντιθεῖς. (He means that we are listening not to a dramatic exhibition, but to a poet composing verses.) διὸ καὶ χορικὰ λέγει αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς χορικὰ δέ. And indeed Aristophanes himself makes this perfectly clear. The servant describes Agathon alone as coming forth to mould his strophes in the sun's warm rays, supra 66-69; he alone is seen in the eccyclema, supra 96; he alone μελωδεῖν παρασκευάζεται, supra 99; and when the conversation is over, he alone is wheeled in again, infra 265. Still, the lyrics are in the form of a dialogue, and it being necessary for the convenience

of the reader that the parts should be distinguished, I have inserted (in brackets) the appellations of ὑποκριτής and χορός. It is not likely that the dialogue is actually borrowed from Agathon's works, but it is undoubtedly intended to convey an accurate idea of his style, which consisted of a series of pretty conceits, destitute alike of the heroic dignity of Aeschylus and of the argumentative subtlety of Euripides. The language has been much confused by transcribers, and it is impossible now to recover the original metrical system, which seems to have been mostly choriambic and trochaic. A favourite line seems to have been one compounded of a paeon and a choriamb, δαίμονας ἔχει σεβίσαι (106), Ἄρτεμιν ἀπειρολεχῇ (119), ἄρσενι βοᾷ δοκίμῳ (125).

101-103. Ἱερὰν ... βοᾷ] *Receive, O goddesses, the torch holy to the netherworld Goddesses* (τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ.—Scholiast) *and dance the Choral dance with the free song of your fatherland.* Lighted torches were carried in their festivals, because Demeter had sought for her child αἰδομένης δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσα, Homeric Hymn, 48, 61. Cf. infra 280, 1151. βοᾷ, without which the words ξὺν ἐλευθέρα πατρίδι are unintelligible, is Kuster's emendation

(ὥς ὑπ.) ἄγε νυν ὀλβιζε, Μοῦσα,
 χρυσέων ῥύτορα τόξων
 Φοῖβον, ὃς ιδρύσατο χώρας
 γύαλα Σιμωνντίδι γᾶ.
 (ὥς χορ.) χαῖρε καλλίσταις ἀοιδαῖς,
 Φοῖβ', ἐν εὐμούσαισι τιμαῖς

110

for βοάν. From the use of βοῇ here, and infra 125, to signify the choral song, we may surmise that this was a special usage of the word by Agathon. Kuster would also change παρτίδι into πατρία, which would be probable enough if we were reading the language of Aristophanes, and not, in fact or in imitation, the language of Agathon.

104-106. τίμῃ . . . σεβίσαι] *To which (that is, in honour of which) of the deities is this revel? Tell me now. My mind is easily swayed to worship the deities.* τοῦμόν is equivalent to ἐγώ, and εὐπίστως ἔχει to εὐπιστός εἰμι. The speakers formed the Chorus of the Tragedy; but whom they represented it is impossible to say. Bothe's conjecture from lines 109, 110, that they were Trojan virgins, rests on a very insecure foundation: whilst nothing can be more improbable than Fritzsche's notion that they were the θίασος Μουσῶν mentioned supra 41. Although they are carrying the torches sacred to the Thesmophorian goddesses, they do not know whom they are to worship, and are quite willing to worship any deity; and they welcome with enthusiasm the information that Apollo and Artemis, with their mother Leto, and the Harp wherewith Apollo wakes the heavenly

dance, are to be the objects of their immediate devotion.

107-110. ἄγε νυν . . . γᾶ] *Come then, O Muse, and bless the God who draws the golden bow, Phoebus, who walled the country's glades in the land of the River Simoeis; ὃς τὴν Ἰλίον ἐτείχισεν*, as the Scholiast rightly explains it. The expression τᾷ Σιμωνντίδι γᾶ is employed to denote the Trojan land by Euripides, Hec. 641. γύαλον too is frequently used by the same poet in the sense of a "hollow glade"; and is strangely similar to our west-country *gully* or *goyal* (see Mr. Blackmore's "Lorna Doone," chap. iii) and our north-country *ghyll* (see Wordsworth's "Idle Shepherd Boys"). ὀλβιζε is Bentley's correction of the MS. δπλαζε, and is unquestionably right. Just below, the Chorus undertake ὀλβίζειν Ἀρτέμιν; and the present injunction is literally obeyed infra 129, χαῖρ', ὀλβιε παῖ Δατοῦς. It seems probable that the word ὀλβιος was a favourite one with Agathon.

111-113. χαῖρε . . . προφέρων] *We greet thee with our loveliest hymns, O Phoebus, who awardest the sacred guerdon in our fair musical celebrations.* Many however take γέρας προφέρων to mean, not *awarding*, but *carrying off* the prize. Fritzsche, for example, explains it as signifying

- γέρας ἱερὸν προφέρων.
 (ὥς ὑπ.) τάν τ' ἐν ὄρεσι δρυογόνουσι
 . . . κόραν αἰείσατ' 115
 Ἄρτεμιν Ἀγροτέραν.
 (ὥς χορ.) ἔπομαι κλήζουσα σεμνὸν
 γόνον ὀλβίζουσα Λατοῦς,
 Ἄρτεμιν ἀπειρολεχῇ.
 (ὥς ὑπ.) Λατώ τε, κρούματά τ' Ἀσιάδος 120
 ποδὶ παρ' εὐρυθμα Φρυγίῳ

"Apollinem cantorem in certaminibus musicis alios, qui cum ipso contendant, omnes vincere." But this interpretation seems very improbable.

114-116. τὰν . . . Ἀγροτέραν] *Sing too the Maiden in the oak-bearing mountains, the huntress Artemis.* For Artemis was queen both of the mountains and of the forest. "Latona bare thee," says Catullus in his glyconic hymn to Diana, "Montium domina ut fores, Sylvarum-que virentium," Carmen 34. Cf. Eur. Troades 551. ἡ Ἀγροτέρα was a common title of the goddess. See Knights 660, Lys. 1262.

117-119. ἔπομαι . . . ἀπειρολεχῇ] *I follow on with songs of praise, blessing the exalted child of Leto, the stainless virgin Artemis.* Compare with this the entrance-hymns of Hippolytus and the Chorus in the Hippolytus of Euripides.

120-122. Λατώ τε . . . Χαρίτων] *Sing too of Leto, and the smiting of the Asian lyre, keeping time with the dance of the Graces, the whirling dance rhythmical to the Phrygian style.* Leto, as usual, is mentioned after, and in subordination to, her divine children. See Gladstone's

"Homer and the Homeric Age," Olympus, section 2. The lyre is the heavenly lyre of Apollo, which awakens the songs and dances of the immortal gods; cf. Birds 219 and the commencement of Pindar's first Pythian Ode. κρούμα is the regular word for the stroke of the plectrum on the chords of the lyre.

120. Ἀσιάδος] Ἀσιάδα τὴν κιθάραν λέγει. —Scholiast. The lyre was so called because it was invented in Lydia, in the district specially known as "Asia." The passages in which the name is mentioned are collected by Kuster. "We should not hear with more delight the strains of the Asian lyre, Ἀσιάδος ψόφον κιθάρας," say the Chorus in Eur. Cyclops 443, "than the news of the Cyclops' death." Εποίηθη δέ, says Plutarch, de Musica, chap. vi, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς κιθάρας πρῶτον κατὰ Κηρίωνα, τὸν Τερπάνδρου μαθητὴν ἐκλήθη δ' Ἀσιάς, διὰ τὸ κεχρησθαι τοὺς Λεσβίους αὐτῇ κιθαροφδοῦς πρὸς τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατοικοῦντας. Hesychius, s.v. Ἀσιάς, explains it by ἡ κιθάρα, διὰ τὸ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ εὐρῆσθαι. And the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius ii. 779, after observing that Lydia was formerly

δινεύματα Χαρίτων.

(ὥς χορ.) σέβομαι Λατώ τ' ἄνασσαν,

κίθαρίν τε ματέρ' ὕμνων,

ἄρσενι βοᾷ δόκιμῳ·

125

τᾷ φῶς ἔσσυτο δαιμονίοις ὄμμασιν,

ἡμετέρας τε δι' αἰφνιδίου ὀπός·

ὦν χάριν ἄνακτ' ἀγαλλε Φοῖβον τιμᾷ.

χαῖρ', ὀλβιε παῖ Λατοῦς.

(ὀλολύζει ὁ γέρων)

called "Asia," adds καὶ ἡ κithára 'Ασιὰς λέγεται, ἐπεὶ ἐν Λυδία πρῶτον εὗρέθη. So Etymol. Magn. s. vv. 'Ασιᾶτις, and 'Ασιάδος κρούματα. Under the latter heading the author says, τῆς κithάρας. Οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης εἶπε, παρῳδῶν τὸ ἐξ Ἑρεχθέως Εὐριπίδου. There are indeed many reminiscences of Euripides in this lyrical dialogue, but they are, perhaps, more directly reminiscences of Agathon, who may himself have borrowed them from the elder Poet.

121. ποδὶ εὐρυθμα Φρυγίῳ] τῇ Φρυγίᾳ ἁρμονίᾳ ἡρμωσμένα. — Scholiast. One would not have supposed the wild enthusiastic Phrygian mode or harmony, however fit for the dances of the Trojan women (Eur. Troades, 151, 545), to be suitable for the stately movement of the heavenly Graces. The line may seem to lend some colour to Bothe's view, mentioned in the note on 104-106 supra, as to the composition of Agathon's Chorus.

123-129. σέβομαι . . . Λατοῦς] *I worship Leto the queen, and the lyre the mother of hymns, with notable masculine song: by which (that is, the lyre) and by means of*

our suddenly raised voices, light flashes from eyes divine. For this cause magnify King Phoebus. Hail to thee, Leto's blessed son. The epithet ἄρσενι, whether borrowed from Agathon or not (cf. Persius, vi. 4), is placed by Aristophanes in the maidens' song, to ridicule the effeminacy of Agathon and Agathon's poetry. With these lines Agathon concludes his lyrics, and we know from the stage-directions that as he himself gave a little warble at the commencement, so Mnesilochus gives a squeal of pleasure at the end. The expression ὀλολύζει ὁ γέρων "significat," as Kuster observes, "Mnesilochum, audito cantico Agathonis, prae voluptate et laetitia clamorem edidisse." His expressions of delight are continued through the first four lines of his speech. The strain is *θηλυδριῶδες*, soft, voluptuous, like Agathon himself: and *κατεγλωττισμένον* and *μανδαλωτόν*, suggestive of lascivious kisses; Ach. 1201, Clouds 51. The last of the four lines ("podicem ipsum subierit titillatio." — Kuster) may have been in Persius's mind when he wrote lines 20, 21 of his first Satire. Of course, in the intention of Aristophanes,

- MN. ὥς ἡδὺ τὸ μέλος, ὦ πότνιαι Γενετυλλίδες, 130
καὶ θηλυδριῶδες καὶ κατεγλωττισμένον
καὶ μανδαλωτὸν, ὥστ' ἐμοῦ γ' ἀκροωμένου
ὑπὸ τὴν ἔδραν αὐτὴν ὑπῆλθε γάργαλος·
καὶ σ', ὦ νεανίσχ', ὅστις εἶ, κατ' Αἰσχύλον
ἐκ τῆς Λυκουργίας ἐρέσθαι βούλομαι. 135
ποδαπὸς ὁ γύννις; τίς πάτρα; τίς ἡ στολή;
τίς ἡ τάραξις τοῦ βίου; τί βάρβιτος
λαλεῖ κροκωτῶ; τί δὲ λύρα κεκρυφάλῳ;
τί λήκυθος καὶ στρόφιον; ὥς οὐ ξύμφορον.
τίς δαὶ κατόπτρου καὶ ξίφους κοινωνία; 140

these compliments are part of the satire.

130. Γενετυλλίδες] δαίμων ἡ Γενετυλλίς περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην. φασὶ δὲ παρὰ τὴν γέννησιν πεποιῆσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. τινὲς δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀρτεμίν φασιν αὐτὰς τῶν τοκετῶν ἐφόρους, καὶ πάλιν παρὰ τὴν γέννησιν τὸ ὄνομα πεποιῆσθαι.—Scholiast. Here we have Genetyllides in the plural: in Clouds 52 and Lysist. 2, Genetyllis occurs in the singular, and the Scholiast on the Clouds says Γενετυλλίς, ἡ τῆς γενέσεως ἔφορος Ἀφροδίτη. The line between the principal goddesses and their satellites was never very clearly drawn. For the present purpose it is sufficient to know that the Genetyllides were amatory deities, specially worshipped by women.

135. Λυκουργίας] τὴν τετραλογίαν λέγει Λυκουργίαν, Ἡδωνοῦς, Βασσαρίδας, Νεανίσκους, Λυκοῦργον τὸν σατυρικόν. λέγει δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἡδωνοῖς πρὸς τὸν συλληφθέντα Διόνυσον “ποδαπὸς ὁ γύννις;”—Scholiast. γύννις means a weak, womanish fellow;

δειλὸς, ἄνανδρος, γυναικώδης, Hesychius; ἀνδρόγυνος, μαλακὸς, Suidas. The story of Lycurgus, to which Diomed refers in the sixth Iliad, as a warrant for his resolve, “Of a truth I will nowise fight with the Gods, the abiders on high” (Way), is told with considerable variations by Diodorus Siculus (iii. 65), Apollodorus (iii. 34), and Hyginus (Fab. 132). He was King of the Edonians who dwelt by the River Strymon, and drove Dionysus and the Bacchae with insult from his dominions. For this he was punished with madness; and under the delusion that he was hacking down vines, he slew his wife and son and (some said) himself. But cf. Soph. Antigone 955. In the scene to which Mnesilochus is referring, Lycurgus, like Pentheus in the “Bacchae,” has arrested and is questioning Dionysus; and in all probability not line 136 only, but the remaining questions are taken, with comic additions and variations, from the Tragedy of Aeschylus. And compare

- τίς δ' αὐτὸς, ὦ παῖ; πότερον ὡς ἀνὴρ τρέφει;
 καὶ ποῦ πέος; ποῦ χλαῖνα; ποῦ Λακωνικαί;
 ἀλλ' ὡς γυνὴ δῆτ'. εἶτα ποῦ τὰ τιτθία;
 τί φῆς; τί σιγᾶς; ἀλλὰ δῆτ' ἐκ τοῦ μέλους
 ζητῶ σ', ἐπειδὴ γ' αὐτὸς οὐ βούλει φράσαι;
 145
 ΑΓ. ὦ πρέσβυ πρέσβυ, τοῦ φθόνου μὲν τὸν ψόγον
 ἤκουσα, τὴν δ' ἄλγησιν οὐ παρεσχόμην·
 ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆθ' ἅμα γνώμῃ φορῶ.
 χρὴ γὰρ ποιητὴν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὰ δράματα
 ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν, πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς τρόπους ἔχειν.
 150
 αὐτίκα γυναικεῖ ἦν ποιῇ τις δράματα,

Frogs 47. The Scholiast further tells us that Eubulus commenced the Comedy, which after the Sicilian tyrant of that name he called Dionysius, by a similar enumeration of incongruous articles to be seen in the tyrant's residence; ἐντεῦθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν Εὐβούλος ἐποιήσατο τοῦ Διονυσίου, τὰ ἀνόμια τῶν ἐν τῇ Διονυσίου οἰκίᾳ καταλέγων. As to στρόφιον and κεκρύφαλος, a woman's sash and hair-net, see the notes on 249 and 257 infra, where Agathon is asked to lend these articles to Mnesilochus. And as to the Λακωνικαί, the red Laconian shoes (ἀνδρεία ὑποδήματα.—Scholiast), see Wasps 1158, Eccl. 345 and the notes there. We have seen in the note on Eccl. 537 that λήκυθοι, oil bottles, were in constant request by an Athenian, "in his house, at the bath, in the gymnasium, and even on the battlefield," and from the λήκυθος being here contrasted with a woman's sash, we may infer that its use, during life, was practically confined to males. With line 140 Bergler compares a line

of Epicharmus, τίς γὰρ κατόπτρῳ καὶ τυφλῷ κοινωνία; Stobaeus, Flor. xc. 8, which Aristophanes seems here to be parodying.

144. ἐκ τοῦ μέλους] στοχάζομαι σε ἐκ τῆς μελοποιίας, οἷος ἂν τις εἴης.—Scholiast.

147. τὴν ἄλγησιν κ.τ.λ.] οὐκ ἐλυπήθην.—Scholiast. "dolorem nullum ostendi."—Bergler. In the following line ἅμα γνώμῃ means *of set purpose*. Bergler says "*consulto*. Idem est quod ξὺν νῶ, Nub. 580, et ἅμα ante γνώμῃ ponitur pro σὺν, ne fiat confusio cum συγγνώμῃ." This is better than the interpretation of Bourdin and Enger, ἀρμόττουσαν τῇ γνώμῃ.

151. αὐτίκα] *for example*; as in Wasps 1190, Birds 166, 378, 483, 574, 786, and 1000, Plutus 130. For its frequent occurrence, in this sense, in Plato, see Ruhnken's Timaeus, s.v. γυναικεία δράματα λέγεται, says the Scholiast, ἐν οἷς ὁ χορὸς ἐκ γυναικῶν ἐστίν, ἀνδρεῖα δὲ ἐν οἷς ἐξ ἀνδρῶν. The drama therefore on which Agathon was engaged, justified his adoption of womanly habiliments.

μετουσίαν δεῖ τῶν τρόπων τὸ σῶμ' ἔχειν.

MN. οὐκοῦν κελητίζεις, ὅταν Φαίδραν ποιῇς;

ΑΓ. ἀνδρεῖα δ' ἦν ποιῇ τις, ἐν τῷ σώματι

ἐνεσθ' ὑπάρχον τοῦθ'. ἃ δ' οὐ κεκτήμεθα,

155

μίμησις ἤδη ταῦτα συνθηρεύεται.

MN. ὅταν σατύρους τοῖνυν ποιῇς, καλεῖν ἐμέ,

152. μετουσίαν ἔχειν] *to share, participate in*; cf. Frogs 446, "muliebrum morum corpus ipsum poetae particeps esse oportet."—Brunck.

153. Φαίδραν] This, and the next, observation of Mnesilochus, appear to be addressed, aside, to Euripides. Agathon takes no notice of them, nor is there any known Play of his to which they would seem to be applicable. On the other hand, the "Hippolytus" of Euripides was called the "Phaëdra"; and is so named in the great Florentine MS. of Euripides (Valckenaer, *Diatriba*, p. 16); whilst the Satyrs form the Chorus of the "Cyclops," and doubtless of other Plays of Euripides. As to κελητίζειν, see Wasps 501, and the note there.

155. ὑπάρχον] that is, by nature. The translation gives a different turn to the sentence.

159. ἄμουσον] *out of harmony, incongruous*.

161. "Ἰβυκος κ.τ.λ.] These three Poets—Ibycus of Rhegium, Anacreon of Teos, and Alcaeus of Mitylene—are selected as the three most notable authors of the worst kind of erotic poetry. Two of them are coupled in the same way in the line cited by Athenaeus xv. 49

from our poet's "Banqueters" "Ἄσων δῆμοι σκολιὸν τι λαβὼν Ἀλκαίου κ' Ἀνακρέοντος. And all three are grouped together for precisely the same reason in a passage of the Tusculan Disputations to which Dr. Blaydes refers. The Roman orator is inveighing against the dissolute poetry of the Greeks. "Who knows not," says he, "quae de iuvenum amore scribit *Alcaeus*? Nam *Anacreontis* quidem tota poesis est amatoria. Maxime vero omnium flagrasse amore Rheginum *Ibicum* apparet ex scriptis. Atque horum omnium libidinosos esse amores videmus" (iv. 33). The Scholiast here intervenes with great effect in a difference of opinion which existed between the grammarians Aristophanes and Didymus about the reading Ἀλκαῖος. "In some copies," says he, "the name is written Ἀχαιός, and the older copies had it so. And Aristophanes it was who changed it to Ἀλκαῖος. For they are talking of old authors, but Achaeus was of later date." (He was eleven years younger than Sophocles.) "And the argument of Didymus that they could not be referring to Alcaeus, since his writings, owing to their dialect, were not familiar to the public, is sheer nonsense; for Alcaeus is parodied both

ἵνα συμποιῶ σοῦπισθεν ἐστυκῶς ἐγώ.

ΑΓ. ἄλλως τ' ἄμουσόν ἐστι ποιητὴν ἰδεῖν
ἀγρεῖον ὄντα καὶ δασύν· σκέψαι δ' ὅτι
Ἰβυκος ἐκείνος κ' Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος
κ' Ἀλκαῖος, οἵπερ ἁρμονίαν ἐχύμισαν,
ἐμτροφόρουν τε καὶ διεκινούνθ' ὧδέ πως,

160

in the Wasps (1232) and in the Birds (1410). And elsewhere Didymus says that the name Alcaeus may stand; only they are not referring to the lyric Poet (repeating the old argument about his poetry being unfamiliar), but to a harper whom Eupolis mentions in his 'Golden Age.' But what have we to do with a harper here, when the talk is of Poets?"

162. ἐχύμισαν] ἔγχυμον ἐποίησαν.—Scho-liast. *Rendered soft and succulent*; from χυμός, the juice or liquid subsisting in animal or vegetable bodies.

163. τε καὶ διεκινούνθ' ὧδέ πως] The MSS. and some early editions read τε καὶ διεκίνων Ἰωνικῶς, the others having τε καὶ διεκίνουν Ἰωνικῶς. And so Harpocration s.v. Ἰωνικός, for which Vales in his note there proposed διεκινούντ', a suggestion approved by both Kuster and Bergler, though both retain διεκίνουν in the text. But all these readings give a syllable too many to the line. Nor can it be set right by the omission of the enclitic τε, since κινέω, as Toup pointed out, always has the first syllable long. Commentators have consequently made every effort to discover a metrical substitute for διεκίνουν. Of the words suggested, Toup's διεκλῶντ'

has been the most generally accepted; though Fritzsche's κἀχλίδων has also received some little support. But διεκλῶντο introduces a stronger element than we should expect to find coupled with ἐμτροφόρουν, and on the lips of Agathon; whilst κἀχλίδων bears little resemblance to the MS. reading. And, for my own part, I cannot bring myself to doubt that Aristophanes wrote διεκινούντ', or rather διεκινούνθ', and that the error should be sought in the adverb, and not in the verb. It seems to me that Ἰωνικῶς sprang from a misreading of θ' ὧδέ πως, and being very pat to the meaning, though in no way necessary (the idea being already implied in ἐμτροφόρουν), has ever since maintained its usurped position without exciting suspicion. The words διεκινούνθ' ὧδέ πως correspond very closely to the ὦδι διαβὰς, διακινηθεὶς τῷ σώματι of Wasps 688; and compare Peace 35 τῷ χεῖρὲ πως ὦδι περιάγων. Agathon here, as Bdelycleon in the Wasps, is giving a specimen of the *motus Ionicos* (Horace, Ode III. vi. 21). Nothing is more common in Aristophanes than for a speaker thus to illustrate his words. To the passages cited in the note to Wasps 1526 add Knights 21, Peace 36, Frogs 1029.

- καὶ Φρύνιχος, τοῦτον γὰρ οὖν ἀκήκοας,
 αὐτός τε καλὸς ἦν καὶ καλῶς ἡμπίσχετο· 165
 διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κάλ' ἦν τὰ δράματα.
 ὅμοια γὰρ ποιεῖν ἀνάγκη τῇ φύσει.
- MN. ταῦτ' ἄρ' ὁ Φιλοκλέης αἰσχροὺς ὦν αἰσχροῶς ποιεῖ,
 ὁ δ' αὖ Ξενοκλέης ὦν κακὸς κακῶς ποιεῖ,
 ὁ δ' αὖ Θέογνις ψυχρὸς ὦν ψυχρῶς ποιεῖ. 170
- ΑΓ. ἅπασ' ἀνάγκη· ταῦτα γὰρ τοι γνούς ἐγὼ
 ἔμαυτὸν ἐθεράπευσα. MN. πῶς πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ;
- ΕΥ. παῦσαι βαύζων· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος ἦν
 ὦν τηλικούτος, ἥνικ' ἤρχόμην ποιεῖν.
- MN. μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ ζηλῶ σε τῆς παιδείσεως. 175
- ΕΥ. ἀλλ' ὦνπερ οὐνεκ' ἦλθον, ἕα μ' εἰπεῖν. ΑΓ. λέγε.
- ΕΥ. Ἀγάθων, σοφοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς, ὅστις ἐν βραχεῖ

164. τοῦτον . . . ἀκήκοας] ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναῖος ἦν.—Scholiast. Moreover he was later in date than any of the lyric poets just mentioned, and was certainly exhibiting tragedies after the birth of Euripides.

168. Φιλοκλέης . . . Ξενοκλέης . . . Θέογνις] Mnesilochus avails himself of the principle which Agathon lays down, viz that there must needs be some resemblance between a Poet and his poetry, to criticize three sorry Tragedians who were always obnoxious to Aristophanes. We have met with all three before. Philocles, the nephew of Aeschylus, is mentioned in Wasps 462 (where see the note) as the waspish composer of waspish tragedies. And in the closing scene of the same play, Xenocles, the most dwarfish of the sons of Carcinus, is introduced upon the stage, to dance the extravagant new dances of the

period in opposition to the old-fashioned Tragic dances of Thespis and Phrynichus. In Frogs 86 the mere mention of his name elicits from Dionysus the ejaculation ἐξόλοιτο νῆ Δία. And see infra 440. Yet Philocles carried off the prize from Sophocles when the latter exhibited his Oedipus Tyrannus; and Xenocles from Euripides when the latter competed with his Troades. The epithet ψυχρὸς, cold (that is dull, without a vivifying spark of life or genius), belonged as of right to Theognis, who from his excessive ψυχρότης had acquired the nickname of Χιών, Snow: see the Scholiast on Ach. 11. In Ach. 140 it is noticed as a curious coincidence that whilst the Athenian ambassadors were detained in Thrace by frost and snow, the Athenian stage was occupied by the tragedies of Theognis. There was a Theognis among the Thirty

- πολλοὺς καλῶς οἶός τε συντέμνειν λόγους.
 ἐγὼ δὲ καινῇ ξυμφορᾷ πεπληγμένος
 ἰκέτης ἀφίγμαι πρὸς σέ. ΑΓ. τοῦ χρεῖαν ἔχων; 180
- ΕΥ. μέλλουσί μ' αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπολεῖν τήμερον
 τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις, ὅτι κακῶς αὐτὰς λέγω.
 ΑΓ. τίς οὖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ὠφέλειά σοι;
 ΕΥ. ἡ πᾶς· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐγκαθεζόμενος λάθρα
 ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν, ὥς δοκῶν εἶναι γυνή,
 ὑπεραποκρίνη μου, σαφῶς σώσεις ἐμέ.
 μόνος γὰρ ἂν λέξιαις ἀξίως ἐμοῦ.
 ΑΓ. ἔπειτα πῶς οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀπολογεῖ παρών;
 ΕΥ. ἐγὼ φράσω σοι. πρῶτα μὲν γιγνώσκομαι·
 ἔπειτα πολὺς εἰμι καὶ πῶγων' ἔχω, 190

Tyrants; and the Scholiast on Ach. 11, who is copied by Suidas, asserts that the Poet and the Tyrant were one and the same person. The *ψυχρότης* of Theognis is immortalized by the jest of Aristophanes; the *ψυχρότης* of Diphilus, a later dramatist, is immortalized by a jest of the witty and dissolute Gnathaena:—

Quoth Diphilus "Upon my word,
 Gnathaena's wine is cold as snow."
 "Why yes," Gnathaena says, "we poured
 Your dramas in, to make it so."
 Machon apud Athen. xiii. cap. 43.

Or rather "*we pour*"; we are in the habit of doing so: it is a recipe we have.

172. *ἐμαυτὸν ἐθεράπευσα*] *got myself up with careful treatment*. He is referring to his womanly equipment and appearance, so concluding the argument which he commenced supra 148.

θεραπεύω however is also a medical term, and Mnesilochus chooses to interpret it of Agathon's womanly *practices*, and inquires what method he follows. But by this time the patience of Euripides is exhausted: he thinks that Mnesilochus has already monopolized the conversation too long; and accordingly bids him "stop that yapping," and allow him to unfold the errand of life or death which has brought him to Agathon's door.

177, 178. *Ἀγάθων . . . λόγους*] These two lines are, as Bergler points out, borrowed from the Aeolus of Euripides, except that *Ἀγάθων* is here substituted for the *Παῖδες* there: see Stobaeus, Flor. xxxv. 3. With the succeeding line the same commentator compares Alcestis 856, *καίπερ βαρεία συμφορὰ πεπληγμένος*.

190. *πολύς*] *γέρων* γὰρ τότε ὁ Εὐριπί-

σὺ δ' εὐπρόσωπος, λευκὸς, ἐξυρμένος,
γυναικόφωνος, ἀπαλὸς, εὐπρεπῆς ἰδεῖν.

ΑΓ. Εὐριπίδῃ— ΕΥ. τί ἔστιν; ΑΓ. ἐποίησάς ποτε,
“χαίρεις ὄρων φῶς, πατέρα δ' οὐ χαίρειν δοκεῖς;”

ΕΥ. ἔγωγε. ΑΓ. μή νυν ἐλπίσης τὸ σὸν κακὸν 195
ἡμᾶς ὑφέξειν. καὶ γὰρ ἂν μαινοίμεθ' ἄν.
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὃ γε σὸν ἐστιν οἰκείως φέρε.
τὰς συμφορὰς γὰρ οὐχὶ τοῖς τεχνάσμασιν
φέρειν δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς παθήμασιν.

ΜΝ. καὶ μὴν σύ γ', ὦ κατάπυγον, εὐρύπρωκτος εἶ 200
οὐ τοῖς λόγοισιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς παθήμασιν.

ΕΥ. τί δ' ἔστιν ὅτι δέδοικας ἐλθεῖν αὐτόσε;

ΑΓ. κάκιον ἀπολοίμην ἂν ἢ σύ. ΕΥ. πῶς; ΑΓ. ὅπως;
δοκῶν γυναικῶν ἔργα νυκτερεῖσια
κλέπτειν, ὑφαρπάζειν τε θήλειαν Κύπριν. 205

δης ἦν.—Scholiast. At the date of this Comedy he was about seventy years old; ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ βαθὺν πώγωνα θρέψαι, says the author of the Greek Life of Euripides (first printed by Elmsley in his edition of the Bacchae), to which Fritzsche refers.

194. χαίρεις ὄρων φῶς κ.τ.λ.] ἐξ Ἀλκήστιδος Εὐριπίδου (691).—Scholiast. The question is put by Pheres to his son Admetus, who expects his father to die as a substitute for himself. Aristophanes had already parodied the line in Clouds 1415. There is probably a considerable Euripidean element in Agathon's next speech.

199. φέρειν] This word, though apt with παθήμασιν (*ferre patiēdo*) is hardly suitable with τεχνάσμασιν. For φέρειν τεχνάσμασιν must here be taken to mean “to endeavour to escape

troubles by artful dodges, to meet them with artifices,” as Euripides is now doing.

201. παθήμασιν] “Hic iam alia πάθηματα intelliguntur; nempe unde Pathici dicuntur.”—Bergler.

205. κλέπτειν] Euripides will be detected as being a *man*; Agathon will be suspected as coming to play a *woman's* part, and to steal away, by attracting to himself, the love which the women would otherwise enjoy. The phrase ὑφαρπάζειν θήλειαν Κύπριν reappears in a slightly altered form in Eccl. 722 τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὑφαρπάζειν Κύπριν, and is probably a quotation from, or parody of, some tragic passage. Mnesilochus, in the next line, scorns the euphemistic κλέπτειν, and insists on calling a spade a spade: *naï rather say βινεῖσθαι*.

MN. ἰδοὺ γε κλέπτειν· νῆ Δία βινεῖσθαι μὲν οὖν.

ἀτὰρ ἢ πρόφασίς γε νῆ Δί' εἰκότως ἔχει.

EΥ. τί οὖν; ποιήσεις ταῦτα; ΑΓ. μὴ δόκει γε σύ.

EΥ. ὦ τρισκακοδαίμων, ὥς ἀπόλωλ' Εὐριπίδης.

MN. ὦ φίλτατ', ὦ κηδεστὰ, μὴ σαυτὸν προδῶς. 210

EΥ. πῶς οὖν ποιήσω δῆτα; MN. τοῦτον μὲν μακρὰ
κλαίειν κέλευ', ἐμοὶ δ' ὅ τι βούλει χρῶ λαβών.

EΥ. ἄγε νυν ἐπειδὴ σαυτὸν ἐπιδίδως ἐμοὶ,

ἀπόδουθι τουτὶ θοῖμάτιον. MN. καὶ δὴ χαμαί.

ἀτὰρ τί μέλλεις δρᾶν μ'; EΥ. ἀποξυρεῖν ταδί, 215

τὰ κάτω δ' ἀφεύειν. MN. ἀλλὰ πρᾶτ', εἴ σοι δοκεῖ.

ἢ μὴ διδόναι γ' ἐμαυτὸν ὠφελὸν ποτε.

EΥ. Ἀγάθων σὺ μέντοι ξυροφορεῖς ἐκάστοτε,

χρησόν τί νυν ἡμῖν ξυρόν. ΑΓ. αὐτὸς λάμβανε

ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ τῆς ξυροδόκης. EΥ. γενναῖος εἶ. 220

209. ἀπόλωλ' Εὐριπίδης] We have already, supra 77, been told that this day is to decide εἴτ' ἔστ' ἔτι ζῶν, εἴτ' ἀπόλωλ' Εὐριπίδης. Agathon's refusal is decisive in favour of the latter alternative; and so ἀπόλωλ' Εὐριπίδης.

210. μὴ σαυτὸν προδῶς] *Do not fail yourself* in this crisis; do not give yourself away; to your own self be true. Cf. Eur. Andromache 191, Plato, Crito chap. 5. So in Latin *tute te deseris*, Plautus, Epidicus I. i. 88.

215. ἀποξυρεῖν ταδί] τὰ γένεια. ταῦτα δὲ ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῶν Ἰδαίων Κρατίνου.—Scho-liast. The first step in the process of converting Mnesilochus into a woman is to get rid of the tell-tale hair on his face and limbs; the face is to be shaven, and the limbs are to be singed. The idea of this depilation scene seems to have been borrowed from a Play of

Cratinus called by the Scholiast the Ἰδαῖοι, and by Clemens Alexandrinus (Stromata VI. ii. 26) the Ἑμπιπράμενοι, for doubtless, as Dindorf observes, these are two names of the same Play. And Bergk conjectures that the Chorus consisted of Idaean Dactyls, who, it is likely enough, smoothed their bodies and singed off their superfluous hair, as the effeminate ministers of the Phrygian Cybele. See Meineke's *Fragm. Com. Graec.* ii. 54.

218. ξυροφορεῖς] "Agatho, sine novaculis nunquam deprehenderis; unam igitur nobis nunc commoda."—Brunck. He has already been described as ἐξυρημένος, supra 191.

220. γενναῖος εἶ] These words are a recognition of Agathon's liberality in allowing them the use of his razor. Cf. *Frogs* 179. The succeeding line is ad-

κάθιζε· φύσα τὴν γνάθον τὴν δεξιάν.

MN. ὦμοι. ΕΥ. τί κέκραγας; ἐμβαλῶ σοι πάτταλον,
ἣν μὴ σιωπᾶς. MN. ἀτταταῖ ἰατταταῖ.

ΕΥ. οὗτος σὺ ποῖ θεῖς; MN. ἐς τὸ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν
οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν Δήμητρά γ' ἐνταυθοῖ μενῶ
τεμνόμενος. ΕΥ. οὐκουν καταγέλαστος δῆτ' ἔσει
τὴν ἡμίκραιραν τὴν ἐτέραν ψιλὴν ἔχων;

MN. ὀλίγον μέλει μοι. ΕΥ. μηδαμῶς πρὸς τῶν θεῶν
προδῶς με· χῶρει δεῦρό. MN. κακοδαίμων ἐγώ.

ΕΥ. ἔχ' ἀτρέμα σαυτὸν κἀνάκνυπτε· ποῖ στρέφει; 230

MN. μὴ μὴ. ΕΥ. τί μύζεις; πάντα πεποίηται καλῶς.

MN. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, ψιλὸς αὖ στρατεύσομαι.

ΕΥ. μὴ φροντίσης· ὥς εὐπρεπὴς φανεῖ πάνν.

dressed to Mnesilochus, who accordingly takes his seat, so to say, in the barber's chair, and "blows the swoll'n cheek of a trumpeter." However the operation has hardly commenced when he utters a piercing shriek, as if the razor had gashed his skin.

222. πάτταλον] *I will clap a gag in your mouth*, says Euripides, *if you don't keep silence*. Cf. Knights 375, 376. But a second gash follows, and Mnesilochus springs from his chair.

224. τὸ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν] "*Ad Eumenidum fanum; non enim, per Cererem, hic manens secundum me praebebo*."—Brunck. Like the insulted triremes in Knights 1312, he will take refuge in the most sacrosanct and inviolable asylum in Athens, the Temple of the Erinyes, erected over the fissure still visible in the rock of Areopagus, through which the dread Goddesses, after their reconciliation with Athene, were be-

lieved to have descended to their appointed habitation. See the closing scene of the Eumenides, and Euripides, Electra 1270-3. The next line (225) is repeated with a slight variation from Wasps 1442.

227. τὴν ἡμίκραιραν] τὸ ἦμισυν τῆς κεφαλῆς.—Suidas. τὴν μίαν κομῶν γνάθον, τὴν ἐτέραν ἐψιλωμένος.—Scholiast. "*Nonne ridiculus eris semiraso capite?*"—Brunck. The appeal of Euripides prevails, and after this little outbreak Mnesilochus, with the words κακοδαίμων ἐγώ, reluctantly resumes his seat.

230. ἀνάκνυπτε] He is to lean back, and elevate his chin, so that Euripides may more easily shave off the hair underneath it.

232. ψιλὸς στρατεύσομαι] *I shall enter upon my campaign as a ψιλὸς*, with a play on the double meaning of ψιλὸς, *a light-armed soldier* and *a man smooth-shaven*. The shaving is over, and

- βούλει θεᾶσθαι σαντόν; MN. εἰ δοκεῖ, φέρε.
 ΕΥ. ὀρᾷς σεαυτόν; MN. οὐ μὰ Δί' ἀλλὰ Κλεισθένην. 235
 ΕΥ. ἀνίστασ', ἵν' ἀφεύσω σε, κάγκυψας ἔχε.
 MN. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, δελφάκιον γενήσομαι.
 ΕΥ. ἐνεγκάτω τις ἔνδοθεν δᾶδ' ἢ λύχνον.
 ἐπίκνυπτε· τὴν κέρκον φυλάττου νυν ἄκραν.
 MN. ἐμοὶ μελήσει νῆ Δία, πλήν γ' ὅτι κάομαι. 240
 οἴμοι τάλας. ὕδωρ ὕδωρ ᾧ γείτονες.
 πρὶν ἀντιλαβέσθαι τόν γε πρωκτὸν τῆς φλογός.
 ΕΥ. θάρρει. MN. τί θαρρῶ καταπευρπολημένος;
 ΕΥ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτ' οὐδὲν πρᾶγμά σοι· τὰ πλείστα γὰρ
 ἀποπεπόνηκας. MN. φῦ· ἰὸν τῆς ἀσβόλου. 245
 αἰθὺς γεγένημαι πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν τράμιν.

Euripides hands the victim a mirror (κάσπτρον must be understood after φέρε in line 234), that he may see how pretty (εὐπρεπής) he has become. However when he looks into the mirror, he seems to behold not the manly old Mnesilochus, but Cleisthenes, the most effeminate of Athenians, and the constant butt of Athenian Comedy. Cleisthenes is himself introduced on the stage infra 574, and in almost his first words calls attention to his smoothly shaven cheeks.

236. ἀφεύσω] Now the singeing is to begin, and Mnesilochus has to stand up, and be singed fore and aft: first in front, and then behind.

237. δελφάκιον] a sucking-pig. ἡ ἴς, ἡ πρόων ἐπίτεξ εἶναι νομιζομένη, says a letter-writer in Alciphron iii. 73, ἀρτίως τέτοκε, καὶ ἔχω δελφάκων ἀφθονίαν. γρύζουσι δὲ μάλ' ἀηδὲς, ἀλλ' ἐδώδιμον. These sucking-pigs were much used in sacrifices, and it was customary to remove their bristles

from the hide by singeing; μετὰ γὰρ τὸ τυθῆναι τὰ δελφάκια φλογίζονται, ἵνα ψιλωθῶσιν.—Scholiast. Mnesilochus thinks that he will resemble one of these singed sucking-pigs; and Euripides, perhaps, carries on the idea in the reference to his tail, κέρκος, in the next line but one: though κέρκος there, of course, involves the double signification which is found in Ach. 785-7; Horace, Sat. I. ii. 45; and elsewhere.

242. ἀντιλαβέσθαι . . . τῆς φλογός] Catch fire; ὥσεί ἔλεγεν οἰκίαν, says the Scholiast.

245. ἀσβόλου] ἄσβολος καλεῖται ἡ αἰθάλη (sooty smoke) τοῦ πυρός. τράμιν δὲ ὁ πρωκτός.—Scholiast. Here ἄσβολος signifies the fumes arising from the singed hair. The resentment which Mnesilochus exhibits, two lines below, at the idea of being sponged, arises from that use of the sponge which is mentioned in Frogs 487-90.

ΕΥ. μὴ φροντίσης· ἕτερος γὰρ αὐτὰ σπογγιεῖ.

MN. οἰμώξετ' ἄρ' εἴ τις τὸν ἐμὸν πρωκτὸν πλυνεῖ.

ΕΥ. Ἀγάθων, ἐπειδὴ σαντὸν ἐπιδούναι φθονεῖς,

ἀλλ' ἱμάτιον γούν χρῆσον ἡμῖν τουτφί

250

καὶ στρόφιον· οὐ γὰρ ταῦτά γ' ὥς οὐκ ἔστ' ἐρεῖς.

ΑΓ. λαμβάνετε καὶ χρῆσθ'· οὐ φθονῶ. ΕΥ. τί οὖν λάβω;

249. Ἀγάθων κ.τ.λ.] The person of Mnesilochus, being now smoothed and denuded of hair, has next to be attired in female clothing. They know that Agathon can supply them with this, since he himself, as we have already seen, is partly equipped as a woman. The costume of men, and the costume of women, were in many respects widely different, but the ground-work of both was the same. Each consisted of two main articles of apparel, (1) a χιτῶν, tunic, or body-robe, which was *put on* (ἐνδύον, infra 253), and covering the shoulders, reached, in the case of women, to the feet; and (2) an ἱμάτιον, or outer mantle, loosely *thrown over* one shoulder, and drawn underneath the other. The χιτῶν was an ἔνδυμα, the ἱμάτιον was a περίβλημα. Here the body-robe is called κροκωτός, and the outer mantle ἐγκυκλον, very common names in women's costume; the former from its yellow colour, the latter, probably, from its rounded shape. See the notes on Eccl. 318, 333, and 536. The στρόφιον was the sash or girdle which tied in the κροκωτός underneath the paps. Agathon has also to furnish a net and hair-band for the head, and a pair of women's slippers for the feet, and the toilet is complete. It must be

remembered that he is at this moment attired in a κροκωτός, a στρόφιον, a κεκρύφαλος, and women's slippers, supra 138-42. The arrangement of the speeches during the toilet scene is very uncertain, but it seems that Agathon points out the various articles; Euripides takes them and dresses Mnesilochus, whilst the latter, after the painful experiences of the shaving and singeing operations, cannot conceal his delight at finding himself arrayed in these soft and comfortable garments.

250. τουτφί] For the use of Mnesilochus. Enger well observes, "non sine causa hic τουτφί addi, quod oppositum sit illis ἐπειδὴ σαντὸν ἐπιδούναι φθονεῖς, quoniam ipse te mihi invides, at saltem hic ut mihi operam possit praestare, mihi commoda vestem." ἱμάτιον is here used in the general sense of "a garment," and not in the special sense mentioned in the preceding note.

252. οὐ φθονῶ] If Euripides had exhibited the "Madness of Heracles" shortly before the date of this Comedy, as is generally supposed, Aristophanes may be referring to the line in that Play (333) which Bergler cites, Κοσμεῖσθ' ἔσω μολόντες· οὐ φθονῶ πέπλων. In the following line ἐνδύον can be addressed only to the person about to wear the

ΑΓ. ὅ τι; τὸν κροκωτὸν πρῶτον ἐνδύου λαβάν.

MN. νῆ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἡδὺ γ' ὄζει ποσθίου.

σύζωσον ἀνύσας. ΕΥ. αἶρε νῦν στρόφιον. ΑΓ. ἰδού. 255

MN. ἴθι νυν κατὰστειλὸν με τὰ περὶ τῷ σκέλῃ.

ΕΥ. κεκρυφάλου δεῖ καὶ μίτρας. ΑΓ. ἡδὲ μὲν οὖν

apparel, and Bentley and others would therefore transfer the words τί οὖν λάβω; to Mnesilochus.

254. ποσθίου] δέον εἰπεῖν μύρον, εἶπε ποσθίου. πόσθιον δέ ἐστι τὸ αἰδοῖον τοῦ ἀνδρός.—Scholiast. Being a woman's dress it would naturally smell of some fragrant perfumes, but inasmuch as it has been worn by a man, Mnesilochus substitutes παρὰ προσδοκίαν this objectionable word.

256. κατὰστειλὸν με] *arrange me neatly about the legs.*

257. κεκρυφάλου καὶ μίτρας] *a woman's cap and snood.* This was the head-dress of Andromache, which Homer describes as κεκρύφαλον τ' ἡδὲ πλεκτὴν ἀναδέσμην Il. xxii. 469. The κεκρύφαλος was a cap for confining the hair, and was doubtless

made in divers shapes and of divers materials. Sometimes it was a plain kerchief (κεκρύφαλον' σουδάριον.—Pho-tius), such as the Arnaut women still wear upon their heads.—Dodwell, i. 141. Sometimes it was a net, such as is shown on Pompeian frescoes, "a net-work which confined, and more or less concealed the hair." — Gladstone's Homeric Synchronism, p. 50. Its functions are briefly described in an Epigram which appears in a double form in the Anthology (Antipater Sidonius 21; Archias 5). In that epigram five sisters are bringing gifts to the Heavenly Aphrodite, and one of them, Philaenis by name, offers a κεκρύφαλος. In the first version it is said,

τὸν δὲ φιλοπλέκτοιο κόμης σφιγκτῆρα Φιλαινὶς,
βαπτὸν ἄλδς πολίῃς ἄνθεσι, κεκρύφαλον.

And in the second,

πολυπλέκτου δὲ Φιλαινὶς
πορφύρεον χαίτης ῥύτορα, κεκρύφαλον.

μίτρα means simply a *band*. As a part of the headgear it was probably a ribbon tying the κεκρύφαλος, and curbing the tooluxuriant tresses. Catullus, describing the reckless grief of the deserted Ariadne, as she watched the receding ship which was carrying from her the faithless Theseus, says that she looked like

a frenzied Maenad, *non flavo retinens subtilem vertice mitram, Non tereti strophio luctantes vincita papillas*, lxiv. 63. The use of the μίτρα as a hair-band seems to have commenced amongst the Asiatics (Hdt. i. 195, vii. 62, 90; cf. Eur. Hec. 924, Bacchae, 833), amongst whom it was common to men and

κεφαλὴ περίθετος, ἣν ἐγὼ νύκτωρ φορῶ.

ΕΥ. νῆ τὸν Δί', ἀλλὰ κάπιτηδεία πάνν.

MN. ἄρ' ἀρμόσει μοι; ΕΥ. νῆ Δί' ἀλλ' ἄριστ' ἔχει. 260

φέρ' ἐγκυκλον. ΑΓ. τουτὶ λάβ' ἀπὸ τῆς κλινίδος.

ΕΥ. ὑποδημάτων δει. ΑΓ. τὰμὰ ταυτὶ λάμβανε.

MN. ἄρ' ἀρμόσει μοι; χαλαρὰ γοῦν χαίρεις φορῶν.

ΑΓ. σὺ τοῦτο γίγνωσκ'. ἀλλ' ἔχεις γὰρ ὦν δέει,
εἴσω τις ὡς τάχιστα μ' εἰσκυκλησάτω. 265

ΕΥ. ἀνὴρ μὲν ἡμῖν οὕτοσὶ καὶ δὴ γυνῇ

τό γ' εἶδος· ἣν λαλῆς δ', ὅπως τῷ φθέγματι

women; but amongst the Hellenes in Europe its use by a man was accounted an act of the grossest effeminacy. See supra 163. "I should be ashamed, Zeus," says Hera, speaking of Dionysus, "to have a son so effeminate and drunken, whose hair is bound up with a mitra," *μίτρα ἀναδεδεμένος τὴν κόμην*, Lucian xviiith. Dialogue of the Gods.

258. *κεφαλὴ περίθετος*] a hood or coif; literally a put-on head; a strange name for a woman's head-dress, but one which is recognized, as Kuster observes, by both Pollux (ii. segm. 35) and Eustathius (at Il. xxii. 470); the latter writer calling it *κόσμος γυναικείος* "an article of womanly adornment," and expressing a doubt εἴτε κρήδεμονον αὐτῇ, εἴτε ἄμπυξ, εἴτε κεκρύφαλος, εἴτε ὁμοῦ πάντα ταῦτα μετὰ τῆς ἀναδέσμης. Here it is plain that Agathon offers it, and Euripides receives it, as a substitute for both *κεκρύφαλος* and *ἀναδέσμη*. It was doubtless a hood, fitting close to, and so assuming the shape of, its wearer's head, whence it itself obtained the name of *κεφαλὴ*. And, being something like the nightcaps

which English ladies used to wear, it was quite capable of doing duty for both *κεκρύφαλος* and *μίτρα*. And this is the meaning, as Hermann and Enger perceived, of the Scholium, πάντα ἔχονσα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν ἐαυτῇ.

261. ἀπὸ τῆς κλινίδος] from the couch whereon it was lying. The form *κλινίς* is employed to illustrate the effeminacy of Agathon, since it was specially appropriated to the luxurious carriage-seat which a newly-married bride occupied between the bridegroom and the groomsmen. *κλινίς*· ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης νυμφικῇ καθέδρα.—Hesychius. οὐ μέντοι ἀγνοῶ, says Pollux, x. segm. 33, ὅτι κλινίς ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης καταστρωννύμενον, ὅταν μετίωσι τὰς νύμφας, ἐφ' οὗ κάθηται ἡ νύμφη μεταξὺ τοῦ παρόχου τε καὶ τοῦ νυμφίου.

262. τὰμὰ ταυτῇ] He takes the slippers off his own feet, and hands them to Euripides. Mnesilochus, a larger man than Agathon, doubts if he can get his own feet into them; and when he finds that he can, he says to Agathon, "Why then you like to wear loose shoes."

γυναικιεῖς εὖ καὶ πιθανῶς. MN. πειράσομαι.

ΕΥ. βάδιζε τοῖνυν. MN. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω οὐκ, ἦν γε μὴ
ὁμόσης ἐμοί— ΕΥ. τί χρήμα; MN. συσσώσειν ἐμέ 270
πάσαις τέχναις, ἦν μοί τι περιπίπτῃ κακόν.

ΕΥ. ὄμνυμι τοῖνυν αἰθέρ' οἴκησιν Διός.

MN. τί μάλλον ἢ τὴν Ἴπποκράτους ξυνοικίαν;

ΕΥ. ὄμνυμι τοῖνυν πάντας ἄρδην τοὺς θεοὺς.

MN. μέμνησο τοῖνυν ταῦθ', ὅτι ἡ φρὴν ὤμοσεν, 275
ἡ γλῶττα δ' οὐκ ὁμώμοκ'· οὐδ' ὥρκωσ' ἐγώ.
(ὀλολύζουσι. τὸ ἱερὸν ὠθεῖται.)

The Scholiast says, διαβάλλει πάλιν τὸν Ἀγάθωνα ὡς χαῦνον. Agathon's part is now over, and he calls upon the μηχανοποιὸν (Peace 174) to wheel him back again. Apparently he has not left his chamber throughout the foregoing scene. His house is now closed up, and we hear no more of him in the present Play.

267. ἦν λαλῆς] In appearance and equipment Mnesilochus is now transformed into a woman; but he must also "make liquid treble of that bassoon, his throat"; and doubtless he utters the word πειράσομαι in a "monstrous little voice," to imitate the tone of a woman.

272. ὄμνυμι τοῖνυν] This line is quoted from the Melanippe sapiens (see the note on line 14 above), except that Aristophanes substitutes τοῖνυν for the δ' ἱερὸν of the original. See Frogs 100 and the note there. Mnesilochus does not see the sense of swearing by a dwelling-place, and thinks that Euripides might as well swear by the lodgings in which Hippocrates and his

swinish brood (of whom we have heard in Clouds 1001) are herding together. Euripides, to satisfy him, proceeds to swear by all the gods in a lump. ἄρδην is a metaphor from the act of dragging up something by the very roots, so as to leave nothing behind; and ἄρδην πάντες, therefore, both here and in Phoenissae, 1146 (to which Dr. Blaydes refers), means *all without exception or reservation*. With this wholesale swearing Bergler compares Medea, 746-52, where the heroine calls upon Aegeus to swear by "the Earth, the Sun, θεῶν τε . . . ἅπαν γένος." The terms of the oath are now satisfactory; but Mnesilochus, mindful of the famous line in the Hippolytus, ἡ γλῶσσο' ὁμώμοκ' ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος (as to which see Frogs 1471 and the note there), wishes to be sure that in this case the oath goes deeper than the tongue, and is binding upon the conscience. The words οὐδ' ὥρκωσ' ἐγώ mean *nor did I so put the oath*. It was not to your tongue only that I administered it.

ΕΥ. ἔκσπευδε ταχέως· ὡς τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 σημείον ἐν τῷ Θεσμοφορίῳ φαίνεται.
 ἐγὼ δ' ἄπειμι. MN. δεῦρό νυν ὦ Θράτθ' ἔπου.
 ὦ Θράττα, θέασαι, καομένων τῶν λαμπάδων,
 ὅσον τὸ χρῆμ' ἀνέρχεθ' ὑπὸ τῆς λιγνύος.
 ἀλλ' ὦ περικαλλῇ Θεσμοφόρῳ δέξασθέ με
 ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ καὶ δεῦρο καὶ πάλιν οἴκαδε.

280

277. ἔκσπευδε ταχέως] The *παρεπιγραφὴ* or stage-direction which immediately precedes these words indicates an entire change of scene; the Thesmophorium, or temple of Demeter and Persephone, being thrust out upon the stage, while the Chorus are crowding into the orchestra with lighted torches and loud religious cries, but without any formal entrance-song. The change was effected by means of the *ἐξώστρα*, machinery considered by some grammarians, but wrongly, to be identical with the *ἐκκύκλημα*. Indeed, even here, the Scholiast says *παρεπιγραφὴ· ἐκκυκλεῖται ἐπὶ τὸ ἐξω τὸ Θεσμοφόριον*. The *ἐκκύκλημα* had a circular movement on a pivot (*περιστρέφεται*.—Scholiast Ach. 408; Suidas), the front wall of the house opening like a door, and disclosing, and bringing out with itself, the interior chambers. There was no *περιστροφή* with the *ἐξώστρα*, nor any disclosure of what was taking place within; it simply pushed something straight out upon the stage. Nor was it so temporary an expedient as the *ἐκκύκλημα*, which merely disclosed the interior, without otherwise interrupting the scene. The *ἐξώστρα* created a new scene, which might continue, and

in the present case apparently did continue, to the very end of the Play; whilst in the Peace it continued from 173 to 729, the commencement of the Parabasis. The temple, so brought forward, has on it a *σημεῖον*, probably a pole or standard of some sort, to signify that an *ἐκκλησία* is about to commence. *ὅτε ἔμελλε γίνεσθαι ἐκκλησία*, says the Scholiast, *σημεῖον ἐτίθετο*. οὕτως οὖν, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν μελλουσῶν ἐκκλησιάζειν, *σημεῖον τίθεται*. See Wasps 690 and the note there. Though Mnesilochus does not really leave the stage, yet, as the scene suddenly changes from Agathon's house to the temple, he must be imagined to pass from the one to the other, and hence the exhortation *ἔκσπευδε*. Euripides now makes off, and Mnesilochus, gathering his woman's dress about him, begins to speak in a fussy way, and with a woman's voice (*μιμνέται τὴν φωνὴν γυναικός*.—Scholiast) to an imaginary servant-girl.

281. ὅσον τὸ χρῆμ'] These words are usually accompanied by a genitive, τὸ χρῆμα τῶν νυκτῶν (or τῶν κόπων, or παρνόπων, or otherwise) ὅσον. But here and in Peace 1192 they stand alone, and in each passage mean *What a crowd of*

ὦ Θράττα, τὴν κίστην κάθελε, κᾶτ' ἔξελε
 τὸ πόπανον, ὡς λαβοῦσα θύσω ταῖν θεαῖν. 285
 δέσποινα πολυτίμητε Δήμητερ φίλῃ
 καὶ Φερσέφαττα, πολλὰ πολλάκις μέ σοι
 θύειν ἔχουσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ νῦν λαθεῖν.
 καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, Χοῖριον, ἀνδρὸς μοι τυχεῖν
 πλουτοῦντος, ἄλλως τ' ἡλιθίου κάβελτέρου, 290

people. He uses the compound *ἀνέρχεται*, because the worshippers had to *ascend* to the Thesmophorium, which stood on elevated ground. See 585 *infra* and the note there. They have flaming torches in their hands, and the fiery vapour (*λιγνὶς*, a word used thrice only in these Comedies, once in each of three successive Plays, the *Birds*, the *Lysistrata* and the *Thesmophoriazusae*) keeps rising from these torches and flaring and flickering over their heads.

285. τὸ πόπανον] The πόπανον was a small wheaten cake, round and flat, much used in sacrifices. πόπανα· πλακούντια ἀπὸ ἄρτου.—Hesychius. πλακούντια πλατέα καὶ λεπτά, καὶ περιφερῆ.—Photius, Scholiast on Lucian's *Cataplus* 2, and (with πέμματα for πλακούντια) *Timaeus*, where see Ruhnken's note.

288. θύειν ἔχουσιν] These words are probably to be taken together, *to keep on sacrificing*; a meaning more commonly associated with the singular masculine, *Clouds* 509; *Birds* 341; *Lys.* 945; *Frogs* 202, 512, 524; *Eccl.* 853, 1151. This seems a more probable construction than to connect ἔχουσιν with πολλὰ in the preceding line. The infinitives are governed by *ὅτε* understood.

289. Χοῖριον] He prays for his boy and girl, just as *Alcestis* on her death-bed is represented as praying for hers. Only the children for whom *Mnesilochus* prays are merely the offspring of his own imagination. He gives them names to signify their sex. The girl is Χοῖριον from *χοῖρος* in the sense of the *γυναικῆιον αἰδοῖον*; and the boy *Ποσθάληκος* (like πόσθων in *Peace* 1300) from πόσθη (*Clouds* 1014) or πόσθιον (*supra* 254, *infra* 515). On the girl's name the Scholiast remarks, ὡς τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ κατ' ἐπὶ κλησιν οὕτω καλουμένης, οἶον Βοῖδιον, ἢ Χρυσίον, ἢ Μυρτίον (all pet names, the last being the equivalent of Χοῖριον). For her, he prays that she may become the wife of a wealthy husband, not overburdened with brains, and so easily outwitted; ἀναισθήτου καὶ μωροῦ, says the Scholiast, ἵνα κρατῇ αὐτοῦ. In the long passage cited by *Athenaeus* (vi. chap. 30, 236 f) from the *Kólares* of *Eupolis* (to which *Bergler* also refers) the chorus of Flatterers say, ἐπειδὴν κατίδω τιν' ἄνδρα | ἡλίθιον, πλουτοῦντα δ', εὐθὺς περὶ τοῦτον εἰμί. For the son, he prays that he may develop into a wise and understanding man, νοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ φρένας. See *Frogs* 534, and *infra* 462.

καὶ Ποσθάληκον νοῦν ἔχειν μοι καὶ φρένας.
 ποῦ ποῦ καθίζωμ' ἐν καλῷ, τῶν ρητόρων
 ἴν' ἔξακούω ; σὺ δ' ἄπιθ', ὦ Θράττ', ἐκποδών.
 δούλοις γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστ' ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων.

ΚΗ.

εὐφημία ἴστω,

295

εὐφημία ἴστω.

εὔχεσθε ταῖν Θεσμοφόροις,
 τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ,
 καὶ τῷ Πλούτῳ, καὶ τῇ Καλλιγενείᾳ,
 καὶ τῇ Κουροτρόφῳ τῇ Γῇ,

300

292. ἐν καλῷ κ.τ.λ.] *a good place for hearing the speeches.* The prayer is over and he is again the fussy Athenian matron.

294. δούλοις] Doubtless none but free-born women (εὐγενεῖς γυναῖκες, infra 330, δσαι πάρεσμεν ἄσταί, infra 541) could take part in the actual deliberations, but it seems that servants were allowed to accompany their mistresses into the precincts. See infra 537, and the next note. Mnesilochus, however, is speaking to an imaginary Thratta, and gets rid of her by this excuse.

295. ΚΗΡΥΚΑΙΝΑ] Now the women's ἐκκλησία begins. The prayers and invocations which follow, consisting of two exhortations by the Crieress, and two responsive hymns by the Chorus, are modelled on the preliminaries of an Athenian ἐκκλησία, but are varied by allusions to the Thesmophorian worship, and still more by alterations consequent on the sex of the ecclesiasts. Throughout the ensuing scenes there are never more than three speakers on the stage at once—(1) Mnesilochus,

the Crieress, and the First Woman; (2) Mnesilochus and the two Women; (3) Mnesilochus and the First Woman; (4) Mnesilochus, the First Woman, and Cleisthenes; (5) Mnesilochus and the First Woman; (6) Mnesilochus and the First and Third Women; and (7) Mnesilochus and the Third Woman. But there were many mute personages, the δουλάρια of 537, the nurse of 609, the τάρσδε of 726, and the Mania of 728 and 754. And of course the Chorus in the orchestra form part of the body of worshippers. This bidding-prayer is in prose, but in the MSS. and in all the older editions it is arranged in lines of unequal length; an arrangement retained by both Fritzsche and Enger, and one which renders the proclamation so much more distinct and impressive, that I have not hesitated to follow their example. The Scholiast says—περὶ εὐφημίας χρῶνται οἱ καμικοὶ, ἐπειδὴν εὐχὴν (Birds 865-88) ἢ ψήφισμα (Birds 1035 seqq. and 1661) εἰσάγωνιν. But this is not an invariable rule.

297. ταῖν Θεσμοφόροις] The first de-

καὶ τῇ Ἑρμῇ, καὶ Χάρισιν,
 ἐκκλησίαν τήνδε καὶ ξύνοδον τὴν νῦν
 κάλλιστα κᾶριστα ποιῆσαι,
 πολυωφελῶς μὲν πόλει τῇ Ἀθηναίων,
 τυχερῶς δ' ἡμῖν αὐταῖς·
 καὶ τὴν δρῶσαν καὶ τὴν ἀγορεύουσαν
 τὰ βέλτιστα περὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων,
 καὶ τὸν τῶν γυναικῶν,
 ταύτην νικᾶν.
 ταῦτ' εὔχεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐταῖς τάγαθά.

305

310

parture from the ordinary formula consists in the substitution of an entirely new group of divinities, for the assembly to invoke. These are the two Thesmophorian Goddesses, and the Powers whose worship was connected with theirs. See Muller's *Eumenides*, § 86, and Greek Literature, chap. ii. Even the Graces took part in escorting Persephone from the world below. See the note on *Frogs* 453. On *Πλούτῳ* the Scholiast remarks, ὡς ἀνδρὶ τῆς *Περσεφόνης*, whether as reading *Πλούτωνι*, or as considering *Πλούτος* and *Πλούτων* to be interchangeable names. The connexion between *Πλούτων* and the twain Goddesses, and *their* connexion again, as the givers of harvest, with *Πλούτος*, aided by the similarity of the names *Πλούτων* and *Πλούτος*, seem to have brought about a sort of amalgamation between these two Gods. Here *Πλούτος* is used for *Πλούτων*, whilst in *Plutus* 727 (where see Spanheim's note) *Πλούτων* is, conversely, used for *Πλούτος*. In Plato's *Cratylus*, chap. xix (403 A), Socrates says that *Πλούτων* obtained his name

κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πλούτου δόσιν, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς κάτωθεν ἀνίεται ὁ πλούτος. And *Plutus* himself gives much the same explanation of *Pluto's* name in *Lucian's Timon* 21. As to *Calligeneia*, a name applied originally to *Persephone* herself, and afterwards to one of her handmaidens, see the remarks in the Introduction. She is described by the Scholiast here as δαίμων περὶ τὴν Δῆμητραν ἣν προλογίζουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐτέραις Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις ἐποίησεν.

300. τῇ Κουροτρόφῳ τῇ Γῇ] *Earth, the nursing mother*, the rearer of youth. There was, *Pausanias* informs us (*Attica* xxii. 3, a passage to which *Kuster* indirectly refers), a temple Γῆς Κουροτρόφου καὶ Δήμητρος Χλόης close to the *Acropolis* of *Athens*: doubtless the *ιερόν* τῆς Γῆς which *Thucydides* (ii. 15) mentions as close to the *Acropolis*, and the *ιερόν* τῆς Χλόης (*Lys.* 835), beside which *Cinesias* is first espied by *Lysistrata* and the female garrison of the *Acropolis*, as he is hastening to the walls of that fortress.

ἰὴ παιῶν, ἰὴ παιῶν, χαίρωμεν.

ΧΟ. δεχόμεθα καὶ θεῶν γένος
 λιτόμεθα ταῖσδ' ἐπ' εὐχαῖς
 φανέντας ἐπιχαρῆναι.
 Ζεῦ μεγαλὸννυμε, Χρυσολύρα τε
 Δῆλον δς ἔχεις ἱερὰν, καὶ σὺ
 παγκρατὲς κόρα, γλαυκῶπι,
 χρυσόλογχε, πόλιν ἔχουσα
 περιμάχητον, ἔλθθ' δεῦρο.
 καὶ πολὺννυμε, θηροφόνῃ παῖ,
 Λατοῦς χρυσώπιδος ἔρνος·

315

320

312. *δεχόμεθα*] This is the choral response to the bidding-prayer; and it is noteworthy that the singers invoke not the group of divinities mentioned by the Crieress, but an entirely different group, which in all probability consists of the Gods really invoked at the opening of the Athenian *ἐκκλησία*. They are Zeus the supreme God; Athene and Poseidon, the rival claimants for the possession of Athens; Apollo and Artemis; and the Nymphs of the Sea and the Mountain. Observe too how gold is everywhere considered the attribute of things divine. Apollo is *χρυσολύρα* (cf. *χρυσέα Φόρμιγξ* below): Athene here, as in Eur. Ion 9, is *χρυσόλογχε*, and Leto is *χρυσῶπις*, *with face of gold*. Perhaps I may be allowed to quote some sentences which I noted down (Christmas, 1849) from Orlando Hyman's conversation on the first Olympian ode of Pindar. "There was a notion of Divinity or Oriental Royalty connected with this metal by the Greeks. *Χρυσοὶ θεοί*, exclaims the slave in the

Ranae. *χρυσήν Ἀφροδίτη* is Homer's well-known phrase, the *aurea Venus* of Virgil. Leto is *χρυσῶπις* in Aristophanes; Athene *χρύσαιγίς* in Bacchylides. Pindar gives Lachesis a golden frontlet, *χρυσάμπνξ*. The statues of Pheidias are of gold and ivory, *χρυσελεφάντινος*. If the deities spin, it is with golden spindles, *χρυσηλάκατος*; if they drive, it is with reins of gold, *χρυσήνιοι*, and in golden chariots, *χρυσάρματοι*. They wore crowns of gold, *χρυσοστέφανοι*, and swords of gold, *χρυσάοροι*, and sat on thrones of gold. The roof and pavement of Olympus are both of gold. The golden-haired Apollo, *χρυσοκόμης*, strikes a lyre of gold, *χρυσολύρης*. Poseidon rules the sea with a golden trident, *χρυσοστρίαυος*." Cf. Plato's Symposium, chap. 33 (216 E) *θεῖα καὶ χρυσᾶ*.

319. *περιμάχητον*] for the possession of which she had contended with Poseidon. It was the glory of Athens that these two great divinities were rivals for the honour of being her *Πολιοῦχος*.

σύ τε, πόντιε σεμνὲ Πόσειδον,
 ἀλιμέδον, προλιπὼν
 μυχὼν ἰχθυόεντ' οἰστροδόνητον·
 Νηρέος εἰναλίου τε κόραι,
 Νύμφαι τ' ὀρέϊπλαγκτοί.
 χρυσέα τε Φόρμιγξ
 ἱαχήσειεν ἐπ' εὐχαῖς
 ἡμετέραις· τελέως δ' ἔκ-
 κλησιάσασαιμεν, Ἀθηνῶν
 εὐγενεῖς γυναικες.

325

330

ΚΗ. εὔχεσθε τοῖς θεοῖσι τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις

320. πολώνυμ] What are these "many names" of Artemis? Aristophanes calls her Dictynna in the Wasps and the Frogs, and Agrotera in the Knights and the Lysistrata. And see supra 116. And in Lysistrata 439-47 he appears to call her Pandrosus, Phosphorus, and Tauropolis. Another well-known name was Britomart, familiar to English readers from Spenser's "Faery Queene." See the note on Wasps 368. Catullus in his hymn to Diana (Carmen 34), after addressing her as "Latonia" (Λατοῦς ἔρνος, scion of Leto), proceeds, Tu Lucina dolentibus | Juno dicta puerperis: | Tu potens Trivia, et notho (borrowed) es | Dicta lumine Luna. You are known as Εἰλείθια, Ἐκάτη, and Σελήνη.

324. οἰστροδόνητον] τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων κινούμενον.—Scholiast. The Νηρέος εἰναλίου κόραι are the κοῦραι πεντήκοντα, ἀμύμονα ἔργ' εἰδυῖαι, who Νηρῆος ἐγένοντο καὶ Δωρίδος ἡυκόμοιο, and whose names are given us by Hesiod, Theogony 240-64.

327. χρυσέα Φόρμιγξ] ἡ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, as the Scholiast rightly says. For this is the χρυσέα φόρμιγξ of the Immortals, which Pindar celebrates with such splendour at the commencement of his Pythian odes. The epithet χρυσέα is itself sufficient to negative Fritzsche's notion, that the Chorus are calling upon the theatrical musicians to strike up. They are praying to the Almighty Gods, and they trust that, as they pray, the strains of Apollo's golden lyre will vibrate through the Heavens, responsive to their prayer. Cf. Birds 217-22. The lyre and the phorminx were one and the same instrument.

329. τελέως ἐκκλησιάσασαιμεν] εἰς τέλος ἄγοιμεν τὰ δόξαντα.—Scholiast.

331. εὔχεσθε] We now arrive at a passage of great interest. The Crieress recites the APA, as it was called, which was one of the preliminary ceremonies of an Athenian Assembly, and to which the Orators are constantly referring. λέγε τὴν Ἀρὰν, says one; ἀκούσατε τῆς Ἀρᾶς, says another, and thereupon the

καὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπίαισι, καὶ τοῖς Πυθίοις
καὶ ταῖσι Πυθίαισι, καὶ τοῖς Δηλίοις
καὶ ταῖσι Δηλίοις, τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις θεοῖς,
εἴ τις ἐπιβουλεύει τι τῷ δήμῳ κακὸν
τῷ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἢ πικηρυκεύεται
Εὐριπίδῃ Μήδοις τ' ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τινι
τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἢ τυραννεῖν ἐπινοεῖ

335

'Αρὰ is read aloud. Unfortunately, its exact terms are nowhere preserved, but enough may be gathered from the speeches to satisfy us that we have here a faithful parody or imitation of it. The statement of Andocides (De Myst. 95) that the 'Αρὰ was a νόμος Σόλωνος, though inaccurate, is not quite so "perfectly reckless and unmeaning" as Mr. Grote (chap. lxii) pronounced it. For we now know (from Aristotle's Polity of Athens, chap. 16 ad fin.) that in its origin it was so. And cf. Demosthenes de F. L. 78 (p. 363). Solon's law ran, εἴ τις τυραννεῖν ἐπανιστῶνται ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, ἢ τὴν τυραννίδα τις συγκαθιστῇ, αἴτιμον εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος. This would naturally be much strengthened after the expulsion of the Peisistratidae, and the Scholiast on 339 is doubtless right in saying ἐκ τῆς κατάρτας τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς Πεισιστρατίδαϊς γενομένης ταῦτα παρέμειξεν. This part of the 'Αρὰ was afterwards largely expanded by the Psephism of Demophantus, passed, Lycurgus (against Leocrates §§ 127-131) tells us, after the overthrow of the Thirty, the actual words of which are given us by Andocides. Every Athenian was to swear that he would, if possible, slay with his own hand ὃς ἂν καταλύσῃ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν

'Αθήνῃσι, καὶ εἴ τις τυραννεῖν ἐπαναστῇ, ἢ τὸν τύραννον συγκαταστήσῃ, and finally ἐπεύχεσθαι εὐορκοῦντι μὲν εἶναι πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ, ἐπιορκοῦντι δ' ἐξώλῃ αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ γένος. The oath was to be taken at the commencement of the Dionysia, as indeed had been the custom with the earlier editions of the oath; Birds 1072-75. Other portions of the 'Αρὰ will be considered in the following notes.

336. ἐπικηρυκεύεται Μήδοις] The 'Αρὰ appears to have consisted of several separate clauses or articles, like those in our Commination Service. The present clause was inserted by Aristides shortly after the termination of the great Persian wars; ἔτι δὲ ἀρὰς θέσθαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔγραψεν, says Plutarch in his Life of Aristides, chap. x, εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεύσαιο Μήδοις, ἢ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπολίποι τῶν Ἑλλήνων. We know that it continued to form part of the 'Αρὰ in the next century; ἐν δὲ τοῖς συλλόγοις, says Isocrates (Paneg. 184), ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀρὰς ποιοῦνται, πρὶν ἄλλο τι χρηματίζειν, εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεύεται Πέρσαις τῶν πολιτῶν. Here the name of Euripides is added, as being the public enemy of the Athenian women, even as the Medes were of the Athenian state.

ἡ τὸν τύραννον συγκατάγειν, ἡ παιδίον
 ὑποβαλλομένης κατεῖπεν, ἡ δούλη τινὸς 340
 προαγωγὸς οὖς' ἐνετρύλλισεν τῷ δεσπότην,
 ἡ πεμπομένη τις ἀγγελίας ψευδεῖς φέρει,
 ἡ μοιχὸς εἴ τις ἐξαπατᾷ ψευδῇ λέγων
 καὶ μὴ δίδωσιν ἂν ὑπόσχηταί ποτε,
 ἡ δῶρά τις δίδωσι μοιχῷ γραῦς γυνή, 345

337. ἐπὶ βλάβῃ] *to the injury of; with intent to injure.* See infra 360 and 366. βλάβῃ was the legal term for *damage* (*Wasps* 1407); and ἐπὶ βλάβῃ was the legal formula expressive of an *intent to damage*. Isocrates in three different orations (*Panegyricus*, 149, *De Pace* 87, *Panathenaicus* 237) contrasts a deed done ἐπὶ βλάβῃ with the same deed done εἰς ὠφελεία. Dr. Blaydes refers to the law set out in Demosthenes against Meidias 146 (ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ δήμου); to Dem. against Timocrates 232 (ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ πλήθους); and to Thuc. viii. 72, where the messengers of the Four Hundred say to the armament at Samos, that the constitution had been altered οὐκ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ.

340. κατεῖπεν] *πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην.*—Scholiast. Aristophanes is now diverting the denunciations of the Ἀρά, so as to satirize the vices, real or supposed, of Athenian women. It is not the adulteress, or the wife who palms off a supposititious child upon her husband, whom they denounce, but the traitress who reveals these offences to the husband—ἐνετρύλλισεν, *insusurravit*. As to the supposititious child see infra 407, 502, 565. From the Epilogue to the *Captives* of Plautus,

and the Prologue to the *Eunuch* of Terence, this seems to have been one of the stock incidents of Comedy. And cf. Juvenal vi. 602. We know of nothing in the Ἀρά on which these particular denunciations are framed.

342. ἀγγελίας ψευδεῖς] Here again we come upon traces of the Ἀρά. For Schömann (*De Com.* i. 8) is no doubt right in deriving this line from the curse which, it appears from Demosthenes de F. L. 78–80 (p. 363), was denounced by the κῆρυξ at every Assembly on an Ambassador who brought false tidings, ἐξώλῃ ποιεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ γένος καὶ οἰκίαν, though here the person denounced is not an ambassador, but a go-between. And in like manner he derives the following line from the Ἀρά similarly denounced εἴ τις ἐξαπατᾷ λέγων ἡ βουλὴν, ἡ δῆμον, ἡ τὴν ἡλιαίαν, Demosthenes against Aristocrates 115 (p. 653), Deinarchus against Demosthenes 48 (p. 96).

345. γραῦς] *ἵνα αὐτῇ συγγένῃται.*—Scholiast. Like the old woman in the *Plutus*, as Bergler observes. And compare Plutarch's Solon, chap. xx ad fin. In the next line the copula καὶ connects the two verbs δίδωσι and δέχεται in such a way that we must needs understand

ἣ καὶ δέχεται προδιδούσ' ἑταίρα τὸν φίλον,
 κεῖ τις κάπηλος ἢ καπηλὶς τοῦ χοῦς
 ἣ τῶν κοτυλῶν τὸ νόμισμα διαλυμαίνεται,
 κακῶς ἀπολέσθαι τοῦτον αὐτὸν κῶκίαν
 ἀρᾶσθε, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαισιν ὑμῖν τοὺς θεοὺς
 εὐχέσθε πάσαις πολλὰ δοῦναι κάγαθά. 350

ΧΟ. ξυνευχόμεσθα τέλεα μὲν
 πόλει, τέλεά τε δήμῳ
 τὰδ' εὐγμᾶτα γενέσθαι,
 τὰ δ' ἄρισθ' ὅσαις προσήκει 355
 νικᾶν λεγού-
 σαις· ὀπόσαι δ' ἐξαπατῶ-
 σιν, παραβαίνουσί τε τοὺς
 ὄρκους τοὺς νενομισμένους
 κερδῶν οὐνεκ' ἐπὶ βλάβῃ, 360

δῶρα after the latter. The meaning therefore is "Or, being a mistress, takes bribes to desert her lover for a wealthier paramour." The 'Αρὰ, as Schömann points out, included those who took bribes κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, Deinarchus ubi supra. And probably the words προδιδούσα τὸν φίλον are the women's substitute for προδιδούς τὴν πόλιν.

347. *κεῖ τις κάπηλος κ.τ.λ.*] In his later Comedies Aristophanes enjoys a little jest at the (alleged) tippling habits of Athenian women. The present denunciation is launched against any vintner (male or female) who gives them short measure in their winecups. A κοτύλη was about half-a-pint; a χοῦς was nearly six pints; νόμισμα is "the standard measure" and may well have been employed in the 'Αρὰ in connexion with the offence of clipping the current

coin. διαλυμαίνεσθαι is "to tamper with, to cut short, to injure." Bergler has already referred to Plutus 435, where one of the old citizens, dismayed by the sudden appearance of Poverty, asks

ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἡ καπηλὶς, ἣ'κ τῶν γειτόνων,
 ἣ ταῖς κοτύλαις ἀεὶ με διαλυμαίνεται;

349. ἀπολέσθαι τοῦτον] Women have figured largely in the list of offenders (δούλη, γραῦς, ἑταίρα, καπηλὶς), yet the imprecation, in terms, is applicable to *men* only (ἀπολέσθαι τοῦτον), whilst the blessing, in terms, is applicable to *women* only (ταῖς ἄλλαισιν).

352. ξυνευχόμεσθα] The Chorus intimate their concurrence in the 'Αρὰ by a little song, which commences and concludes with iambs, but is otherwise choriambic. The sixth and seventh lines are pure choriambic dimeters, and

ἢ ψηφίσματα καὶ νόμον
 ζητοῦσ' ἀντιμεθιστάναι,
 τὰ πόρρητά τε τοῖσιν ἐχθ-
 ροῖς τοῖς ἡμετέροις λέγουσ',
 ἢ Μήδους ἐπάγουσι γῆ,
 κερδῶν οὔνεκ' ἐπὶ βλάβῃ,
 ἀσεβοῦσί τε τοὺς θεοὺς,
 ἀδικοῦσί τε τὴν πόλιν.
 ἀλλ' ὦ παγκρατὲς [εὐμένες]
 Ζεῦ, ταῦτα κυρώσειας, ὥσθ'
 ἡμῖν θεοὺς παραστατεῖν
 καί περ γυναιξὶν οὔσαις.

365

370

ΚΗ. ἄκουε πᾶς. ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ τάδε
 τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν Τιμόκλει' ἐπεστάτει,

they are followed by eleven lines in the glyconic metre, which is itself a branch of the choriambic. See the Introduction to the Frogs, pp. xxxii, xxxiii.

355. *ὅσαις προσήκει*] The Scholiast rightly explains the passage; *ὅσαις δὲ προσήκει τὰ ἄριστα λέγειν, ταύτας νικᾶν λεγούσας*, *that their speeches may win to whom it appertains to speak what is best*, that is, *to give the best advice*. With *προσήκει* we must understand *λέγειν*. This omission of the infinitive is very common, and many examples will be found in the Oxford Lexicon s.v. *προσ-ῆκω*.

363. *τὰ πόρρητα*] The original fulmination was doubtless aimed at men who exported contraband of war for the service of the enemy (Frogs 362), but it is here diverted, as the word *λέγουσι*

shows, to women who divulge to strangers the incommunicable secrets of the Thesmophorian festival (Eccl. 442).

367. *τε τοὺς θεοὺς*] I have added these words, which seem required by both the sense and the metre. The MS. reading, which with slight alteration is retained by the editors, is *ἀσεβοῦσιν ἀδικοῦσιν τε τὴν πόλιν*. After *παγκρατὲς*, in line 368, a cretic foot commencing with a vowel, has dropped out. Like its ten predecessors, the line was originally in the glyconic metre, and I have inserted *εὐμένες* in brackets, rather to show a possible, than as thinking it the true, completion of the line. Indeed, I am not sure whether *δλβιε* might not be more suitable.

372. *ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ κ.τ.λ.*] This is quite in the regular form. Thus in the

Λύσιλλ' ἐγραμμάτευεν, εἶπε Σωστράτη·

ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν ἔωθεν τῇ Μέσῃ

375

τῶν Θεσμοφόρων, ἣ μάλισθ' ἡμῖν σχολή,

καὶ χρηματίζειν πρῶτα περὶ Εὐριπίδου,

ὃ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἐκείνον· ἀδικεῖν γὰρ δοκεῖ

ἡμῖν ἀπάσαις. τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;

ΓΥ. Α. ἐγώ. ΚΗ. περίθου νυν τόνδε πρῶτον πρὶν λέγειν.

380

armistice which preceded the Peace of Nicias, we read ἔδοξε τῷ Δήμῳ· Ἀκάμαντις ἐπρυτάνευε (*Acamantis was the φυλὴ πρυτανεύουσα*), Φαίνιππος ἐγραμμάτευε, Νικιάδης ἐπεστάτει, Λάχης εἶπε, τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων, ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν κ.τ.λ. Thuc. iv. 118. The ἐπιστάτης was the President of the Prytanes, and in that capacity put the motion to the vote; the γραμματεὺς was their secretary, who was responsible for the accurate drawing up of the decree: Laches in Thucydides, and Sostrata here, are of course the movers of the respective resolutions. The suggestion of Fritzsche that under the names of Timocleia, Lysilla, and Sostrata, Aristophanes is satirizing three effeminate citizens named respectively Timocles, Lysicles (Knights 765), and Sostratus (Clouds 678) is perhaps more ingenious than probable. Satire of that kind would be out of harmony with the general tone of the present passage.

375. τῇ Μέσῃ] *The Intermediate day*. See the note on 80 supra. On the words ἣ μάλισθ' ἡμῖν σχολή, the Scholiast observes ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις περὶ τὰς θυσίας γίνονται.

377. χρηματίζειν] *To transact business, to discuss*. λόγους διδόναι ἀλλήλοις.—

Scholiast. It is the regular term for "transacting business" in the Assembly. See, for example, the passage cited from Isocrates in the note on 336 supra.

378. ἀδικεῖν δοκεῖ] *We all adjudge him to be guilty*. See Birds 1585, Lysias (adv. Andoc. 14, adv. Nicom. 1, for Polystratus 16), Lives of the Ten Orators (Andoc. 9).

379. τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;] This was the recognized formula, by which the κῆρυξ invited the citizens to commence the debate, τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ σωφρονέστατον κήρυγμα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, as Aeschines calls it (adv. Ctes. 4). Aristophanes repeats it Ach. 45, Eccl. 130. In a famous passage of the De Corona (218–23) Demosthenes is describing the stupefaction of the Athenians, when the news of the seizure of Elateia by Philip of Macedon had awakened them to a sense of his real designs and their own most imminent peril. "The κῆρυξ," says he, "put the question τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; and no one answered: yea, though he put it again and again, yet no man arose, though all the generals were there, and all the orators, and the fatherland was calling with one voice for some one to come forward

σίγα, σιώπα, πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν· χρέμπτεται γὰρ ἤδη
ὅπερ ποιοῦσ' οἱ ῥήτορες. μακρὰν ἔοικε λέξειν.

ΓΥ. Α. φιλοτιμία μὲν οὐδεμιᾷ μὰ τῷ θεῷ
λέξουσ' ἀνέστην, ὦ γυναῖκες· ἀλλὰ γὰρ
βαρέως φέρω τάλαινα, πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον
προπηλακίζομένης ὁρῶσ' ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ
Εὐριπίδου τοῦ τῆς λαχανοπωλητρίας,

385

and speak to save her." See Lucian's Zeus Trag. 18, Deorum Ecclesia ad init.

380. τόνδε] ἀντὶ τοῦ στέφανον. ἔθος γὰρ ἦν τοῖς λέγουσι στεφανοῦσθαι πρῶτον. —Scholiast. See Birds 463, Eccl. 131, 148, 163, 171.

381. σίγα κ.τ.λ.] Compare the third line of the Prologue to the Paenulus of Plautus, *sileteque, et tacete, atque animum advortite*. χρέμπτεται, *expectorates*, clears her throat; "a slight expectoration, just like what one makes before beginning a long speech." Woodstock, chap. 5.

383. φιλοτιμία] The Crieress now leaves the stage and the "First Woman" commences her speech. Here, and nowhere else, the MSS. and Scholiast prefix καλλιεξία to ΓΥΝΗ, meaning it, apparently, for the name of the lady, and not as a compliment to her eloquence. On the other hand there is, as Fritzsche observes, some ground for supposing that Aristophanes intended the speaker's name to be Mica (infra 760); since the Woman who was robbed of her baby was probably she whose baby had previously appeared on the stage (infra 608, 609); and this was almost certainly the "First Woman." And any-

how it seems better to retain that general appellation for the present speaker. She delivers an able and well-considered speech to show how greatly the position of Athenian wives has been worsened by the attacks of Euripides. Not that she denies the justice of those attacks: she objects to them not because they are untrue, but because they are true: because he has put the husband up to his wife's peccadilloes, and so has prevented their repetition.

386. ὑμᾶς] Observe the speaker's rhetorical artifice. She begins as if she were seeking to redress merely the grievances of her audience: though she very quickly glides into the admission that their grievances are also her own.

387. λαχανοπωλητρίας] *The market-gardener's son: the son of the vegetable-seller*. The trade of Cleito, the dramatist's mother, was a favourite jest with the Comic poets; and in Aristophanes it pervades the allusions to Euripides from his earliest appearance in the Acharnians to his latest appearance in the Frogs. See the note on Frogs 840.

καὶ πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖ' ἀκουούσας κακά.
 τί γὰρ οὗτος ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἐπισμῇ τῶν κακῶν ;
 ποῦ δ' οὐχὶ διαβέβληχ', ὅπουπερ ἐμβραχὺ 390
 εἰσὶν θεαταὶ καὶ τραγῳδοὶ καὶ χοροί,
 τὰς μυχοτρόπους, τὰς ἀνδρεραστρίας καλῶν,
 τὰς οἰνοπότιδας, τὰς προδότιδας, τὰς λάλους,
 τὰς οὐδὲν ὑγιές, τὰς μέγ' ἀνδράσιν κακόν·
 ὥστ' εὐθὺς εἰσιόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱκρίων 395
 ὑποβλέπουσ' ἡμᾶς σκοποῦνται τ' εὐθέως
 μὴ μοιχὸς ἔνδον ἦ τις ἀποκεκρυμμένος.

389. ἐπισμῇ] *Besmears us with.* ἐπι-
 χρίει, ἐπιξύνει. σμῆξαι δέ ἐστι τὸ τὸν ῥύπον
 ἐπιξύναι.—Scholiast. The lines which
 follow are well explained by Bisetus,
 ἵνα δὲ διὰ βραχέων καὶ συντόμως τὸ πᾶν
 εἴπω, ποῦ ποτε εἰσὶ θεαταὶ, καὶ τραγῳδοὶ
 καὶ χοροὶ, ὅπου ἡμᾶς ὁ Εὐριπίδης οὐ διαβέ-
 βληκεν ;

392. μυχοτρόπους] She now proceeds
 to enumerate some of the names which
 Euripides has applied to the women.
 By μυχοτρόπους we are to understand
unfathomable, impenetrable, shrouding
their moods in mystery; and so, *deceit-*
ful, hypocritical; τὰς τοὺς τρόπους ἐν μυχῷ
 ἐχούσας, τὰς κρυπτούσας τοὺς ἐαντῶν τρό-
 πους ἐν μυχοῖς ἵνα μὴ γνωσθῶσι· τουτέστι
 τὰς *duſignōſtos*.—Bisetus. *clandestinis*
moribus praeditas, sive subdolas, fallaces.
 —Kuster. μυχὸς was a favourite word
 of Euripides, and he may well have
 applied it to the depths of a woman's
 mind.

394. τὰς οὐδὲν ὑγιές] scilicet οὐσας,
 no good, good for nothings. The expres-
 sion οὐδὲν (or μηδὲν) ὑγιές occurs once in
 the Acharnians, once in the Ecclesiazusae,

twice in the present Play (here and
 636 infra), and no less than seven times
 in the Plutus.

395. ἱκρίων] *From the benches*, that is,
from the theatre. ἱκρία properly means
wooden planks, and is commonly em-
 ployed in Homer to describe the planks
 of a ship's deck. At Athens the word
 signified the wooden benches or rows,
 on which before the Theatre of Diony-
 sus in which these Comedies were ex-
 hibited was erected, the audience were
 seated at the dramatic performances;
 ἀφ' ὧν ἐθεώοντο τοὺς Διονυσιακοὺς ἀγῶνας,
 πρὶν ἢ κατασκευασθῆναι τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου
 θέατρον.—Photius s.v. So the Scholiast
 here, Hesychius and Suidas s.v., Eusta-
 thius on Od. iii. 350, and other gram-
 marians. In the time of Aristophanes
 the seats were of stone, but the old
 name was retained.

396. ὑποβλέπουσι] *Look at us keenly*
and suspiciously, glancing up from under
 their bent brows. See Lysistrata 519.

401. στέφανον] Now-a-days, if a woman
 is found merely weaving a chaplet, she
 is suspected of weaving it for some

δρᾶσαι δ' ἔθ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ὥσπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ
 ἔξεστι· τοιαῦθ' οὗτος ἐδίδαξεν κακὰ
 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡμῶν· ὥστ' ἔάν τις νῦν πλέκη
 γυνή στέφανον, ἔρᾳν δοκεῖ· καὶ ἐκβάλῃ
 σκευὸς τι κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν πλανωμένην,
 ἀνὴρ ἐρωτᾷ, 'τῷ κατέαγεν ἡ χύτρα;
 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ τῷ Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ.'
 κάμνει κόρη τις; εὐθύς ἀδελφὸς λέγει,
 'τὸ χρῶμα τοῦτό μ' οὐκ ἀρέσκει τῆς κόρης.'

young reveller, and is charged with being in love. The speaker is selecting certain examples of the injury occasioned to women by the teaching of Euripides; and we may feel sure that in every instance there is an allusion to some particular scene or sentiment in the Euripidean drama.

404. τῷ Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ] ἐκ Σθενεβοίας Εὐριπίδου.—Scholiast. The "Corinthian stranger" is, of course, Bellerophon. "The ancients," says Athenaeus (x. chap. 30), "assigned to their dead friends the morsels of food which fell from their table; whence Euripides too says of Sthenoboea, when she thought that Bellerophon was dead, *Nothing that falls escapes her wistful eyes, 'That's for our friend from Corinth,' quick she cries.*

πεσὸν δέ νιν λέληθεν οὐδὲν ἐκ χερὸς·
 ἀλλ' εὐθύς αὐτῇ 'Τῷ Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ.'

But Athenaeus is apparently mistaken in connecting these lines with the superstition about the dead. Long before there was any question of Bel-

lerophon's death, the love of Sthenoboea had turned into hatred: it is not a case of food falling from the table, but of some article dropped from the hand. Aristophanes treats it here as a pitcher dropped by a woman not sitting at table, but perambulating the house, and makes the ejaculation, like that ascribed to Myrrhina in Lys. 856, refer not to a dead, but to a living lover. And it seems to me that the lines were spoken by some go-between, like the old nurse in the Hippolytus, trying to kindle love in Bellerophon's breast by detailing the passion which is consuming her mistress. This may be one of the scenes to which Aeschylus is referring in Frogs 1051.

406. τὸ χρῶμα κ.τ.λ.] Though the line, as its metre shows, is not verbally taken from a Tragic Play, yet doubtless it represents some passage of Euripides: not indeed from the Aeolus, as Fritzsche suggests, since there the brother was the corrupter, and not (as here) the suspicious guardian, of his sister's innocence.

εἶεν, γυνή τις ὑποβαλέσθαι βούλεται
 ἀποροῦσα παίδων, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἔστιν λαθεῖν,
 ἄνδρες γὰρ ἤδη παρακάθηνται πλησίον.
 πρὸς τοὺς γέροντάς θ', οἳ πρὸ τοῦ τὰς μείρακας
 ἤγοντο, διαβέβληκεν, ὥστ' οὐδεὶς γέρων
 γαμεῖν θέλει γυναῖκα διὰ τοῦπος τοδὶ,
 "δέσποινα γὰρ γέροντι νυμφίῳ γυνή."
 εἶτα διὰ τοῦτον ταῖς γυναικωνίτισιν

410

407. ὑποβαλέσθαι] to foist off a supposititious child as her own: to pretend to give birth to a child, which is really somebody else's child, secretly smuggled into her bed. See the note on 340 supra. She is really making the very charges, which create such indignation when Mnesilochus makes them, with regard to the conduct of the women.

413. δέσποινα . . . γυνή] This line is cited by Stobaeus (lxxi. 1) from the Phoenix of Euripides. He was not the only poet who gave utterance to this sentiment. See Athenaeus xiii. chap. 9.

414. διὰ τοῦτον] through him; by reason of his teaching. Bergler thinks, with great probability, that the speaker is alluding to the Danae of Euripides, where the heroine was certainly represented as guarded by bolts and bars and seals; and as to the watch-dogs, Fritsche refers to the commencement of Horace's Ode (iii. 16) "*Inclusam Danaen turris aenea Robustaeque fores et vigilum canum Tristes excubiae munierant satis Nocturnis ab adulteris,*" where the precautions described are very possibly borrowed from the Attic tragedy.

416. Μολοσσικοῦς] Aristotle (de Animal. Hist. ix. 1) mentions two well-known breeds of Molossian dogs: (1) hounds for sporting, which however, he says, were not in any special manner distinguished from other sporting dogs, and (2) the large, powerful, and courageous sheep-dogs, which are the "Molossian dogs" of literature. *Veloces Spartae catulos, acremque Molossum, Pasce sero pingui; nunquam custodibus illis Nocturnum stabulis furem, incursusque luporum, Aut impacatos a tergo horrebis Iberos*, Virgil, Georg. iii. 405. *Molossus, aut fulvus Lacon, Amica vis pastoribus*, Horace, Epodes, vi. 5. *domus alta Molossis Personuit canibus*, Id. Sat. II. vi. 114. It is, of course, to these vigilant watch-dogs that the speaker is here referring.

417. μορμολυκεία] The word here signifies real terrors, but it generally stands for make-believe fictitious terrors got up to frighten children; τὰ φοβερὰ τοῖς παισὶ προσωπεῖα, Timaeus, where see Ruhnken's note. Such was the equipment of Death in Tennyson's "Gareth and Lynette." So in the Phaedo, chap. 24, "Assume, Socrates," says Cebes, "that we are afraid of

σφραγίδας ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἤδη καὶ μοχλοὺς, 415
 τηροῦντες ἡμᾶς, καὶ προσέτι Μολοττικούς
 τρέφουσι, μορμουλκεῖα τοῖς μοιχοῖς, κύνας.
 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ξυγγνώσθ'. ἃ δ' ἦν ἡμῖν πρὸ τοῦ
 αὐταῖς ταμιεῦσαι καὶ προαιρούσαις λαβεῖν
 ἄλφιτον, ἔλαιον, οἶνον, οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἔτι 420
 ἔξεστιν. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες ἤδη κλειδία

death, or rather not we, but the child within us" (the child's heart within the man's), "and teach that child not to be frightened at death, ὥσπερ τὰ μορμουλκεῖα." So St. Ambrose, willing to die a martyr's death, despised the threats of the tyrant, μορμουλκεῖα γὰρ ὑπέλαβε ταῦτα, μεираκυλλίους ὑπὸ τινων προσφερόμενα, Theodoret H. E. v. 13. παίδων μορμουλκεῖα, St. Chrys. Hom. in Matth. xxviii (336 D).

419. ταμιεῦσαι] *to cater for ourselves*. οὐκέτι ἐμοὶ ταμιεύσεις, Knights 948. καὶ προαιρούσαις λαβεῖν, *and pick out and take* corn and wine and oil. For προαιρεῖν in the sense of *e penu aliquid promere* Kuster refers to the Characters of Theophrastus, [περὶ ἀγροικίας] προαιρῶν δέ τι ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου κ.τ.λ. and Casaubon's note there. Here the orator comes to their chief grievance against Euripides. His other offences might possibly be condoned, but no pardon can be extended to the man whose teaching has put a stop to these little pilferings from the household stores. See Eccl. 15 and the note there.

421. κλειδία] Pliny (N.H. vii. 57) attributes the invention of the key to Theodorus of Samos, apparently a con-

temporary of Solon; though there is much doubt as to his date, and also whether there were not more artists than one bearing that name. The earliest keys were very simple, the part which turned the lock being merely a flat piece of wood without any division: *μονοβάλανα*, the Scholiast calls them. But soon locks were framed with complicated wards, and keys with complicated *steps* as they are now technically called; *teeth*, as the ancients called them; *γομφίους*, οὓς ἡμεῖς ὀδόντας, says the Scholiast; "seu reserat fixo dente puella fores," Tibullus, I. ii. 18. See Frogs 572. The Laconian keys enjoyed a great celebrity, and are frequently mentioned by ancient writers: περιβόητοί εἰσιν αἱ Λακωνικαὶ κλείδες, the Scholiast tells us. And he cites a line from Menander's *Μισοούμενος* ("The man who was hated") Λακωνικὴ κλείς ἐστίν ὥς ἔοικέ μοι περισιστέα. And Brunck refers to Plautus, *Mostellaria*, II. i. 57, where Tranio says (in trochaics), "clavem mihi harunce aedium Laconicam | Jam jube efferri intus; hasce ego aedes ocludam foris." It is interesting to observe that according to Plutarch (*Romulus*, chap. 22) κλειδῶν ὑποβολή was

αὐτοὶ φοροῦσι, κρυπτὰ, κακοηθέστατα,
 Λακωνικ' ἄττα, τρεῖς ἔχοντα γομφίους.
 πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ ἦν ἀλλ' ὑποῖξαι τὴν θύραν
 ποιησαμέναισι δακτύλιον τριωβόλου,
 νῦν δ' οὗτος αὐτοὺς ῥόκτριψ' Εὐριπίδης
 ἐδίδαξε θριπῆδεσθ' ἔχειν σφραγίδια
 ἑξαψαμένους. νῦν οὖν ἐμοὶ τούτῳ δοκεῖ
 ὄλεθρόν τιν' ἡμᾶς κυρκανᾶν ἀμωσγέπως,
 ἢ φαρμάκοισιν ἢ μιᾷ γέ τῳ τέχνῃ,

425

430

one of the three causes for which Romulus allowed a husband to divorce his wife. The old-fashioned locks were easily picked, but with these intricate steps and wards it became quite another matter.

422. *κρυπτά*] Fritzsche, referring to *Iliad* xiv. 168, and Eustathius's commentary thereon, thinks that the key itself was inclosed in a case of wood, or some other material; but more probably the word here means merely *secret, private*.

424. οὐκ ἦν ἀλλ'] *we had only to pick*, we had nothing to do but to pick. I have substituted οὐκ for οὖν, which did not seem to make sense.

425. δακτύλιον] *a signet-ring*, in imitation of their husbands': σφραγίδιον παραπλήσιον ᾧ ἐσφράγιζεν ὁ ἀνὴρ.—Scholiast. Athenian husbands were accustomed not only to *lock* the storehouse door, but for greater security to affix their seal as well. Till now, Athenian wives could laugh at these precautions. They could easily open the lock, whilst they could buy a seal-ring for three obols, and replace the husband's broken seal

by an exactly similar impression. But now, thanks to the teaching of Euripides, the husband used a complicated lock and key, which defied all the efforts of the wife; and instead of the old plain seal, he now wore a "worm-eaten seal" which it was quite impossible to imitate. It was thought of such importance that a signet-ring should not be imitated, that according to *Diog. Laert.* (*Solon* 57) Solon required the engraver to destroy the die of every ring he sold. The ancients used not sealing-wax, but a tenacious clay, γῆν σημαντρίδα, *Hdt.* ii. 38. *ρύτους*, *Lysistrata* 1198.

427. θριπῆδεσθ'] *worm-eaten*. The word is not employed metaphorically, as might be supposed, of an intricate design for a seal. There is abundance of authority to show that the ancients did, in reality, use pieces of worm-eaten wood for their seals. Kuster refers to Eustathius on *Odyssey* i. 150 and Tzetzes on *Lycophron's Cassandra* 508, in both of which passages the fact is plainly stated. See also *Hesychius* s. v. *θριπύβρωτος*. The participle ἐξ-

ὅπως ἀπολείται. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ φανερώς λέγω,
τὰ δ' ἄλλα μετὰ τῆς γραμματέως συγγράφομαι.

ΧΟ. οὐποτε ταύτης ἤκουσα
πολυπλοκωτέρας γυναικὸς
οὐδὲ δεινότερον λεγούσης.
πάντα γὰρ λέγει δίκαια,
πάσας δ' ἰδέας ἐξετάζει,
πάντα δ' ἐβάστασεν, πυκνῶς τε

435

αφαμένους seems simply to mean "wearing on their fingers." Deinarchus, in his speech against Demosthenes, 37, accuses his opponent of parading about the streets in pomp and luxury, *χρυσὸν ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων ἀναψάμενος*, in the midst of his country's misfortunes.

432. *τῆς γραμματέως*] *the clerkess*. This was the *γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου*, the clerk who attended the Assembly, not necessarily the same person as the *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς* mentioned supra 374. The mover of a resolution either brought it ready written, or drew it up with the assistance of the *γραμματεὺς* in the Assembly itself. See Schömann, *De Comitibus* i. 11. And see the last words of the oration, attributed to Demosthenes, *de Foedere Alexandrino*. In the latter alternative the mover was said *συγγράφεσθαι* (as here *συγγράφομαι*), but the Oxford Lexicographers appear to be mistaken in saying that this sense is confined to the Middle, since the Psephism of Demophantus (as to which see the note on 331 supra) commences Ἐδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Αἰαντὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Κλεογένης ἐγραμμάτευε, Βοηθὸς

ἐπεστάτει. τάδε Δημόφαντος συνέγραψεν.

433. *οὐποτε* κ.τ.λ.] The Chorus here, like the Chorus in *Wasps* 631, and other Choruses elsewhere, indulge in a little song of triumph on the skill and eloquence of their advocate. Each of the three speeches here delivered is followed by a short lyric: the first and third being antistrophical to each other; whilst the second, which is considerably the shortest of the three, is, as Enger observes, a sort of *μεσφῶδός*. In the strophe and antistrophe the opening line is spondaic, and all the rest trochaic; in the mesode all the lines are trochaic.

434. *πολυπλοκωτέρας*] The repetition of this word in the mesode makes it evident that the poet is ridiculing its application by Euripides, in some lost drama, to the intricate wiles of a woman's mind. In his extant Tragedies, *πολύπλοκον*, *many-woven*, is applied to the coils of a serpent (*Medea* 481) and the "shifting maze of the draughts" (*Iph.* in *Aul.* 197, Way's translation).

437. *ἐβάστασεν*] *weighed*, *pondered*. Such an expression as *φρηνί*, which the

ποικίλους λόγους ἀνεῦρεν
 εὖ διεζητημένους·
 ὥστ' ἂν εἰ λέγοι παρ' αὐτὴν
 Ξενοκλέης ὁ Καρκίνου, δο-
 κεῖν ἂν αὐτὸν, ὥς ἐγῶμαι,
 πᾶσιν ὑμῖν
 ἀντικρυς μηδὲν λέγειν.

440

ΓΥ. Β. ὀλίγων μὲν ἔνεκ' αὐτὴ παρῆλθον ῥημάτων.
 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' αὕτη κατηγόρηκεν εὖ.

MSS. add here to the destruction of the metre, or ἐν γνώμῃ, which Aeschylus adds in Prometheus 906, to which Bergler refers, is not essential to this

meaning of the word. Suidas, s. v. βαστάσας, to which Kuster refers, explains that participle by δοκιμάσας, and cites four lines from Eupolis:

- (A) ἄγε δὴ, πότερά βούλεσθε τὴν νῦν διάθεσιν
 ψῶδης ἀκούειν ἢ τὸν ἀρχαῖον τρόπον;
 (B) ἀμφοτέρ' ἐρεῖς· ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας, τὸν τρόπον
 ἴν' ἂν δοκῇ μοι βαστάσας αἰρήσομαι.

441. Ξενοκλέης] See the note on 168 supra. In saying that, by the side of the eloquent lady whose praise they are singing, he would seem to talk nonsense, the Chorus probably mean to imply that this is what he always does.

443. ὀλίγων μὲν ἔνεκ'] Another woman now comes forward, to second the remarks of the First speaker. She is not an eloquent orator like her predecessor; nor does she even allude to the Poet's attacks upon womankind. Her grievance is like that of Demetrius the silversmith in the Acts of the Apostles. A poor hard-working widow, she had earned a scanty livelihood for herself and her children by plaiting myrtle-chaplets for the worship of the Gods,

but Euripides, by persuading the people that there are no Gods, has well-nigh ruined her trade. Having unfolded her plain unvarnished tale, she forthwith leaves the Assembly, and returns to her chaplet-plaiting in the myrtle-market. I have inserted μὲν, which is omitted in the MSS., probably because the following word commences with ἐν-. It is, however, necessary to the metre, and is found in the same position in both the other speeches (supra 383, infra 466), and indeed in very many speeches in Thucydides and Xenophon. Other editors supply the missing syllable in other ways.

446. ἐν Κύπρῳ] She does not inform us how he came to be in Cyprus; but

ἃ δ' ἐγὼ πέπονθα, ταῦτα λέξαι βούλομαι. 445
 ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀπέθανεν μὲν ἐν Κύπρῳ,
 παιδάρια πέντε καταλιπὼν, ἀγὼ μόλις
 στεφανηπλοκοῦσ' ἔβοσκον ἐν ταῖς μυρρίναις.
 τέως μὲν οὖν ἀλλ' ἡμικάκως ἐβοσκόμην·
 νῦν δ' οὗτος ἐν ταῖσιν τραγυδίαις ποιῶν 450
 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀναπέπεικεν οὐκ εἶναι θεούς·
 ὥστ' οὐκέτ' ἐμπολῶμεν οὐδ' εἰς ἥμισυ.
 νῦν οὖν ἀπάσαισιν παραινῶ καὶ λέγω
 τοῦτον κολάσαι τὸν ἄνδρα πολλῶν οὐνεκα·

possibly the enlightened and beneficent rule of Evagoras was already beginning to attract Athenians thither; or there may have been some military operations there, in which the Athenians took part, subsequent to the expedition of Cimon about forty years before the date of this Play.

448. ἐν ταῖς μυρρίναις] *In the myrtle-market.* See the note on Wasps 789. She plaited her coronals in the myrtle-market, because it was of myrtle that she made them, διὰ μυρρινῶν στεφάνους ποιοῦσα.—Scholiast. The myrtle crown was prominent in divine worship, and especially in the worship of Demeter and Persephone. See the note on Frogs 323. And indeed there was but one shrine, whether in Greece or in Rome, to which the myrtle was a stranger. That exception was the shrine of the Bona-Dea, an exception so remarkable that Plutarch in the twentieth of his "Roman Problems" thought it necessary to inquire into its origin: διὰ τί τῇ γυναικείᾳ θεῇ ἦν Ἀγαθὴν καλοῦσι, κοσμοῦσαι σηκὸν αἱ γυναῖκες οἴκοι, μυρσίνας

οὐκ εἰσφέρουσιν; His own solution is that the myrtle, being sacred to Aphrodite, was unacceptable to the pure and virgin goddess.

449. τέως] *Up to this time* (that is, till Euripides came, cf. Frogs 989) *I maintained myself* (Knights 1258) *though in a very poor way.* In the preceding line it was ἔβοσκον, *I maintained my children*; here it is ἐβοσκόμην, *I maintained myself and children.* τέως, as Timaeus says in his Platonic Lexicon, means ἕως τινός, *up to a certain date.* See the scene in the Phaedo, when Socrates drinks the hemlock; τέως μὲν, says the narrator, "up to that time we had managed to restrain our tears: but when we saw him drinking, our tears, in spite of ourselves, fell down like rain."

451. οὐκ εἶναι θεούς] It will be sufficient to refer, with Bergler, to a passage in the poet's Bellerophon, preserved by Justin Martyr, which commences Φησὶν τις εἶναι δῆτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ θεός; οὐκ εἶσιν, οὐκ εἴσ'.—Fragment x in Wagner's collection.

ἄγρια γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὧ γυναιῖκες, δρᾷ κακὰ, 455
 ἅτ' ἐν ἀγρίοισι τοῖς λαχάνοις αὐτὸς τραφεῖς.
 ἀλλ' εἰς ἀγορὰν ἄπειμι· δεῖ γὰρ ἀνδράσιν
 πλέξαι στεφάνους συνθηματιαίους εἴκωσιν.

XO. ἕτερον αὖ τι λῆμα τοῦτο, 460
 κομψότερον ἔτ' ἢ τὸ πρότερον,
 ἀναπέφηνεν.
 οἷα κατεστωμύλατο
 οὐκ ἄκαιρα, φρένας ἔχουσα
 καὶ πολύπλοκον αὖ νόημ', οὐδ'
 ἀσύνετ', ἀλλὰ πιθανὰ πάντα.

455. ἄγρια] ἄγρια κακὰ, *savage injuries*, ἄγρια λάχανα, *wild pot-herbs*, alluding, of course, to the trade of the poet's mother, τῆς λαχανοπωλητρίας. ἄγρια κακὰ is so peculiar an expression that Enger supposes the speaker to be referring to a line of Euripides, γυνή τε πάντων ἀγριώτατον κακόν (Phoenix, Fragm. xi, Wagner).

458. συνθηματιαίους] *ordered, bespoken*, which I have undertaken to supply, the subject of a σύνθημα or contract; οὗς ἡμεῖς ἐκδοτικούς λέγομεν. — Scholiast. Athenaeus (xv. 26), quoting the present line, says, συνθηματιαῖοι στέφανοι ἡργο-λαβημένοι καὶ ἐκδόσιμοι. And to the like effect Pollux, Hesychius, and Suidas.

459. ἕτερον αὖ κ.τ.λ.] The Chorus are not in a critical mood, and they attribute to the plain statement of the Second Woman even more subtle-mindedness and elegance than they had attributed

to the elaborate oration of the First. With the parenthetical words φρένας ἔχουσα καὶ νόημα cf. 291 supra.

466-519. So soon as the Chorus have concluded their eulogy, Mnesilochus rises to address the assembly. His first words may remind the reader of the politic manner in which Xenophon commences his speech to the irritated soldiery at Byzantium; ὅτι μὲν ὀργίξεσθε, ὧ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, καὶ νομίζετε δεινὰ πάσχειν ἐξαπατώμενοι, οὐ θανμόζω. Like Xenophon too, he proceeds to argue that their irritation, though not surprising, is nevertheless unreasonable. For, says Mnesilochus, though Euripides does indeed write some unpleasant things about us, yet, between ourselves, we know that we deserve them all, and more; we are ever so much blacker than he paints us. As the courtesan in Truculentus (ii. 5) observes,

Cumque eam rem in corde agito, nimio minus perhibemus
 Malae, quam sumus ingenio.

δεῖ δὲ ταύτης
τῆς ὕβρεως ἡμῖν τὸν ἄνδρα
περιφανῶς δοῦναι δίκην.

465

MN. τὸ μὲν, ὦ γυναῖκες, ὀξυθυμείσθαι σφόδρα
Εὐριπίδῃ, τοιαῦτ' ἀκουούσας κακὰ,
οὐ θαυμάσιόν ἐστ', οὐδ' ἐπιζειν τὴν χολήν.
καὺτῇ γὰρ ἔγωγ', οὕτως ὀναίμην τῶν τέκνων,
μισῶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐκείνον, εἰ μὴ μαίνομαι.
ὅμως δ' ἐν ἀλλήλαισι χρὴ δοῦναι λόγον·
αὐταὶ γάρ ἐσμεν, κούδεμί' ἐκφορος λόγου.

470

And then, with broad Plautine humour, he sketches a number of scandalous incidents of which Euripides had never dreamed. It is a very clever and witty speech, and Fritzsche can hardly find words to express his admiration of it. To him it is "plena facetiarum et PAENE DIVINA," and he adds, "ultima narratione a v. 502 nihil melius aut in suo genere praestantius ne optari quidem posse."

469. οὕτως ὀναίμην τῶν τέκνων] *So may I have joy of my children.* ἐπίτηδες, says the Scholiast, ὁ κηδεστὴς ὑπὲρ τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας γυναικίζεται ἵνα διὰ τούτου λάθῃ. In adjurations of this kind, a genitive such as τῶν τέκνων is frequently added to the simple οὕτως ὀναίμην. Ἰκετεύω, says Demosthenes to the judges in the voluble peroration of his second speech against Aphobus, Ἰκετεύω, ἀντιβολῶ, πρὸς παῖδων, πρὸς γυναικῶν, πρὸς τῶν ὄντων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν, οὕτως ὅναισθε τούτων, μὴ περιῶδγέ με κ.τ.λ. So Lucian, Philopseudes 27 Καὶ ὁ Εὐκράτης, ὥσπερ

ἀναμνησθεὶς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῶν νιέων, οὕτως ὀναίμην, ἔφη, τούτων (ἐπιβαλὼν αὐτοῖν τὴν χεῖρα) ὡς ἀληθῆ, ὦ Τυχιάδῃ, πρὸς σέ ἐρῶ. So Synesius (Epistle 44), after giving to a friend some unpalatable advice, says, μὴ λόγον ἄλλως οἰηθῆς τὴν παραίνεσιν μηδὲ προσπαίξειν με νομίσῃς σαντῶ· οὕτω τῆς ἱερᾶς φιλοσοφίας ὀναίμην καὶ προσέτι τῶν παίδων τῶν ἐμαντοῦ· οὐκ ἂν μὴ φιλτάτῃ σοι τυγχάνοντι (*nisi tu mihi amicissimus fores*) συνεβούλευσά τι τοιοῦτον.

470. εἰ μὴ μαίνομαι] *I were mad else.* Clouds 660. δοῦναι λόγον, in the next line, means to *discuss the matter fairly and reasonably.*

472. αὐταὶ γάρ ἐσμεν] *For we are by ourselves; ἀντὶ τοῦ μόναι.*—Scholiast. So Acharnians 504. The phrase is a very common one, and I will only observe that it is found, exactly as here, in the recently discovered Mimes of Herondas, vi. 70.—κούδεμί' ἐκφορος λόγου. *And there is no blab, no tell-tale, to reveal what we say; οὐδεμία ἐκφέρουσα τοὺς λόγους πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας.*—Scholiast. Cf.

τί ταῦτ' ἔχουσαι 'κείνον αἰτιώμεθα
 βαρέως τε φέρομεν, εἰ δὲ ἡμῶν ἢ τρία
 κακὰ ξυνειδώς εἶπε, δρώσας μυρία ; 475
 ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὴ πρῶτον, ἵνα μὴ ἄλλην λέγω,
 ξύνοιδ' ἐμαυτῇ πολλὰ δεῖν· ἐκείνο δ' οὖν
 δεινότατον, ὅτε νύμφη μὲν ἦν τρεῖς ἡμέρας,
 ὃ δ' ἀνὴρ παρ' ἐμοὶ 'καθεῦδεν· ἦν δ' ἐμοὶ φίλος,
 ὅσπερ με διεκόρευσεν οὔσαν ἐπτέτιν. 480
 οὗτος πόθῳ μου 'κνυεν ἐλθὼν τὴν θύραν·
 κατ' εὐθὺς ἔγνων· εἶτα καταβαίνω λάθρα.
 ὃ δ' ἀνὴρ ἐρωτᾷ " ποῖ σὺ καταβαίνεις ; " " ὅποι ;
 στρόφος μ' ἔχει τὴν γαστέρ', ὦνερ, κώδυνη·

Eccl. 443. It seems probable that Plato, in the last section of the *Laches*, is referring to this passage, and that we should there, as Fritzsche suggests, read οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔκφορος λόγον (not λόγος).

473. τί ταῦτ' κ.τ.λ.] τί, as the Scholiast observes, stands for διὰ τί. There is a line in the *Acharnians* (τί ταῦτα τοὺς Λάκωνας αἰτιώμεθα; Ach. 514) so very similar to this, that some have supposed ταῦτα here, as there, to be governed by αἰτιώμεθα. But here ταῦτα seems rather to be connected with ἔχουσαι in the sense of οὕτως ἔχουσαι, *Why being thus situated* (or, in other words, *this being so*) *do we blame Euripides?*

480. ἐπτέτιν] For another instance of a child corrupted at this early age, Fritzsche refers to the story told by Tzetzes (at Lycophron's *Cassandra* 103) about Theseus and Helen. To which I may add Petronius, chap. 25.

482. καταβαίνω] It is plain that in the time of Aristophanes, as in the time of

Homer, the *θάλαμος*, or bed-chamber of the master and mistress of the house, was in the ὑπερῶον or upper story. The "stealthy scratching of the finger-nail," τὸ κνῦμα τῶν δακτύλων (Eccl. 36) was a signal which the accomplice would understand, but which others would not even perceive.

484. στρόφος] *the gripes*. Peace 175, Plutus 1131.

486. κεδρίδας, ἀννηθον, σφάκον] *juniper-berries, anise, sage*; ὡς ἐπιτήδεια παῦσαι στρόφον, as the Scholiast says. He is preparing a remedy for his young wife's imaginary pains. All these plants are well known for their medicinal qualities. The *juniperus Lycia* is "used in alvine fluxes." Of anise (*pimpinella anisum*) "the seeds have been long used by physicians as aromatic and carminative; their chief use is in flatulencies, and in the gripes to which children are especially liable"; whilst sage (*salvia officinalis*) "as possessing a share of

ἐς τὸν κοπρῶν' οὖν ἔρχομαι." "βάδιζέ νυν."
 485
 κᾶθ' ὃ μὲν ἔτριβε κεδρίδας, ἄννηθον, σφάκον·
 ἐγὼ δὲ καταχέασα τοῦ στροφέως ὕδωρ
 ἐξήλθον ὡς τὸν μοιχόν· εἴτ' ἡρειδόμην
 παρὰ τὸν Ἀγυιά, κύβδ' ἐχομένη τῆς δάφνης.
 ταῦτ' οὐδεπώποτ' εἴφ', ὀρᾶτ', Εὐριπίδης·
 490
 οὐδ' ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων τε κῶρεωκόμων
 σποδούμεθ', ἦν μὴ ἕωμεν ἕτερον, οὐ λέγει·
 οὐδ' ὡς ὅταν μάλισθ' ὑπὸ του ληκώμεθα
 τὴν νύχθ', ἔωθεν σκόροδα διάμασώμεθα,
 ἵν' ὀσφρόμενος ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ τείχους εἰσιῶν
 495
 μηδὲν κακὸν δρᾶν ὑποτοπῇται. ταῦθ', ὀρᾶς,

aromatic and astringent power, may prove a valuable tonic in a debility of the stomach." See Miller and Martyn's Dictionary. Hippocrates, in his second book *περὶ διαίτης* (vol. i, 686, ed. Kühn), says that *ἄννηθον* is *στατικόν*, that is, an astringent, calculated to stop diarrhoea. And cf. Galen, *περὶ ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων*, vi. 45.

487. τοῦ στροφέως ὕδωρ] ἵνα δλισθηρὸς γενόμενος μὴ ψοφῇ.—Scholiast; to prevent the hinges creaking. Brunck refers to the passage with which Act I, scene 3, of the *Curculio* of Plautus commences, where the old woman says to the girl she is letting out of doors, *Go out softly, my own Planesium; take you heed that the hinges creak not; let not the opening doors be noisy; let not our master hear us go; stay, on the hinge I'll pour some water* (mane, suffundam aquulam).

489. παρὰ τὸν Ἀγυιά] On the statue, or rather the obelisk, which was sta-

tioned in front of the house to represent the divine Waywarden Apollo, see the note on *Wasps* 875. It was natural that by its side should be planted the laurel of Apollo, *laurus nobilis*, our common sweet Bay. κύβδα, in a stooping posture, *Knights* 365, *Peace* 897.

491. ὀρεωκόμων] τῶν νῦν καλουμένων σταβλίων, τῶν τοὺς οὐρῆας κομούντων.—Scholiast. Not only slaves, but the coarsest and most brutal of slaves. See in *Diodorus Siculus* xvi. 93 an account of the insult offered by Attalus to Pausanias, which led to the assassination of Philip of Macedon. And compare *Juvenal* vi. 331, 332.

495. ἀπὸ τείχους] For at this period of the war, all the citizens of Athens were constantly under arms, ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες ἀεὶ, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τείχει, οἱ δ' ἐν τάξει, τῶν ἐν Δεκελείᾳ πολεμίων ἕνεκα, ἐφ' ὅπλοις, *Thuc.* viii. 69. Cf. *Lysistrata* 558 seqq.

οὐπόποτ' εἶπεν. εἰ δὲ Φαίδραν λοιδορεῖ,
 ἡμῖν τί τοῦτ' ἔστ'; οὐδ' ἐκεῖν' εἴρηκέ πω,
 ὥς ἡ γυνὴ δεικνῦσα τάνδρῃ τοῦγκυκλον
 οἶόν γ' ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἐστίν, ἐγκεκαλυμμένον 500
 τὸν μοιχὸν ἐξέπεμψεν, οὐκ εἴρηκέ πω.
 ἑτέραν δ' ἐγῴδ' ἥ 'φασκεν ὠδίνειν γυνή
 δέχ' ἡμέρας, ἕως ἐπρίατο παιδίον·
 ὃ δ' ἀνὴρ περιήρχετ' ὠκυτόκι' ὠνούμενος·
 τὸ δ' εἰσέφερε· γράυς ἐν χύτρᾳ τὸ παιδίον, 505
 ἵνα μὴ βοόῃ, κηρίῳ βεβυσμένον·

500. οἶόν γ' ὑπ' αὐγὰς] Many years ago it occurred to me that this was the easiest way of amending the unmetrical reading of the MSS. *ὑπ' αὐγὰς οἶον*. I did not think it the right way, nor do I now think so; but as Bachmann has since proposed, and Velsen adopted, the amendment, I give it in the text as the nearest to the MS. reading. *ὑπ' αὐγὰς* is a very familiar phrase, and many examples of its use are collected by Kuster and Fritzsche here and by Ruhnken and Hemsterhuys in their note on the Lexicon of Timaeus, s. v. *ὑπ' αὐγὰς*. However the very familiarity of the phrase may have led to its superseding here what I suspect to have been the true reading, *ὑπανγές*, the conjecture of Bentley. But this is a mere question of language: the meaning of the passage is clear. The wife stretches out her new mantle for her husband to admire, holding it up that the sun's rays may fall upon it, whilst underneath its screen her lover slinks secretly away.

502. ἑτέραν δ' ἐγῴδ'] He winds up his

speech with a story of the methods employed by a wife for palming off a supposititious child upon her too credulous husband. The practice has already been twice mentioned, supra 340, 407, and treated as something more common than blameworthy, but the shameless manner in which Mnesilochus unfolds the minutest details of the transaction arouses, we shall find, the most profound indignation amongst his audience.

504. ὠκυτόκι'] These were helps, mostly in the nature of amulets, employed by women in travail to procure a speedy and safe delivery. Theophrastus (H. P. ix. 9. 3) recommends the root of the cyclamen as an effective amulet for this purpose. Fritzsche quotes Phrynichus Bekkeri, pp. 74, 5 ὠκυτόκιον· φάρμακόν τι, ὃ περιάπτουσι ταῖς κῦσκομένας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταχέως τεκεῖν καὶ μὴ ἐν ταῖς ὥδισι διατρίβειν καὶ κάμνειν, and Plutarch de solertia animalium, chap. 7 οὐ μὴν δοτέον, ὥσπερ δυστοκούσας γυναιξὶ, περιάψασθαι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ὠκυτόκιον, ἵνα ῥαδίως καὶ ἀταλαιπώρως τὸ

εἶθ' ὥς ἔνευσεν ἡ φέρουσ', εὐθὺς βοᾷ,
 "ἀπελθ' ἀπελθ', ἤδη γὰρ ὦνέρ μοι δοκῶ
 τέξειν· τὸ γὰρ ἦτρον τῆς χύτρας ἐλάκτισεν."
 χῶ μὲν γεγηθὼς ἔτρεχεν, ἡ δ' ἐξέσπασεν 510
 ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ παιδίου, τὸ δ' ἀνέκραγεν.
 εἶθ' ἡ μιαρὰ γραῦς, ἡ 'φερεν τὸ παιδίον,
 θεῖ μειδιῶσα πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λέγει,
 "λέων λέων σοι γέγονεν, αὐτέκμαγμα σόν,
 τὰ τ' ἄλλ' ἀπαξάπαντα καὶ τὸ πόσθιον 515

δίκαιον ἡμῶν ἀποτέκωσιν. All these passages refer to amulets. But the ὥκυτόκια which Galen (Περὶ εὐπορίστων ii. 26. 13) prescribes are potions and the like, such as βολβούς πικροὺς τρίψας διὰ γλυκέος, δὸς πιεῖν.

505. ἐν χύτρῃ] ὅτι ἐν χύτρῃ τὰ παιδία ἐξετίθεσαν.—Scholiast. The child however in the present case was not a foundling, but a baby purchased from its parents. It was brought to the

house in a large earthen crock; and a piece of a honeycomb was placed in its mouth, which it could suck, and which would prevent it crying. Incidents of the present kind were frequent in the New Comedy, and were reproduced by the Roman comedians. See the story told by Phronesium in the Truculentus of Plautus ii. 4; and that concocted by Davus in the Andria of Terence:

missa est ancilla illico

obstetricem accersitum ad eam, et puerum ut adferret simul (iii. 2. 34).

509. τὸ ἦτρον τῆς χύτρας] δέον εἰπεῖν τὸ βρέφος τὸ ἦτρον τῆς μήτρας ἐλάκτισεν, εἶπε τῆς χύτρας, ἐπειδὴ ἐν χύτρῃ εἰσῆλθε τὸ παιδίον. ἦτρον· τὸ κάλυμμα τῆς μήτρας, ὃ καλοῦμεν ἔλντρον (Scholiast), the membrane, or lining, of the womb. It is difficult to determine whether these words form part of the wife's speech, or are the comment of Mnesilochus upon it; but on the whole I think that the former is the true interpretation. We have already been told that it was the midwife's signal which called forth

the wife's exclamation: and to attribute it now to the babe's movement would be to give another and a contradictory reason for its occurrence. The substitution of χύτρας for μήτρας is purely comic, and is no real objection to putting the words into the woman's mouth.

510. ἐξέσπασεν] δηλονότι τὸ κηρίον.—Bisetus.

514. λέων] that is, a prodigy, a lion-like boy. αὐτέκμαγμα means the very copy of yourself; ἔκμαγμα being the

τῷ σῷ προσόμοιον, στρεβλὸν ὥσπερ κύτταρον.”
 ταῦτ’ οὐ ποιοῦμεν τὰ κακά; νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν
 ἡμεῖς γε. κατ’ Εὐριπίδῃ θυμούμεθα,
 οὐδὲν παθοῦσαι μείζον ἢ δεδράκαμεν;

- ΧΟ. τουτὶ μέντοι θαυμαστὸν, 520
 ὀπόθεν εὐρέθη τὸ χρῆμα,
 χῆτις ἐξέθρεψε χώρα
 τήνδε τὴν θρασεῖαν οὕτω.
 τάδε γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὴν πανούργον
 κατὰ τὸ φανερόν ᾧδ’ ἀναιδῶς 525

impression made by a seal upon the clay. Compare the language of Paulina in the Winter's Tale ii. 3. κύτταρος has many significations; the *cell* of a honeycomb, the *cup* of an acorn, the early *pine-cone* (τὰ τῆς πίτνος προανθοῦντα στροβίλια), &c. See the Scholiasts here and on Wasps 1111, Peace 199. The epithet *στρεβλόν*, *twisted*, seems to show that in this passage it signifies a *pine-cone*.

517. νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν] Mnesilochus does not forget, either here or in 569 *infra*, to use the women's oath; Lys. 435, 922, 949, *infra* 742, Eccl. 90, 136. He now concludes his speech with a quotation (the Scholiast tells us) from the

Telephus of Euripides,

εἶτα δὴ θυμούμεθα
 παθόντες οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότες;

520-530. This little indignant outburst is, as we have already seen, the antistrophe to the triumphant eulogy with which the Chorus greeted the peroration of the First Woman's speech.

528. τὴν παροιμίαν] The proverb was ὑπὸ παντὶ λίθῳ σκορπίος, but the Chorus change *σκορπίος* into *ρήτωρ*, to suit the occasion. Both in Athenaeus (xv. 50, Scol. 18) and in the Anthology (Scol. 15) we find the following scolium by Praxilla of Sicyon:

ὑπὸ παντὶ λίθῳ σκορπίος, ᾧταιρ', ὑποδύεται.
 φράξεν μή σε βάλῃ· τῷ δ' ἀφανεῖ πᾶς ἔπεται δόλος.

The metre is that of the Ἀδμήτου λόγον scolium cited in Wasps 1238, which also is ascribed to Praxilla, a famous scolium-writer, and very partial to this particular metre. And Fritzsche is altogether mistaken in supposing that

ὑπὸ in the first line does not suit the metre; the two syllables (technically called the *base*) which precede the choriamb may be of any quantity: and many examples in which both are short will be found in Gaisford's learned

οὐκ ἂν φόμην ἐν ἡμῖν
οὐδὲ τολμήσαι ποτ' ἄν.
ἀλλ' ἅπαν γένοιτ' ἂν ἥδη·
τὴν παροιμίαν δ' ἐπαινῶ
τὴν παλαιάν· ὑπὸ λίθῳ γὰρ
παντί που χρῆ
μὴ δάκῃ ρήτωρ ἀθρεῖν.

530

ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἀναισχύντων φύσει γυναικῶν
οὐδὲν κάκιον εἰς ἅπαντα πλὴν ἄρ' εἰ γυναῖκες.

ΓΥ. Α. οὗτοι μὰ τὴν Ἀγραυλον, ὦ γυναῖκες, εὖ φρονεῖτε,

notes to Hephaestion, chap. x. Nor can I agree with Fritzsche that the "ancient proverb," which is frequently cited by old writers, was derived from the scolium; it was doubtless the scolium which was derived from the proverb. The proverb is one of those illustrated by Erasmus, and he himself employs it in one of his letters to describe the alarm into which the educated classes of England had been thrown by the violent measures of King Henry VIII. After noticing the execution of Fisher and the imprisonment of More, he proceeds "Caeteri amici, qui me subinde literis et muneribus dignabantur, metu nec scribunt nec mittunt quicquam, neque quicquam a quoquam recipiunt, *quasi sub omni lapide dormiat scorpius.*" Epistle 1286, Erasmii Opera, Vol. iii, p. 1509.

529. ὑπὸ λίθῳ] The notion of G. Burges that by λίθος we are to understand τὸ βῆμα τῆς πυκνός, as in Peace 680 and elsewhere, though accepted by Fritzsche and Enger, seems to me mani-

festly wrong. The ρήτωρ could not be ὑπὸ τῷ λίθῳ, though the audience might be. Eccl. 87.

532. οὐδὲν κάκιον] They are apparently quoting from the Melanippe Desmotis of Euripides τῆς μὲν κακῆς κάκιον οὐδὲν γίγνεται Γυναικός. Stobaeus lxi. 11. But the exception πλὴν ἄρ' εἰ γυναῖκες is tacked on by Aristophanes himself. The concluding word γυναῖκες is, of course, introduced παρὰ προσδοκίαν. The Chorus are casting about for some object whose vileness is greater than that of the most shameless woman; and the vilest object they can call to mind is—woman-kind in general.

533. Ἀγραυλον] Agraulus (otherwise Ἀγλαυρος), Herse and Pandrosus were the three daughters of Cecrops, and were famous in the old legends. We have μὰ τὴν Ἀγραυλον here, and νῆ τὴν Πάνδροσον (though the name there appears to belong to Artemis) in Lys. 439; but we nowhere have μὰ or νῆ τὴν Ἐρσην. And so the Scholiast observes, κατὰ τῆς Ἀγραύλου ᾄμνον, κατὰ δὲ τῆς

ἀλλ' ἡ πεφάρμαχθ', ἡ κακόν τι μέγα πεπόνθατ' ἄλλο,
ταύτην ἐᾶσαι τὴν φθόρον τοιαῦτα περιυβρίζειν 535

ἡμᾶς ἀπάσας. εἰ μὲν οὖν τις ἔστιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἡμεῖς
αὐταί γε καὶ τὰ δουλάρια τέφραν ποθὲν λαβοῦσαι
ταύτης ἀποψιλώσομεν τὸν χοῖρον, ἵνα διδαχθῇ
γυνὴ γυναικας οὔσα μὴ κακῶς λέγειν τὸ λοιπόν.

MN. μὴ δῆτα τόν γε χοῖρον ᾧ γυναῖκες. εἰ γὰρ οὔσης 540
παρρησίας κάξδον λέγειν ὅσαι πάρεσμεν ἄσται,
εἴτ' εἴπον ἀγίγνωσκον ὑπὲρ Εὐριπίδου δίκαια,
διὰ τοῦτο τιλλομένην με δεῖ δοῦναι δίκην ὑφ' ὑμῶν;

ΓΥ. Α. οὐ γάρ σε δεῖ δοῦναι δίκην; ἥτις μόνη τέτληκας 545
ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἀντειπεῖν, ὅς ἡμᾶς πολλὰ κακὰ δέδρακεν

Πανδρόσου σπανιώτερον, κατὰ δὲ τῆς Ἑρσης
οὐχ εὐρήκαμεν.

535. φθόρον] *This pest*; compare
Knights 1151.

536. εἰ δὲ μὴ] *If any will help us to
punish her* (συντιμωρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν βουλό-
μεναι.—Scholiast) *well*; *if not, we will
do it ourselves*, that is, by ourselves. In
the first branch of the sentence, she is
referring to the audience; and this
seems to be the meaning of the gloss,
ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς εἰσίν. This elliptical
mode of expression is technically called
the σχῆμα ἀνταπόδοτον. It occurs
again in Plutus 468-470 (where many
examples of the σχῆμα are collected by
Kuster and Bergler) and in St. Luke's
Gospel xiii. 9.

537. τέφραν] “Ad vulsuram utuntur
cinere, ut pili firmitus prehendi possint.
Cf. Nub. 1083 τέφρα τε τιλθῇ.”—Bergler.

540. μὴ δῆτα] Words of deprecation
(infra 751) very frequent in Euripides.
See Med. 337, Alc. 308, Suppl. 267, 320,
Iph. in Aul. 1183, Helen 939. Mnesi-
lochos, as we shall presently see, is
quite ready for a stand-up fight; but he
naturally deprecates a mode of attack
which would lead to his immediate de-
tection.

547. Μελανίππας ποιῶν] *writing his
Melanippes and his Phaedras*; or rather,
presenting those characters in his Plays.
As to Melanippe see the note on 14
supra. Phaedra, as all know, fell sick
for love of her own stepson. Her name
was sure to be prominent in any list of
bad women, just as Homer's noble and
virtuous Penelope would be foremost
on the roll of the good. Thus in a
passage from Eubulus, preserved by
Athenaeus xiii. 8, a speaker exclaims,

O Zeus! immortal Zeus! am I the man
To speak against the ladies? May I die
If I don't think them excellent! You name

ἐπίτηδες εὐρίσκων λόγους, ὅπου γυνὴ πονηρὰ
ἐγένετο, Μελανίππας ποιῶν Φαίδρας τε· Πηνελόπην δὲ
οὐπόποτ' ἐποίησ', ὅτι γυνὴ σώφρων ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

MN. ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα ταῖτιον. μίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἴποις
τῶν νῦν γυναικῶν Πηνελόπην, Φαίδρας δ' ἀπαξάπασας. 550

ΓΥ. Α. ἀκούετ', ὦ γυναῖκες, οἷ' εἶρηκεν ἡ πανοῦργος
ἡμᾶς ἀπάσας αὐθις αὖ. MN. καὶ νῆ Δί' οὐδέπω γε
εἶρηχ' ὅσα ξύνοιδοι· ἐπεὶ βούλεσθε πλείον' εἶπω;

ΓΥ. Α. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' ἔχοις· ὅσα γὰρ ἦδεις ἐξέχεας ἅπαντα.

MN. μὰ Δί' οὐδέπω τὴν μυριοστὴν μοῖραν ὧν ποιούμεν.
ἐπεὶ τάδ' οὐκ εἶρηχ', ὄρα's, ὡς στλεγγίδας λαβοῦσαι
ἔπειτα σιφωνίζομεν τὸν σῖτον. ΓΥ. Α. ἐπιτριβείης. 555

Medea; well, I name Penelope.

Then Clytaemnestra, you insist, was bad;

True, but Alcestis, I reply, was good.

Then Phaedra was immoral: true, but think

Of virtuous — whom?—why bless me, whom? O heavens,

My stock of virtuous names has clean run out,

Before my wicked ones are well begun.

556. *στλεγγίδας*] *ξύστρας*.—Scholiast. Of these strigils, or skin-scrapers, which were in common use at the baths to remove the sweat and oil from the bodies of the bathers, a great variety may be seen in the British Museum. They are mostly of very simple construction, not unlike our horse-scraper, or the segment of a hoop from a barrel. The *στλεγγίς* and *λήκυθος*, being the regular concomitants of a bath, are frequently mentioned together: οὐδ' ἐστὶν αὐτῇ *στλεγγίς* οὐδὲ *λήκυθος*, Aristoph. *Daetaleis* (Fragm. 29 in Meineke's collection); Plato *Charmides*, chap. ix. (161 E); Aelian V.H. xii. 29 &c. These two articles, when a well-to-do citizen went

to the baths, were carried for his use by an attendant, who thence derived the somewhat abnormal name of *στλεγγιδολήκυθος* or *ξύστρολήκυθος*.

557. *σιφωνίζομεν τὸν σῖτον*] *we tap the corn*. κατεχρήσατο εἰποῦσα σιφωνίζομεν σῖτον. κυρίως γὰρ σιφωνίζειν τὸ τὰ ὑγρὰ ἀποσπᾶν.—Scholiast. σιφωνίζειν κυρίως ἐπὶ τῶν ὑγρῶν, τὸ ἀποσπᾶν. Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ κατεχρήσατο, εἰπὼν “σιφωνίζομεν τὸν σῖτον.”—Suidas. A strigil was well adapted for scooping down grain, especially grain stored away where it could not be reached by the hand. And that the women were addicted to little pilferings of corn is more than once alleged in this very Play, supra 420,

- MN. ὥς τ' αὖ τὰ κρέ' ἐξ Ἀπατουρίων ταῖς μαστροποῖς διδοῦσαι
 ἔπειτα τὴν γαλῆν φάμεν— ΓΥ. Α. τάλαιν' ἐγώ· φλυαρεῖς.
- MN. οὐδ' ὥς τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ πελέκει γυνὴ κατεσπόδῃσεν, 560
 οὐκ εἶπον· οὐδ' ὥς φαρμάκοις ἑτέρα τὸν ἄνδρ' ἔμνηεν,
 οὐδ' ὥς ὑπὸ τῇ πυέλῳ κατάρυξέν ποτ'— ΓΥ. Α. ἐξόλοιο.
- MN. Ἀχαρνικὴ τὸν πατέρα. ΓΥ. Α. ταυτὶ δῆτ' ἀνέκτ' ἀκούειν;
- MN. οὐδ' ὥς σὺ τῆς δούλης τεκούσης ἄρρεν εἶτα σαυτῇ

infra 813. And see Eccl. 15, 16 and the note there. The meaning of the passage, therefore, is quite clear and satisfactory. Unfortunately, Kuster took it into his head to propose that the word we should have expected to follow *σιφονίζομεν*, viz. *οἶνον*, should be substituted for the surprise-word *σίτον*; and this suggestion has been followed by every subsequent editor. "Haec conjectura," Fritzsche truly says, "claro plausu excepta est a Reiskio, Berglero, Brunckio, Bothio, Dindorfio, aliisque passim"; and he himself adds his tribute of applause. But having accepted and applauded it, the next thing is to make sense of it. And this they practically admit to be impossible. Reiske thinks that *στλεγγίδας* must be a corruption of some other word signifying a *straw*, "probo enim Kusteri *οἶνον*" he adds, recognizing the cause of the difficulty. Brunck thinks that *στλεγγίς* is not used in its ordinary sense, or else that the strigil must have had a tubular handle, through which the wine was sucked. Fritzsche, having seen the specimens in the Berlin Museum, knew that this would not do, and therefore suggests that the women drew the wine through a tube *into the*

strigil; which could hardly, as Enger appears to see, be adduced as a proof of their good sense. All this difficulty is admitted to be occasioned by Kuster's alteration, yet nobody has returned to the MS. reading, which gives rise to no difficulty at all.

558. ἐξ Ἀπατουρίων] The Apaturia, the great festival of the phratries, was celebrated in the same month, if not at the very same time, as the Thesmophoria. The first day was called the *Δόρπεια*, the Banqueting Day, because in the evening of that day the members of each phratría met together at a great civic banquet; *ἐπειδὴ φράτορες ὀψίας συνελθόντες εὐωχοῦντο*.—Scholiast at Ach. 146; Suidas. Doubtless some Athenian women had been recently detected in the act of purloining meat from these banquets, for the purpose (Mnesilochus insinuates) of giving it *ταῖς μαστροποῖς*, to *their go-betweens*.

560. πελέκει] τοῦτο διὰ τὴν Κλυταιμνήστραν, says the Scholiast; and in truth, Euripides does constantly mention the *πέλεκυς* as the weapon with which Clytaemnestra slew her lord. Hec. 1279, Troades 361, Electra 160, 279, 1160. But Mnesilochus is talking not of what Euripides has described, but of what he

τοῦθ' ὑπεβάλου, τὸ σὸν δὲ θυγάτριον παρήκας αὐτῇ. 565
 ΓΥ. Α. οὐ τοι μὰ τῷ θεῷ σὺ καταπρόϊξι λέγουσα ταυτί,
 ἀλλ' ἐκποκιῶ σου τὰς ποκάδας. ΜΝ. οὐ δὴ μὰ Δία σύ γ' ἄψει.
 ΓΥ. Α. καὶ μὴν ἰδοῦ. ΜΝ. καὶ μὴν ἰδοῦ. ΓΥ. Α. λαβὲ θοιμάτιον, Φιλίστη.
 ΜΝ. πρόσθες μόνον, κάγώ σε νῆ τήν' Ἀρτεμιν— ΓΥ. Α. τί δράσεις;
 ΜΝ. τὸν σησαμοῦνθ' ὃν κατέφαγες, τοῦτον χεσεῖν ποιήσω. 570
 ΧΟ. παύσασθε λοιδορούμεναι· καὶ γὰρ γυνή τις ἡμῖν

has not described, οὐκ εἴρηκέ πω, and undoubtedly all these accusations refer to some recent and well-known incidents of Athenian life. And another Scholiast rightly says οὐκ ἀπὸ ἱστορίας, meaning that there is no allusion to the old Clytaemnestra story. And so in the next example (a wife driving her husband mad with poisonous drugs) οὐκ ἀπὸ ἱστορίας παλαιᾶς εἰληφεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τοῦτον γενομένου. And again as to the Acharnian parricide, ὡς καὶ τούτου πάλιν γενομένου. The Acharnian woman had murdered her father, and buried his body under the bath. In the Wife of Bath's prologue 6347-54, Chaucer gives a list of female crimes very similar to that of Mnesilochus here.

564. ὡς σύ] After enumerating the various crimes committed by Athenian women, he suddenly turns upon his antagonist herself, and charges *her* with exchanging her baby-girl with her maid-servant's baby-boy. This personal attack is too much for the other's patience; and a personal brawl ensues which might well have broken up the assembly altogether, but for the unexpected diversion occasioned by the appearance of Cleisthenes.

567. ἐκποκιῶ] *I'll pull your wool out: I'll comb your coxcomb for you.*

568. καὶ μὴν ἰδοῦ] With these words she throws herself into a fighting attitude. Mnesilochus, nothing loth, follows her example. Thereupon she flings her upper garment to a friend, in preparation for the combat. Compare the well-known words of Hipponax, λάβετέ μου θοιμάτιον, κόψω Βουπάλου τὸν ὀφθαλμόν: and see the note on Wasps 408.

569. πρόσθες μόνον] *Only lay a hand on me.* In the following line he insinuates that, notwithstanding it is the Νηστεία, the woman has been indulging in a feast of sesamé-cake, a favourite dainty with Athenian women, and the recognized wedding-cake at Athens. See Peace 869, and the note on Peace 862.

571. γυνή τις] A feminine figure is seen approaching, which the Chorus naturally suppose to be a woman, but which turns out to be the notorious Cleisthenes, to whom Mnesilochus, when his face had been shaven into the similitude of a woman's, has already compared himself (supra 235), and who in almost every Comedy of Aristophanes, from the Acharnians to the Frogs, is satirized for the degrading effeminacy of his manners and habits. So thoroughly

ἐσπουδακυῖα προστρέχει. πρὶν οὖν ὁμοῦ γενέσθαι,
σιγαῖθ', ἵν' αὐτῆς κοσμίως πυθώμεθ' ἄττα λέξει.

- ΚΛ. φίλαι γυναῖκες, ξυγγενεῖς τοῦμοῦ τρόπου,
ὅτι μὲν φίλος εἴμ' ὑμῖν, ἐπίδηλος ταῖς γνάθοις. 575
γυναικομανῶ γὰρ, προξενῶ θ' ὑμῶν ἀεί.
καὶ νῦν ἀκούσας πρᾶγμα περὶ ὑμῶν μέγα
ὀλίγῃ τι πρότερον κατ' ἀγορὰν λαλούμενον,
ἤκω φράσων τοῦτ' ἀγγελῶν θ' ὑμῖν, ἵνα
σκοπῆτε καὶ τηρῆτε καὶ μὴ προσπέσῃ 580
ὑμῖν ἀφράκτοις πρᾶγμα δεινὸν καὶ μέγα.
- ΧΟ. τί δ' ἔστιν, ὦ παῖ; παῖδα γάρ σ' εἰκὸς καλεῖν,
ἕως ἂν οὕτως τὰς γνάθους ψιλὰς ἔχῃς.
- ΚΛ. Εὐριπίδην φάσ' ἄνδρα κηδεστήν τινα
αὐτοῦ γέροντα δεῦρ' ἀναπέμψαι τήμερον. 585
- ΧΟ. πρὸς ποῖον ἔργον ἢ τίνος γνώμης χάριν;
- ΚΛ. ἵν' ἄττα βουλευοῖσθε καὶ μέλλοιτε δρᾶν,
ἐκεῖνος εἴη τῶν λόγων κατὰσκοπος.

is he identified with the womankind, that the Chorus express no indignation at his appearance amongst them; though indeed his first speech contains a sort of apologetic excuse for his intrusion.

572. ὁμοῦ] ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐγγὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς.—Scholiast. The two words, however, have not *quite* the same meaning. Cleisthenes was already ἐγγύς; he would not be ὁμοῦ until he had actually reached them.

574. ξυγγενεῖς] τὰ αὐτά μοι πράττουσαι.—Scholiast. The words ἐπίδηλος ταῖς γνάθοις refer to the circumstance that his face is as devoid of hair as a woman's, cf. infra 583. He is *woman-mad*, γυναικομανῶ, just as a speaker in *Birds* 1344 declares himself to be *bird-mad*, ὀρνιθο-

μανῶ. He is their *πρόξενος*, because, if any question arises about them among the men, he makes it his business to take their part and defend their interests.

581. ἀφράκτοις] *unprepared*, literally *unguarded*. Fritzsche refers to Thuc. i. 117 οἱ Σάμιοι ἑξαπινάϊως ἐκπλουν ποιησάμενοι, ἀφράκτῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπιπεσόντες κ.τ.λ. With the last words of the line compare Peace 403.

582. τί δ' ἔστιν, ὦ παῖ] The line is adapted from *Wasps* 1297, where see the note.

585. ἀναπέμψαι] to send *up*, because the Thesmophorium was on rising ground; whence the first day of the Festival, when the worshippers went up

- ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς λέληθεν ἐν γυναιξὶν ὦν ἀνὴρ;
 ΚΛ. ἀφεῦσεν αὐτὸν κάπ' ἐτλ' Εὐριπίδης,
 καὶ τᾶλλ' ἄπανθ' ὥσπερ γυναικ' ἐσκέυασεν. 590
- ΜΝ. πείθεσθε τούτῳ ταῦτα; τίς δ' οὕτως ἀνὴρ
 ἡλίθιος, ὅστις τιλλόμενος ἡνείχεται ἄν;
 οὐκ οἶμαι ἴσως, ὃ πολυτιμήτῳ θεῷ.
- ΚΛ. ληρεῖς· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἦλθον ἀγγελῶν,
 εἰ μὴ ἔπευσμην ταῦτα τῶν σάφ' εἰδόντων. 595
- ΧΟ. τὸ πρᾶγμα τουτὶ δεινὸν εἰσαγγέλλεται.
 ἀλλ', ὃ γυναικες, οὐκ ἐλινύειν ἐχρήν,
 ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ζητεῖν ὅπου
 λέληθεν ἡμᾶς κρυπτὸς ἐγκαθήμενος. 600
 καὶ σὺ ξυνέξευρ' αὐτὸν, ὥς ἂν τὴν χάριν
 ταύτην τε κάκ' ἐκείνην ἔχῃς, ὃ πρόξενε.
- ΚΛ. φέρ' ἴδω· τίς εἶ πρώτη σύ; ΜΝ. ποῖ τις τρέψεται;
 ΚΛ. ζητηταί γάρ ἐστε. ΜΝ. κακοδαίμων ἐγώ.
- ΓΤ. Α. ἐμ' ἥτις εἴμ' ἦρου; Κλεωνύμου γυνή. 605

to the temple, was sometimes called ἡ Ἀνοδος, the *Ascent*. The Scholiast says, ἀναπέμψαι κυρίως, διὸ καὶ Ἀνοδος ἡ πρώτη λέγεται, παρ' ἐνίοις καὶ Κάθοδος· διὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ Θεσμοφορίου. And again, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀνοδὸν τὴν εἰς τὸ Θεσμοφόριον ἄφιξιν λέγουσιν· ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ γὰρ κείται τὸ Θεσμοφόριον. Confer supra 281, infra 623, 1045. The words παρ' ἐνίοις καὶ Κάθοδος embody, of course, the ordinary confusion between the first and second days of the Festival. Ἀνοδος means the Ascent of the women to the temple; Κάθοδος, the Descent of Persephone to the world below. See the Introduction. The feelings of Mnesilochus during the ensuing dialogue may be more easily imagined than described. The next

question of the Chorus, as Fritzsche remarks, "spirat tragoediam."

593. ἡλίθιος] Mnesilochus speaks with a keen recollection of the tortures he endured during the process which Cleisthenes is describing.

603. πρώτη σύ] It is probable that he is addressing the First Woman; and the παιδίον, the dummy child which her nurse is carrying, is doubtless, as Fritzsche suggests, the wine-flask dressed up in baby clothes which at line 690 Mnesilochus snatches from its (supposed) mother's arms. See the note on 383 supra.

605. Κλεωνύμου γυνή] If this is the Cleonymus so often mentioned in the earlier Plays, this is his last appearance

- ΚΛ. γινώσκειθ' ὑμεῖς ἤτις ἔσθ' ἢδ' ἡ γυνή;
 ΧΟ. γινώσκουμεν δῆτ'. ἀλλὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἄθρει.
 ΚΛ. ἡδὲ δὲ δὴ τίς ἐστιν ἡ τὸ παιδίον
 ἔχουσα; ΓΥ. Α. τίτθη νῆ Δί' ἐμή. ΜΝ. διοίχομαι.
 ΚΛ. αὕτη σὺ ποῖ στρέφει; μέν' αὐτοῦ. τί τὸ κακόν; 610
 ΜΝ. ἔασον οὐρήσαι μ'. ΚΛ. ἀναίσχυντός τις εἶ.
 σὺ δ' οὖν ποίει τοῦτ'. ἀναμενῶ γὰρ ἐνθάδε.
 ΧΟ. ἀνάμενε δῆτα καὶ σκόπει γ' αὐτὴν σφόδρα·
 μόνην γὰρ αὐτὴν, ὦνερ, οὐ γινώσκουμεν.
 ΚΛ. πολὺν γε χρόνον οὐρεῖς σύ. ΜΝ. νῆ Δί', ὦ μέλε· 615
 στραγγουριῶ γάρ· ἐχθὲς ἔφαγον κάρδαμα.
 ΚΛ. τί καρδαμίζεις; οὐ βαδιεῖ δεῦρ' ὥς ἐμέ;
 ΜΝ. τί δῆτά μ' ἔλκεις ἀσθενοῦσαν; ΚΛ. εἰπέ μοι,
 τίς ἔστ' ἀνὴρ σοι; ΜΝ. τὸν ἐμὸν ἄνδρα πυνθάνει;
 τὸν δεῖνα γινώσκεις, τὸν ἐκ Κοθωκιδῶν; 620
 ΚΛ. τὸν δεῖνα; ποῖον; ἔσθ' ὁ δεῖν', ὃς καὶ ποτε—
 ΜΝ. τὸν δεῖνα τὸν τοῦ δεῖνα. ΚΛ. ληρεῖν μοι δοκεῖς.

in the Comedies of Aristophanes. In the *Acharnians* and *Knights* he is satirized merely for his gross bulk and enormous voracity; but thenceforward he is known as the *ρίψασπις*, the *ἀσπιδο-αποβλής*. We may be sure that this act of "discretion" occurred at the battle of Delium, where there was a great casting-away of Athenian shields. Fritzsche thinks it an intentional stroke of humour that the wife of Κλεωνύμη (*Clouds* 680) should be the first suspected of being a man.

610. ποῖ στρέφει;] *Whither are you turning away?* So supra 230, Lucian's *Cataplus* 25, and (metaphorically) Plato's *Phaedrus*, chap. 12 (236 E).

616. στραγγουριῶ] He excuses his delay

by alleging that he is afflicted with strangury, that is, to adopt Forcellini's definition, "*urinae stillicidium, cum per intervallum et guttatim defluit; a στραγξ gutta, et οὔρον urina.*" ἐπισχετικὰ γὰρ οὔρου τὰ κάρδαμα, says the Scholiast.

617. τί καρδαμίζεις] *What are you water-cressing for?* "Finxit hoc verbum," as Bergler says, "a proximo κάρδαμα. Sic in *Vesp.* 652, quum alter dixisset, ὦ πάτερ, alter inquit παῦσαι, καὶ μὴ πατέριζε," where see the note.

620. Κοθωκιδῶν] Κοθωκίδαι, δῆμος τῆς Οἰνηίδος φυλῆς.—Scholiast, Photius. It is the deme to which in later times the orator Aeschines belonged (*Lives of the X Orators*), but we do not know where

- ἀνῆλθες ἤδη δεῦρο πρότερον ; MN. νῆ Δία
 ὅσ' ἔτη γε. ΚΛ. καὶ τίς σουστὶ συσκηνήτρια ;
 MN. ἡ δεῖν' ἔμοιγ'. οἷμοι τάλας. ΚΛ. οὐδὲν λέγεις. 625
 ΓΥ. Α. ἄπελθ'. ἐγὼ γὰρ βασανίῳ ταύτην καλῶς
 ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν πέρυσι· σὺ δ' ἀπόστηθί μοι,
 ἵνα μὴ 'πακούσης ὦν ἀνὴρ. σὺ δ' εἶπέ μοι
 ὅ τι πρῶτον ἡμῖν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐδείκνυτο.
 MN. φέρ' ἴδω, τί μέντοι πρῶτον ἦν ; ἐπίνομεν. 630
 ΓΥ. Α. τί δαί μετὰ τοῦτο δεύτερον ; MN. προῦπίνομεν.
 ΓΥ. Α. ταυτὶ μὲν ἤκουσάς τινος· τί δ' αὖ τρίτον ;
 MN. σκάφιον Ξένυλλ' ᾗτησεν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀμῖς.
 ΓΥ. Α. οὐδὲν λέγεις. δεῦρ' ἔλθε, δεῦρ', ὦ Κλείσθενες·
 ὅδ' ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ὃν λέγεις. ΚΛ. τί οὖν ποιῶ ; 635
 ΓΥ. Α. ἀπόδυσον αὐτόν· οὐδὲν ὕγιες γὰρ λέγει.
 MN. κάπειτ' ἀποδύσετ' ἐννέα παίδων μητέρα ;
 ΚΛ. χάλα ταχέως τὸ στρόφιον, ὧναίσχυντε σύ.

it was situated, or whether there was any special reason for its selection by Mnesilochus. With the repetition in this and the following lines of the indefinite *ὁ* or *ἡ* *δεῖνα* compare St. Chrysostom's *ὁ* *δεῖνα* καὶ *ὁ* *δεῖνα* τὴν *δεῖνα* γαμείτωσαν (he is speaking of the marriage-arrangements in the Republic of Plato), Hom. iv. in 1 Cor. 30 c. Dindorf refers to Plautus, Mercator iv. 3. 23, and Trinummus iv. 2. 62.

623. ἀνῆλθες] καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν ἄνοδον, ἐπειδὴ ἄνοδος ἦν πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν.—Scholiast. See supra 585, and the note there.

624. ὅσ' ἔτη] *Every year*. The Scholiast explains συσκηνήτρια by φίλη συνδιαίτος. σκηναὶ γὰρ ἑαυταῖς ἐποίουν πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν. We see therefore that, as a rule, two

friends were accustomed to lodge and mess together.

631. προῦπίνομεν] ἀλλήλας ἐδεξιούμεθα. —Scholiast. *We drank to each other's health. Pledged each other.* Nothing but wine, even at the Thesmophoria. διαβάλλει πάλιν τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς μεθύσους. —Scholiast. The Woman's next words, as Fritzsche wittily remarks, betray the incommunicable secrets of the festival.

633. σκάφιον ᾗτησεν] Cf. Frogs 544, ᾗτησεν ἀμίδα. This is the consequence, he suggests, of her drinking so much wine. See Eupolis, cited by Athenaeus i. chap. 30 (17 E), and Epicrates, cited Id. vi. 81 (262 D).

638. στρόφιον] The sash or girdle which Agathon had been kind enough to lend

ΓΥ. Α. ὥς καὶ στιβαρά τις φαίνεται καὶ καρτερά·

καὶ νῆ Δία τιτθούς γ' ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχει.

640

MN. στερίφη γάρ εἰμι κοῦκ ἐκύησα πάποτε.

ΓΥ. Α. νῦν· τότε δὲ μήτηρ ἦσθα παίδων ἐννέα.

ΚΛ. ἀνίστασ' ὀρθός. ποῖ τὸ πέος ὠθεῖς κάτω;

ΓΥ. Α. τοδὶ διέκυψε καὶ μάλ' εὐχρων, ὦ τάλαν.

ΚΛ. καὶ ποῦ 'στιν; ΓΥ. Α. αὖθις ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν οἴχεται.

645

ΚΛ. οὐκ ἐνγεταυθί. ΓΥ. Α. μὴ ἀλλὰ δεῦρ' ἔκει πάλιν.

ΚΛ. ἰσθμόν τιν' ἔχεις, ὦνθρωπ'· ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω

him. See 251, 255, and the note on 249 *supra*.

641. στερίφη] *A barren stock*. ἀντὶ τοῦ στείρα.—Scholiast. For στέριφος, which properly means *firm, solid*, is used, Ἀττικῶς, for *barren*. See Sallier's note on Moeris, s. v. στερίφη, and Ruhnken's on Timaeus, s. v. στερίφαι.

643. ὠθεῖς κάτω] He is endeavouring to conceal the *δερμάτινον αἰδοῖον* (see the note on Eccl. 890) which comic actors wore, and the use of which Aristophanes in the *Clouds* had vainly attempted to discontinue. See *Clouds* 538.

648. πυκνότερον Κορινθίων] *frequentius quam Corinthii*.—Kuster. ἐπεὶ τὰς ναῦς διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ εἰλκον Κορίνθιοι, ὥστε μὴ περιέρχεσθαι.—Scholiast. The Corinthians, dwelling on an isthmus, with a port on each sea, had the inestimable advantage of being able to transport, not only their merchant vessels, but also, on occasion, their triremes, with great rapidity, from one sea to the other. The ships were hauled on trolleys (ὀλκοὺς, Thuc. iii. 15) along a beaten track, which was from this custom called the *Διολκός*, whence *διέλκεις* in

the present line; τὸν Διολκόν, δι' οὗ τὰ πορθμεῖα ὑπερνεολκοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν θάλατταν, Strabo viii. 2 § 1. The term *πυκνότερον* forbids us to restrict the speaker's meaning to the comparatively infrequent transit of ships of war, though several instances of this transit are recorded by historians; and though the present allusion is probably due to the circumstance that, less than two years previously, the Corinthians had, in fact, unobserved by the Athenians, transported in this manner a considerable part of their navy from the gulf of Corinth to the Saronic gulf. Their navy had been operating in the former gulf against the Athenian squadron stationed at Naupactus; but at the commencement of the summer season of B.C. 412, Thucydides tells us, the Spartans, planning an expedition to Chios, arranged that the Corinthians ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας θαλάσσης ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀθήνας ὑπερενεγκόντες τὰς ναῦς τὸν Ἰσθμόν, should dispatch them at once to Chios. Accordingly the Corinthians conveyed twenty-one ships across the isthmus without the Athenians

τὸ πέος διέλκεις πυκνότερον Κορινθίων.

ΓΥ. Α. ὦ μίαρδς οὔτος· ταῦτ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ Εὐριπίδου

ἡμῖν ἐλοιδορεῖτο. ΜΝ. κακοδαίμων ἐγὼ,

650

εἰς οἷ' ἐμαντὸν εἰσεκύλισα πράγματα.

ΓΥ. Α. ἄγε δὴ τί δρῶμεν; ΚΛ. τουτονὶ φυλάττετε

καλῶς, ὅπως μὴ διαφυγὼν οἰχθήσεται·

ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν ἀγγελῶ.

ΧΟ. ἡμᾶς τοῖνυν μετὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη τὰς λαμπάδας ἀψαμένας χρῆ

655

knowing anything of the matter. But shortly afterwards the Athenians attended the Isthmian games, which were celebrated not far from the Διοικὸς, and so discovered what was going on. Thuc. viii. 7-10.

649. ταῦτ'] ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ ταῦτα.—Scho-liast. *This then is the reason why.* The words ὦ μίαρδς οὔτος are repeated from Wasps 900.

654. τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν] It was the duty of the Prytanes to keep order at the meetings of the Ecclesia and the Council, employing for this purpose the Scythian archers who formed the police-force at Athens. See Ach. 54-7, Knights 665, Plato, Protagoras, chap. x. (319 c), and the notes on Eccl. 87 and 143. In the present case Mnesilochus had been occasioning a disturbance in the Women's Ecclesia, convened by the order of their Council (supra 373-6); and in punishing the offender, the Prytanes are acting as the officers of the Council, infra 943. This means, no doubt, the Council of the Five Hundred, which, insensibly, takes the place of the βουλὴ τῶν γυναικῶν.

655. ἡμᾶς τοῖνυν] One Man has been

discovered in the sacred precincts, and the Chorus now propose to make a minute and thorough search, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any others of that hostile sex are lurking about where no men should be. In the ensuing Choral song they profess to be moving in and out through the place where the Assembly has just been held, peeping and peering in every direction; and they wind up by saying that they have searched in every quarter, and have satisfied themselves that no other Man is there. But all this is a mere make-believe; they never really leave the orchestra at all. Just as in the Frogs, the Mystic Chorus, without stirring from their station, represent by their gestures and evolutions the successive stages of the Eleusinian procession; so here the Chorus of Women, by their gestures and evolutions in the orchestra, represent the various steps of the vigilant and exhaustive investigation which they profess to be carrying out elsewhere. The words τὰς λαμπάδας ἀψαμένας point to another, though a very slight, resemblance between the

ξυζωσαμένας εὖ κἀνδρείως τῶν θ' ἱματίων ἀποδύσας
 ζητεῖν, εἴ που κἄλλος τις ἀνὴρ ἐσελήλυθε, καὶ περιθρέξαι
 τὴν πύκνα πᾶσαν καὶ τὰς σκηναὶς καὶ τὰς διόδους διαθρῆσαι.
 εἶα δὴ πρῶτιστα μὲν χρὴ κοῦφον ἐξορμᾶν πόδα
 καὶ διασκοπεῖν σιωπῇ πανταχῇ· μόνον δὲ χρὴ 660
 μὴ βραδύνειν, ὥς ὁ καιρὸς ἐστι μὴ μέλλειν ἔτι,
 ἀλλὰ τὴν πρῶτην τρέχειν χρῆν ὥς τάχιστ' ἤδη κύκλῳ.
 εἶά νυν ἵχνευε καὶ μάτευε πάντ' [ἐρρωμένως,]
 εἴ τις ἐν τόποις ἐδραῖος ἄλλος αὖ λέληθεν ὢν.
 πανταχῇ δὲ ῥίψον ὄμμα, 665

two Choruses. Both enter with lighted torches; both extinguish them, and afterwards relight them. See supra 280, and the notes on Frogs 323, 454, and 1524.

656. τῶν θ' ἱματίων] τῶν ἐγκύκλων ἀποδυσσάμενας.—Scholiast. They throw off their upper mantles, to enable them to dance more freely.

658. πύκνα] They speak of the place where the ἐκκλησία τῶν γυναικῶν has just been held in terms more strictly appropriate to the meeting-place of the real Athenian ἐκκλησία. By διόδους they mean the passages or aisles which traversed the real Pnyx, to enable the citizens to reach their seats, or to go up to the bema without any disorder. There were tents in the Agora; indeed at one time the Scythian archers dwelt in tents in the midst of the Agora.—Scholiast on Ach. 54. But there is doubtless also an allusion here to the tents erected in the precincts of the Thesmophorium. See supra 624.

662. τὴν πρῶτην] *First of all*. This adverbial expression, though not so

common as the analogous τὴν ταχίστην (Wasps 990), is yet very frequently found. See Hdt. i. 153 and iii. 134; Xen. Mem. iii. 6. 10; Demosthenes, Third Olynthiac § 2; Lucian's Piscator § 39. It is a special favourite with Heliodorus, who constantly employs it in his Aethiopics: i. 10. 26; ii. 13. 18; v. 22. 27; vii. 18. 27. The meaning is not quite identical in all the passages cited; and it would be impossible to supply always the same substantive ὄραν, ὁδόν, or the like. In addition to the simple accusative τὴν πρῶτην, we find also παρὰ τὴν πρῶτην, κατὰ τὴν πρῶτην, and ἀπὸ τῆς πρῶτης used in a similar sense. χρῆν in this line is Bentley's correction of the MS. χρή. If we adopt Porson's χρὴ σ', we must, I presume, consider the Coryphaeus to be directing some one member of the Chorus to lead the way in the circling dance. In this case, of course, τὴν πρῶτην would lose its quasi-adverbial signification.

663. μάτευε πάντ' [ἐρρωμένως] The MSS. have μάτευε ταχὺ πάντ', but the line should be a trochaic tetrameter cata-

καὶ τὰ τῆδε, καὶ τὰ δεῦρο,
πάντ' ἀνασκόπει καλῶς.

ἦν γάρ με λάθῃ δράσας ἀνόσια,
δόσει τε δίκην, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνδράσιν ἔσται
παράδειγμ' ὕβρεως ἀδίκων τ' ἔργων
ἀθέων τε τρόπων· ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ —
φήσει δ' εἶναι τε θεοὺς φανερώς,
δείξει τ' ἤδη

[στρ.]

670

lectic; and I have omitted ταχὺ and inserted ἐρρωμένως, not as being the word written by Aristophanes, but as carrying on the metrical swing.

667-686. ἦν γάρ . . . ἀποτίνεται] This system, as Hermann first pointed out, is undoubtedly intended to correspond to that contained in lines 707-725 infra (τί ἂν οὖν . . . τύχη), although one is a pure Choral song, and the other a dialogue between the Chorus and Mnesilochus. But each system has become so muddled that it is impossible now, especially in the later lines, to bring them into complete harmony. And I am not sure that critics have not, in some cases, altered the true reading in one system for the purpose of making it correspond to the corrupt reading in the other. In the first line, however, it is clear that the error is in the strophe, ἦν γάρ μὴ λάθῃ, which gives a good sense (*if a man shall be detected in this sacrilegious act*), but does not suit the metre. For the line, both here and in 707 infra, is plainly an anapaestic dimeter; the long syllable of the concluding anapaest being, in each

case, resolved into two short syllables, so forming a proceleusmatic foot, ἀνόσια here, -τά τις ὅτε there. Fritzsche first changed μὴ into με, as the joint conjecture of himself, Bergk, and an unnamed scholar; and this alteration has been generally followed. Nobody has vouchsafed to explain this reading, which does not seem altogether satisfactory, and certainly stands in need of some explanation. I take it to mean *If we shall discover any man who, unperceived by me, has perpetrated this sacrilegious act*; though it may also mean *If we fail to detect him, yet the Gods will not leave him unpunished*. The first meaning is more suitable to the context; the second gives the natural signification to ἦν λάθῃ. Each of these little lyrical systems is preceded by a few trochaic tetrameters.

671. ἀθέων τε τρόπων] That some words have dropped out here is shown both by the sense, and by the metre. The intruder is to be made an example, not of "godless doings," but of the punishment which awaits them; and the present line, like the corresponding one

πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις σεβίζειν δαίμονας — — —
 δικαίως τ' ἐφέποντας ὅσια, καὶ νόμιμα 675
 μηδομένους, ποιεῖν ὃ τι καλῶς ἔχει.
 κὰν μὴ ποιῶσι ταῦτα, τοιάδ' ἔσται·
 αὐτῶν ὅταν ληφθῇ τις οὐχ
 ὁσίον τι δρῶν, μανίαις φλέγων, 680
 λύσση παράκοπος — — —,
 εἴ τι δρώη,
 πᾶσιν ἐμφανῆς ὁρᾶν ἔσ-
 ται γυναιξὶ καὶ βροτοῖσιν,

in the antistrophe (711), ought to be a complete anapaestic dimeter.

674. δαίμονας] After this word an iambic dipody has been lost; and from this point the antistrophical traces are very dimly perceivable. It seems certain that the strophe has been more depraved than the antistrophe. The verbiage which follows bears no resemblance to the usual style of Aristophanes, whose language and metres, like the thoughts they embody, are always very crisp and clear. "He shall show to all mankind that they should reverence the Gods, and following after what is holy, and studying what is lawful, should do the thing

that is right."

683. γυναιξὶ καὶ βροτοῖσιν] γελοῖως εἶπεν, ὥς Ἀλέξανδρος "ἦσαν ἄνθρωποι πέντε καὶ γυναῖκες τρεῖς."—Scholiast. Alexander was a Comic poet of uncertain date. See Meineke (Fragm. Com. Graec. iv. 555), who would correct the line into ἦσαν ἄνθρωποι δὲ πέντε καὶ γυναῖκες τέτταρες. The joke is similar to that in the Scolium of Timocreon of Rhodes, which is adapted in Ach. 533.

685. παραχρῆμ' ἀποτίνεται] The adverb παραχρῆμα is emphatic. The punishment is instant, and does not tarry. The XIIIth Satire of Juvenal should doubtless commence

EXEMPLO quodeunque malum committitur, ipsi
 Displicet auctori. PRIMA est haec ultio, etc.

instead of the jejune "Exemplo quodcunque malo" into which editors have corrupted the MS "Exemplo quod-

cunque malum." See lines 237, 238, of the same Satire. The Delphian oracle cited in Ael. V. H. iii. 43 declared

τοῖς δὲ κακῶς βέξασι δίκης τέλος οὐχὶ χρονιστὸν
 οὐδ' ἀπαράτητον· οὐδ' εἰ Διὸς ἑγγονοὶ εἶεν.

So Eusebius (H. E. VI. ix. 5), recording the speedy vengeance which fell upon

the slanderers of Narcissus, says Ἄλλ' οὐ καὶ ὁ τῆς Δίκης μέγας ὀφθαλμὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς

ὅτι τὰ παράνομα τὰ τ' ἀνόσια θεὸς

παραχρήμ' ἀποτίνεται.

685

ἀλλ' ἔοιχ' ἡμῖν ἅπαντά πως διεσκέφθαι καλῶς.

οὐχ ὁρῶμεν γοῦν ἔτ' ἄλλον οὐδέν' ἐγκαθήμενον.

ΓΥ. Α. ᾠ ᾠ.

ποῖ ποῖ σὺ φεύγεις; οὗτος οὗτος οὐ μενεῖς;

τάλαιν' ἐγὼ τάλαινα, καὶ τὸ παιδίον

690

ἐξαργάσας μοι φροῦδος ἀπὸ τοῦ τιθίου.

MN. κέκραχθι· τοῦτο δ' οὐδέποτε σὺ ψωμίεις,

ἦν μή μ' ἀφῆτ'· ἀλλ' ἐνθάδ', ἐπὶ τῶν μηρίων,

πεπραγμένοις ἡρέμει, μετῆει δὲ ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς. So in the *De Imitatione Christi* i. 6. 2 "Si autem prosecutus fuerit quod concupiscitur, STATIM ex reatu conscientiae gravatur."

689. ᾠ, ᾠ] As the Chorus are concluding their search, Mnesilochus suddenly snatches a baby from a woman on the stage (apparently the First Woman, who has taken her baby from the nursemaid, supra 608), and flees with it to the altar of the Thesmo-phorian Goddesses. There he takes his seat with the child in his arms. See infra 886.

691. φροῦδος] *he is off*. With the words τὸ παιδίον ἐξαργάσας μοι φροῦδος compare *Frogs* 1343 τὸν ἀλεκτρούνα μου συναργάσασα φρούδη Γλύκη. Both passages are probably adumbrated from some scene in a Euripidean Play, possibly that in which Telephus, in order to gain a hearing, runs off with the infant Orestes. See the note on *Frogs* 855.

692. ψωμίεις] *shall feed him with sops and morsels*. ψωμὸς, ὁ εἰς μικρὰ κεκομμέ-

vos.—Etym. Magn. Cf. *Knights* 715; *Lys.* 19.

693. ἐπὶ τῶν μηρίων] *over the sacrificial meats*. τῶν βωμῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰ μηρία ἐπάνω ἐπικεῖσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ περιεχομένου τὸ περιέχον εἶπεν.—Scholiast. "ἐπὶ τῶν μηρίων," says Fritzsche, "bene Schol. Rav. exponit ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν, qui melius etiam dixisset ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ." This is doubtless correct, for μηρίων cannot be understood of the infant's limbs, as a mere ordinary diminutive of *μῆρ*ων. But, of course, it must not be supposed that there were really any "pieces cut from the victim's thighs" or any sacrificial knife (notwithstanding the words *μαχαίρα τῇδε*) on the altar of the Twain Goddesses. Mnesilochus speaks in a high tragic vein, and is probably adopting the very words, if not of the Telephus, of some other tragic play. Indeed, throughout the scene the language is the language of tragedy. The incident, though analogous to that in the *Acharnians* (326 seqq.), differs widely in its details.

πληγὲν μαχαίρα τῇδε φοινίας φλέβας
καθαιματώσει βωμόν. ΓΥ. Α. ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγώ. 695
γυναῖκες, οὐκ ἀρήξετ' ; οὐ πολλὴν βοὴν
στήσεσθε καὶ τροπαῖον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μόνου
τέκνου με περιόψεσθ' ἀποστερουμένην ;

ΧΟ. ἔα ἔα.
ὦ πότνιαι Μοῖραι, τί τόδε δέркоμαι 700
νεοχμὸν αὖ τέρας ;
ὡς ἅπαντ' ἄρ' ἐστὶ τόλμης ἔργα κἀναισχυντίας.
οἶον αὖ δέδρακεν ἔργον, οἶον αὖ, φίλαι, τόδε.

MN. οἶον ὑμῶν ἐξαράξει τὴν ἄγαν αὐθαδίαν.
ΧΟ. ταῦτα δῆτ' οὐ δεινὰ πράγματ' ἐστὶ καὶ περαιτέρω ; 705
ΓΥ. Α. δεινὰ δῆθ' , ὅστις γ' ἔχει μου 'ξαρπάσας τὸ παιδίον.

ΧΟ. τί ἂν οὖν εἴποι πρὸς ταῦτά τις, ὅτε [ἀντ.
τοιαῦτα ποιῶν ὅδ' ἀναισχυντεῖ ;
MN. κοῦπω μέντοι γε πέπαυμαι.

697. τροπαῖον] We are still on tragic ground, and the language employed is not exactly appropriate to the matter in hand. The expressions *ιστάναι βοὴν*, *to raise a war-cry*, and *ιστάναι τροπαῖον*, *to erect a trophy*, are very familiar, and here constitute a call to arms, to defeat the aggressive manœuvre of Mnesilochus. Some, indeed, take τροπαῖον as an adjective, connected with βοὴν, *a war-cry which may turn our enemy to flight*. But this can hardly be the true meaning. And, in fact, Mnesilochus has already taken flight, and the object of the woman (supra 689) is to stay him.

704. ἐξαράξει] The MSS. and early editions read ἐξάρξω, without sense or metre. Bentley suggested either ἐξα-

ράξω or ἐξαράξει, and one or other of these conjectures is adopted by Brunck and all subsequent editors. ἐξαράξει seems to me indubitably right. The οἶον with which the line commences must necessarily carry on the idea of the double οἶον of the preceding line, οἶον δέδρακεν ἔργον ; οἶον ἐξαράξει κ. τ. λ. Those who read ἐξαράξω translate it, with Reiske, *O quam pulchre vobis nimiam vestram audaciam excutiam*, which entirely ignores the sense in which οἶον has just been employed, a sense rendered emphatic by repetition.

705. δεινὰ καὶ περαιτέρω] *Dreadful, and more than dreadful*. Compare Birds 416, ἄπιστα καὶ πέρα, *incredible, and more than incredible*. Οὐκ οὖν δεινόν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί,

- ΓΤ. Α. ἄλλ' οὖν ἡκεις ὅθεν οὐ φεύξει,
 φαύλως τ' ἀποδράς οὔποτε λέξεις
 οἷον δράσας διέδυσ ἔργον,
 λήψει δὲ κακόν.
 MN. τοῦτο μέντοι μὴ γένοιτο μηδαμῶς, ἀπεύχομαι.
 ΧΟ. τίς οὖν σοι, τίς ἂν σύμμαχος ἐκ θεῶν
 ἀθανάτων ἔλθοι ξὺν ἀδίκοις ἔργοις;
 MN. μάτην λαλεῖτε· τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀφήσω.
 ΧΟ. ἄλλ' οὐ μὰ τῷ θεῷ τάχ' οὐ
 χαίρων ἴσως ἔμ' ἐνυβριεῖς,
 λόγους τε λέξεις ἀνοσίους·
 ἀθέοις ἔργ-
 οῖς γὰρ ἀνταμειψόμεσθά σ',
 ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, ἀντὶ τῶνδε.
 τάχα δὲ μεταβαλοῦσ' ἐπὶ κακὸν ἕτερ-
 οτροπὸν σ' ἐπέχει τύχη.
 ἀλλὰ τάσδε μὲν λαβεῖν χρῆν σ', ἐκφέρειν τε τῶν ξύλων,

καὶ πέρα δεινοῦ; exclaims Demosthenes in his "First against Stephanus" 90. So Eusebius (H. E. III. v. 3) says that the sufferings of the Jews during the last siege of Jerusalem were δεινὰ καὶ πέρα δεινῶν. Much in the same way Theodore, (H. E. I. vii. 11) δεινὸν καὶ ἄγαν δεινόν. The first four words of the present line are repeated from Wasps 417.

710. ὅθεν οὐ φεύξει] The reading of the MSS. and editions generally is ὅθεν ἡκεις, which can only be translated, as Bentley translates it, *Unde quidem veneris nescio*. But the women knew perfectly well whence he came: the line is an anapaestic dimeter, and the true reading may be gathered from the scholium ἡκεις, φησὶν, εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἡμῶν, ὅθεν οὐ φεύξει.

721. ἀθέοις ἔργοις] Mnesilochus has been guilty of the grossest sacrilege by entering the Temple of the Thesmo-phorian Goddesses: the Women will requite him by acts of equal sacrilege, for they will burn him at the altar. "Impium et nefandum est," says Bergler, "violare eum qui ad aram confugerit: hunc autem mulieres volunt comburere."

726. ἀλλὰ τάσδε] To this line the MSS. (H originally, and R as corrected) prefix the words πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας, meaning that up to this time the Chorus have been addressing Mnesilochus, but that now they turn to the Women: though, indeed, the exhortation is specially directed to the bereaved mother. It is she who is to

καὶ καταίθειν τὸν πανοῦργον, πυρπολεῖν θ' ὅσον τάχος.

ΓΥ. Α. ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τὰς κληματίδας, ὦ Μανία.

κἀγὼ σ' ἀποδείξω θυμάλωπα τήμερον.

MN. ὕφαπτε καὶ κάταιθε· σὺ δὲ τὸ Κρητικόν

730

ἀπόδουθι ταχέως· τοῦ θανάτου δ', ὦ παιδίον,

μόνην γυναικῶν αἰτιῶ τὴν μητέρα.

τουτὶ τί ἔστιν; ἀσκὸς ἐγένεθ' ἡ κόρη

οἴνου πλέως, καὶ ταῦτα Περσικὰς ἔχων.

ὦ θερμόταται γυναῖκες, ὦ ποτίσταιαι,

735

κὰκ παντὸς ὑμεῖς μηχανώμεναι πιεῖν,

take some of the bystanders, bring out the firelogs, and (πυρπολεῖν) make a conflagration of Mnesilochus. On τάσδε see the note on 295 supra.

728. κληματίδας] *Faggots of vine branches.* κληματίδες, αἱ ἐκ τῶν κλημάτων δέσμαι.—Hesychius. She addresses this line to her servant; the next, to Mnesilochus.

729. θυμάλωπα] *σπινθήρα*.—Scholiast. *A sparkle of fire*: see Ach. 321. But the name is also applied to a *red-hot cinder*, and that appears to be its meaning here. θυμάλωπες, οἱ κεκαυμένοι ἄνθρακες, ἢ ἡμίκαντα ξύλα, ἢ σπινθήρες.—Photius. θυμάλωψ, ἢ λιγνύδης τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναφορά. τινὲς δὲ, ξύλον κεκαυμένον, ἢ δαλόν.—Hesychius. θυμάλωπες, οἱ ἀπολελειμμένοι τῆς θύψεως ἄνθρακες, οἱ ἡμίκαντοι.—Suidas. καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ θυμάλωπες οἱ ἡμίκαντοι ἄνθρακες.—Pollux x. segm. 101. With these words they go out to fetch the bundles of firewood. Mnesilochus proceeds to unpack the baby.

730. τὸ Κρητικόν] *εἶδος ἱματίου*. ἡμφιέσται δὲ ὡς παιδίον, καὶ ὑποδήματα (infra 734) ἔχει ὁ ἀσκός.—Scholiast. Hesychius describes it as ἱματίδιον λεπτὸν καὶ βραχύ.

It was evidently a soft little robe, suitable for enwrapping an infant's limbs. As to Περσικαί, a woman's slippers, see Clouds 151, Lys 229, Eccl. 319.

735. ὦ θερμόταται γυναῖκες] On ascertaining that the baby is not a real baby at all, but a large leathern bottle full of wine, Mnesilochus desists awhile from his operations, and apostrophizes "this most headstrong and most winebibbing race of women." They are, or rather their bibacity is, the ruin of their husbands' chattels, which they sell or pawn to get wine; and also of their own labours of the loom, which can be carried out only by steady hands and sober heads. They ruin their husbands, and benefit only the vintners.

738. τοῖς σκεναρίοις] *ἅπαντα γὰρ ἔνεκα τοῦ πιεῖν ἐνέχυρα τίθεται καὶ πιπράσκειται*.—Scholiast. I am not sure that this explanation is not intended, and rightly intended, to refer to τῇ κρόκῃ as well; but Kuster's interpretation of the latter words, "sensus est, ebriosas mulieres et vino deditas parum et male texere," has obtained universal acceptance. The

ὦ μέγα καπήλοισ ἀγαθὸν, ἡμῖν δ' αὖ κακὸν,
κακὸν δὲ καὶ τοῖς σκευαρίοις καὶ τῇ κρόκῃ.

ΓΥ. Α. παράβαλλε πολλὰς κληματίδας, ὦ Μανία.

MN. παράβαλλε δῆτα· σὺ δ' ἀπόκριναί μοι τοδί. 740

τουτὶ τεκεῖν φῆς; ΓΥ. Α. καὶ δέκα μῆνας αὐτ' ἐγὼ
ἤνεγκον. MN. ἤνεγκας σύ; ΓΥ. Α. νῆ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν.

MN. τρικόντυλον ἢ πῶς; εἰπέ μοι. ΓΥ. Α. τί μ' ἡργάσας;
ἀπέδυσας, ὠναίσχυντέ, μου τὸ παιδίον
τυννοῦτον ὄν. MN. τυννοῦτο; ΓΥ. Α. μικρὸν νῆ Δία. 745

MN. πόσ' ἔτη δὲ γέγονεν; τρεῖς Χοᾶς ἢ τέτταρας;

women now return with the faggots. They do not at first perceive that their enemy has discovered the fraud about the baby.

741. δέκα μῆνας] The period of gestation is about 280 days, which we, reckoning by calendar months, commonly describe as 9 months, but which the Greeks, reckoning by lunar months, in-

variably describe as 10 months. Fritzsche refers to Hdt. vi. 69, Menander (cited by Aulus Gellius iii. 16), Terence, *Adelphi* III. iv. 29, Plautus, *Cist.* I. iii. 15, Pomponius ap. Non. s.v. *verminare*, and Varro *Fragm.* p. 318 ed. Bipont; and Dr. Blaydes to Moschus, *Id.* iv. 84, Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 61. To which I may add Eur. *Ion* 1486, where Creusa says,

And the months swept round till the tenth month came,
And I bare unto Phoebus a child of shame.—WAX.

And the first fragment of Bacchylides (ed. Kenyon) which relates the marriage of Minos and Dexithea, δεκάτῃ δ' Εὐξάντιον μὲν τέκ' εὐπλόκαμος κόρυς. And finally Plautus, *Truculentus* II. iv. 48. She appeals to Artemis as the goddess presiding over childbirth. Cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* ii. 27.

743. τρικόντυλον] About a pint and a half of our measure. The Woman now for the first time comprehends that he has unwashed the baby and found the bottle. In the next line but one, he holds it out for her inspection.

746. τρεῖς Χοᾶς ἢ τέτταρας;] *Three*

Pitcher-feasts, or four? For, as Brunck observes, “per Χοᾶς intelligendum τὴν τῶν Χοᾶν ἑορτὴν, cujus frequens in *Acharnensibus* mentio.” Χόες was the name of the second day of the Anthesteria, and this is one of the many passages which seem to show (contrary to Boeckh's contention) that the Anthesteria and the Lenaea were two names for one and the same festival. For the age of the wine would surely be measured from the date of the Lenaea when the wine was made; just as Theocritus (xiv. 16) speaks of wine τετόρων ἐτέων σχεδὸν ὡς ἀπὸ λανῶ, *nearly four years old*

ΓΥ. Α. σχεδὸν τοσοῦτον χῶσον ἐκ Διονυσίων.

ἀλλ' ἀπόδος αὐτό. MN. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτογί.

ΓΥ. Α. ἐμπρήσομεν τοῖνυν σε. MN. πάνυ γ' ἐμπίμπρατε·

αὕτη δ' ἀποσφαγήσεται μάλ' αὐτίκα.

750

ΓΥ. Α. μὴ δῆθ', ἵκετεύω σ'. ἀλλ' ἔμ' ὅ τι χρήζεις ποίει

ὑπέρ γε τούτου. MN. φιλότεκνός τις εἴ φύσει.

from the wine-press, that is, from the time of making. In the Woman's answer here, I take *σχεδὸν* to be a qualified assent to the preceding question. *Ita fere est*; you are not far wrong. It is three or four years old (she does not distinguish between these two figures) *plus* the time which has elapsed since the last Dionysia, that is, since the last Pitcher-feast. "Fere tantum, et quantum effluxit temporis ab ultimis Anthesteriis."—Brunck. The Thesmophoria were celebrated some eight months after the Anthesteria. This seems to have been a very fine bottle for its years; not like the diminutive flask of wine which an admirer gave to Phryne. *It's ten years old*, he said; *It's mighty little for its age*, said Phryne. Athenaeus xiii. 49. The same repartee is attributed (Ath. xiii. 47) to Gnathaena who, like other noted wits, obtained credit not only for her own smart sayings, but for many others of a similar character. And a kindred witticism is recorded of Cicero (Macrobius, Sat. ii. 3) who, when his host was pressing upon him some very moderate wine as Falernian forty years old, observed, *It bears its years remarkably well* (bene aetatem fert): meaning that no one would suspect it of being so old.

748. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτογί] *Not it, by*

Apollo. The reading of the MSS. and editions is μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτονί, which the Latin translators, Andrea Divo and Kuster, took in a similar sense, whilst Bothe explained τουτονί by τὸν ἀσκήν. But Brunck, in revising Kuster's translation, saw that the words must mean *No, by Apollo here*, and Fritzsche, after suggesting τουτογί, was content to believe that Mnesilochus is addressing the statue of Apollo Ἀγνιεύς, of which Pollux (iv. segm. 123) says, ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ Ἀγνιεύς ἔκειτο βωμός πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. But the language of Pollux, πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν, shows that he is speaking only of scenes which represented the exterior of a house, and in such cases the προθύρου προπύλαιος would naturally be stationed before the door. Such was the case, as we know, in the Wasps (see the note on Wasps 875); and such was also the case in the line of Menander which Fritzsche cites from Suidas (s.vv. ναὶ μὰ τὸ) μαρτύρομαι τὸν Ἀπόλλω τοῦτον, καὶ τὰς θύρας, as the last words plainly show. And here too, so long as the scene represented the outside of Agathon's house, there would doubtless be an Ἀγνιεύς at the door. But now that the scene has changed, and we are within the precincts of the Thesmophorium, there could be no Ἀγνιεύς for Mnesilochus to adjure.

ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢδ' ἀποσφαγήσεται.

ΓΥ. Α. οἶμοι τέκνον. δός μοι τὸ σφάγιον Μανία,

ἔν' οὖν τό γ' αἶμα τοῦ τέκνου τοῦμοῦ λάβω.

755

ΜΝ. ὕπεχ' αὐτὸ, χαριῶμαι γὰρ ἔν γε τοῦτό σοι.

ΓΥ. Α. κακῶς ἀπόλοι', ὡς φθονερὸς εἶ καὶ δυσμενής.

And though the old translators gave *τουνόνι* a meaning which it could not bear, I think that they were guided by a sound Aristophanic instinct, and that their meaning must be obtained by reading *μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουντογί*. There is a similar confusion between *τουντονί* and *τουντογί* infra 880.

752. *ὑπέρ γε τούτου*] *In his stead*: like the *δικαίος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων* of St. Peter i. 3. 18. She would sooner lose her life than her wine: "potius vult amittere vitam quam vinum," as Bergler says.

754. *σφάγιον*] τὸ τοῦ αἵματος δεκτικὸν ἀγγεῖον, ὃ εἶπεν ὁ ποιητής (Homer, Od. iii. 444) ἀμνίον.—Suidas s.v., an explanation borrowed from, and doubtless representing the true reading, now a little confused, of the Scholium here. Eustathius, in his commentary on the above-mentioned line of Homer, says, Ἀττικοὶ σφάγιον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀγγεῖον ἐκάλουν. And although Photius s. v., after explaining the word to mean τὸ ἀγγεῖον εἰς δὲ τὸ αἶμα τῶν σφαζομένων ἱερέων δέχονται, adds *περισπάται ἢ δευτέρα συλλαβή*, there seems no doubt that both forms, *σφάγιον* and *σφαγεῖον*, were, as Fritzsche contends, employed to denote the sacrificial bowl. Pollux, as he observes, uses the two forms indiscriminately, Book x segmm. 65 and 97, and Hesychius spells the

word *σφάγιον*; whilst Fritzsche's own emendation of Iph. in Taur. 335, *πρὸς χέρνιβας καὶ σφάγιον ἐξέπεμπε σοι*, seems at least as probable as Musgrave's *πρὸς χέρνιβάς τε καὶ σφαγεῖ' ἐπεμπε σοι*. On the other hand *σφαγεῖον* is probably the more common form. But here neither the *μοι* nor the *τό* can be spared.

756. *ὕπεχ' αὐτό*] Mnesilochus, preparing to drain the contents of the wine-skin, still speaks of it as a victim which he is about to sacrifice. Compare Lysistrata 202. The Woman therefore calls for the sacrificial bowl, which was held underneath by the priest to catch the blood of the victim, her object being to get for herself a few drops of the precious liquid contained in the wine-skin. He does not object to her performing this part of the priest's duty, especially as he intends that every drop of the wine shall go down his own throat, and none shall fall into the bowl beneath. To the Woman's disgust therefore she receives for her perquisite as priestess, not a drop of wine, but merely the empty wine-skin, the entire contents of which Mnesilochus has drained.

757. *φθονερὸς κ.τ.λ.*] *Grudging and unfriendly*, for not leaving her a drop of the wine.

MN. τουτὶ τὸ δέρμα τῆς ἱερείας γίνεται.

ΓΥ. Α. τί τῆς ἱερείας γίνεται; MN. τουτὶ λαβέ.

KPI. ταλαντάτη Μίκα, τίς ἐξεκόρησέ σε;

760

τίς τὴν ἀγαπητὴν παῖδά σου ξηρήσατο;

ΓΥ. Α. ὁ πανοῦργος οὗτος. ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ πάρει,

φύλαξον αὐτὸν, ἵνα λαβοῦσα Κλεισθένην

τοῖσιν πρυτάνεσιν ἃ πεποίηχ' οὗτος φράσω.

MN. ἄγε δὴ τίς ἔσται μηχανὴ σωτηρίας;

765

τίς πείρα, τίς ἐπίνοι'; ὁ μὲν γὰρ αἴτιος

καὶ ἐσκυλίσας ἐς τοιαυτὴν πράγματα

οὐ φαίνεται οὐπω. φέρε τίν' οὖν ἂν ἄγγελον

πέμψαιμ' ἐπ' αὐτόν; οἶδ' ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ πόρον

758. τὸ δέρμα] ἀπὸ ἔθους. ἐκδερματώσαντες γὰρ τὰ ἱερεῖα, διδόναι τὰ δέρματα ταῖς ἱερεῖαις. ἐκχέας οὖν τὸν οἶνον, χαρίζεται αὐτῇ τὸν ἀσκόν.—Scholiast. Kuster refers to a statement which is found, in almost identical terms, in the Scholia on Wasps 695 and Plutus 1185, νόμος ἦν τὰ ὑπολείπόμενα τῆς θυσίας τοὺς ἱερέας λαμβάνειν, ἃ εἰσιν οἶον δέρματα καὶ κωλαῖ.

760. ταλαντάτη] Another Woman now comes in, full of commiseration for this most unfortunate Mica. Her name, as she herself informs us, infra 898, is Critylla: and she remains on the stage till all the actors go out before the great dance-song, infra 947. ἐξεκόρησέ σε literally means *has swept or cleaned you out*: but here it is used as if from κόρη, *has deprived you of your child*.

763. λαβοῦσα Κλεισθένην] Cleisthenes has already gone, supra 654, to tell the Prytanes what has occurred. Mica will now go herself to invoke their aid, overtaking Cleisthenes, and bringing him

with her, as the recognized Women's Advocate. Having thus adroitly shifted to Critylla's shoulders the duty of keeping guard on Mnesilochus, she at once leaves the stage, and Mnesilochus commences a soliloquy on his own alarming situation. Observe that in 767 it is Euripides who has involved him in this scrape: in 651 supra, it was he himself; but of course both statements are true.

770. ἐκ τοῦ Παλαμήδους] The Palamede of Euripides is said to have been exhibited in the early spring of B.C. 415, together with the Alexander, the still extant Troades, and a satyric drama called the Sisyphus.—Aelian V. H. ii. 8. Palamede was put to death by the Achaeans in Troyland, on a false charge of treachery; and his brother Oeax, wishing to send intelligence of his fate to their father Nauplius in Euboea, hit upon the device of writing it upon oar-blades, and launching the oar-blades into the Aegean sea. Mnesilochus de-

ἐκ τοῦ Παλαμήδους· ὡς ἐκείνος, τὰς πλάτας 770
 ῥίψω γράφων. ἀλλ' οὐ πάρεισιν αἱ πλάται.
 πόθεν οὖν γένοιοντ' ἂν μοι πλάται; πόθεν; πόθεν;
 τί δ' ἂν εἰ ταδὶ τὰγάμματ' ἀντὶ τῶν πλατῶν
 γράφων διαρρίπτοιμι; βέλτιον πολύ.
 ξύλον γέ τοι καὶ ταῦτα, κάκεῖν' ἦν ξύλον. 775
 ὦ χεῖρες ἐμαί,
 ἐγχειρεῖν χρῆν ἔργῳ πορίμῳ.
 ἄγε δὴ πινάκων ξεστῶν δέλτοι,
 δέξασθε σμίλης ὀλκοὺς,
 κήρυκας ἐμῶν μόχθων· οἶμοι, 780
 τουτὶ τὸ ῥῶ μοχθηρόν·

termines to send news of his misadventure to Euripides in a similar way, but the difficulty is that he has got no oar-blades. However, he soon thinks of a substitute. Massinger, in the Great Duke of Florence V. i, makes *his* prisoner write his sad story with a diamond ring on a pane of glass which he then throws out of the window.

773. τὰγάμματ'] *Votive tablets*: πινάκες γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων λαβὼν γράφει, καὶ ῥίπτει αὐτὰς, λέγων, Ἀπέλθετε, σημάνατε Εὐριπίδην.—Scholiast. See *infra* 778.

776. ὦ χεῖρες ἐμαί] It is impossible to say how much of this little anapaestic system is borrowed, or parodied, from Euripides, and how much of it is purely Aristophanic. We cannot suppose that, in the Tragedy, Oeax was represented on the stage in the act of launching his oar-blades on the waves. The deed must have been narrated in the speech of some Messenger, or described in some

choral song. Fritzsche gives to Euripides lines 778–780 (ἄγε δὴ—μόχθων), and 783, 784 (βάσκει—ταχέως χρή). With the Doricisms κείνα ταῦτα in the last line Porson compares Eurip. Hec. 163 ποίαν, ἢ ταύταν ἢ κείναν, στεῖχω; Probably the first three words, ὦ χεῖρες ἐμαί, are also Euripidean, and are to be considered as standing apart, so that Aristophanes felt himself justified in commencing the next line with a vowel. On the other hand, Euripides could have had nothing to do with the play on words which, as Fritzsche observes, runs through the passage: χεῖρες, ἐγχειρεῖν; μόχθων, μοχθηρόν; πορίμῳ and πόρον *supra* 769. For ἔργον πόριμον, to quote the same commentator, means in this passage “facinus, quod πόρον, viam salutis ostendat.”

781. τὸ ῥῶ]. *This R.* He has got to the third letter of his friend's name, according to the Scholiasts: ὡς Εὐριπίδην γράφων, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ρ, says one; and another, ἐν τῷ γράφειν τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ὄνομα, τοῦτό

χώρει, χώρει. ποίαν αὔλακα;
βάσκειτ', ἐπείγετε πάσας καθ' ὁδοὺς,
κείνα, ταῦτα· ταχέως χρή.

ΧΟ. ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς εὖ λέξωμεν παραβᾶσαι. 785
καίτοι πᾶς τις τὸ γυναικεῖον φύλον κακὰ πόλλ' ἀγορεύει,
ὥς πᾶν ἐσμέν κακὸν ἀνθρώποις κᾶξ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἅπαντα,
ἔριδες, νείκη, στάσις ἀργαλέα, λύπη, πόλεμος. φέρε δὴ νυν,
εἰ κακὸν ἐσμεν, τί γαμείθ' ἡμᾶς, εἴπερ ἀληθῶς κακὸν ἐσμεν,
κάπαγορεύετε μήτ' ἐξελθεῖν μήτ' ἐκκύψασαν ἀλῶναι, 790
ἀλλ' οὕτωσὶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ τὸ κακὸν βούλεσθε φυλάττειν;
κὰν ἐξέλθῃ τὸ γύναιόν ποι, κᾶθ' εὖρητ' αὐτὸ θύρασιν,

φησιν. The words which follow, *χώρει, χώρει*, are supposed by Fritzsche to be part of the message to Euripides, Mnesilochus repeating aloud what he is writing; *veni, veni, Euripides*. But *χώρει* would not mean *veni*; and Enger is no doubt right in thinking them to be addressed to the *σμίλη* with which he is cutting his message on the wood. *Move on, move on*, he says, as he carefully guides the instrument over the surface; but presently it makes too deep or too prolonged a cut, and he can only exclaim *ποίαν αὔλακα* (subaud. *χωρεῖ*); *There's a furrow for you*. When he has finished, he flings the tablets hither and thither about the stage.

785. *ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν*]. Here follows, if not the last Parabasis proper which Aristophanes ever wrote, at all events the latest which has survived. The introductory line is, or does duty for, the Commation. In general, before the Parabasis commences, all the actors are withdrawn from the stage, and when it concludes,

we are confronted with an entirely new scene. Here however Mnesilochus is, apparently, unable to leave, and Critylla remains to guard him; and consequently the Parabasis marks no change in the position of the actors; and when it is over, the thread is taken up unbroken.

787. *ἐσμέν κακόν*] They may well declare that everybody says so, for the maxim *κακὸν γυναικες* had been a commonplace with the poets from the earliest time. The very first words of Comedy that have come down to us are

Ἄκουετε, λεῶς. Σουσαρίαν λέγει τάδε,
Υἱὸς Φιλίνου, Μεγαρόθεν, Τριποδίσκιος·
ΚΑΚΟΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΣ· ἄλλ' ὅμως, ὦ δημόται,
οὐκ ἐστὶν οἰκεῖν οἰκίαν ἀνευ κακοῦ,
καὶ γὰρ τὸ γῆμαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ γῆμαι, κακόν.

And it would be easy to frame an ample catena of similar libels on womankind from the poets who flourished both before and after the time of Susarion. Bergler thinks that the repetition of

μανίας μαίνεσθ', οὓς χρῆν σπένδειν καὶ χαίρειν, εἴπερ ἀληθῶς
 ἔνδοθεν εὗρετε φροῦδον τὸ κακὸν καὶ μὴ κατελαμβάνετ' ἔνδον.
 καὶ καταδάρθωμεν ἐν ἀλλοτρίων παίζουσαι καὶ κοπιώσαι, 795
 πᾶς τις τὸ κακὸν τοῦτο ζητεῖ περὶ τὰς κλῖνας περινοστών.
 καὶ ἐκ θυρίδος παρακύπτωμεν, τὸ κακὸν ζητεῖτε θεᾶσθαι
 καὶ αἰσχυνθεῖσ' ἀναχωρήσῃ, πολὺ μᾶλλον πᾶς ἐπιθυμεῖ
 αὐθις τὸ κακὸν παρακύψαν ἰδεῖν. οὕτως ἡμεῖς ἐπιδήλως
 ὑμῶν ἐσμεν πολὺ βελτίους, βάσανός τε πάρεστιν ἰδέσθαι. 800
 βάσανον δῶμεν πότεροι χείρους. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ φαμεν ὑμᾶς,
 ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμᾶς. σκεψώμεθα δὴ κἀντιτιθώμεν πρὸς ἕκαστον,
 παραβάλλουσαι τῆς τε γυναικὸς καὶ τάνδρὸς τοῦνομ' ἐκάστου.

κακὸν in the passage before us is pointed at the speech of Hippolytus (Eur. Hipp. 616, 617, and 625-631), where indeed the changes are rung on κακὸν (as a description of women) through several lines.

790. μήτ' ἐξελθεῖν] That married women, as well as maidens, were expected, as a general rule, to keep within the precincts of the house, is of course well known. The αὐλιος θύρα, or outer door, was the limit for the former; the μέσσυλος, or inner door, the limit for the latter. Menander (in Stobaeus 74. 11) says,

τοὺς τῆς γαμετῆς ὄρους ὑπερβαίνεις, γυναῖ,
 τὴν αὐλιον· πέρας γὰρ αὐλιος θύρα
 ἐλευθέρα γυναικὶ νερόμιστ' οἰκίας.

Meineke, as others had done before him, refers these lines to the *Ἱέρεια* of Menander, and in commenting upon them cites from Philo de Legg. Spec. p. 803 c the statement given above as to the limits within which married women and

maidens respectively were accustomed to keep themselves.

795. παίζουσαι] That is, as Fritzsche suggests, in some festal ceremony, infra 947, 983. He translates the passage, *Atque si domi alienae obdormiterimus diem agentes festum lusuque fatigatae, unusquisque hoc malum (uxorem) quaerit, lectos circumiens.*

797. ζητεῖτε θεᾶσθαι] The alteration, universally accepted, of the manuscript ζητεῖ τὸ κακὸν τε θεᾶσθαι into τὸ κακὸν ζητεῖτε θεᾶσθαι is due to the late Bishop Kaye, a very excellent scholar. On Porson's death, it was doubtful whether Monk (afterwards Bishop of Gloucester), Kaye, or Dobree, would be selected to fill the vacant chair. Monk was chosen, and Kaye was made Regius Professor of Divinity and afterwards became Bishop of Lincoln. His name was a puzzle to Fritzsche, who says "*Dobraeus breviter, ut solet, Lege cum J. Kaye τὸ κακὸν ζητεῖτε θεᾶσθαι. Moriar, si hunc Criticum J. Kaye, niger anne albus sit, notum habeo.*"

Ναυσιμάχης μὲν γ' ἦττων ἐστὶν Χαρμῖνος· δῆλα δὲ τάργα.
καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ Κλεοφῶν χείρων πάντως δήπου Σαλαβακχοῦς. 805
πρὸς Ἀριστομάχην δὲ χρόνου πολλοῦ, πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν Μαραθῶνι,
καὶ Στρατονίκην, ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἐγχειρεῖ πολεμίζειν.
ἀλλ' Εὐβούλης τῶν πέρυσιν τις βουλευτὴς ἐστὶν ἀμείνων

804. *Ναυσιμάχης κ. τ. λ.*] They bring forward for comparison five female names, Nausimache, Salabaccho, Aristomache, Stratonice, and Eubule. Salabaccho, we know, was a bold and vulgar courtesan, but, notwithstanding the guesses of the Scholiast, there is no reason for placing any of the others in the same category. They stand on quite a different footing. It is for her *character*, not for her *name*, that she is introduced; the others are selected solely for their names, and possibly are not intended to represent any particular individuals.

The name Nausimache signifies a Naval engagement; and Charminus, a well-known Athenian officer of the day, is said to be unequal to Nausimache, *Ναυσιμάχης ἦττων*, in reference to his defeat, *ἦτταν*, in a naval engagement which occurred off the little island of Syme about a year before the exhibition of this Play. He was stationed there with a squadron of twenty Athenian ships, to intercept some Peloponnesian reinforcements, sailing northward; when the entire Peloponnesian fleet, moving southward from Miletus, suddenly resolved to swoop down upon Syme, and attempt to surprise him there. They arrived unseen at the other side of the islet, but in the night, which was wet and dark, some ships

became detached from the main body, and at daybreak were fully visible to Charminus. Thinking them to be the reinforcements for which he was lying in wait, he immediately attacked them with vigour and success; when suddenly the whole Peloponnesian fleet came swinging round the corner of the island, and began to close him in on every side; so that he was glad to escape with the loss of six Athenian vessels: Thuc. viii. 41, 42. It was plain therefore, from what actually happened (*δῆλα δὲ τάργα*), say the Chorus, that Charminus was not equal to Nausimache.

805. *Σαλαβακχοῦς*] This is not the first time that this notorious *πόρνη* has been compared with, and pronounced superior to, a violent and unprincipled demagogue. In *Knights* 765 Cleon ranks himself next in merit to Lysicles, Cynna, and Salabaccho; and here she holds a similar position in respect of Cleophon, the leading demagogue of the later years of the Peloponnesian War. It was not however until some months *after* the exhibition of this Play that he commenced his fatal policy of inducing the Demos to reject every overture of peace from the Peloponnesian Confederacy.

806. *Ἀριστομάχην*] They identify the names of *Ἀριστομάχη* and *Στρατονίκη* with the victory of Marathon, with which,

παραδοὺς ἐτέρῳ τὴν βουλείαν; οὐδ' αὐτὸς τοῦτό γε φήσεις.
 οὕτως ἡμεῖς πολὺ βελτίους τῶν ἀνδρῶν εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι. 810
 οὐδ' ἂν κλέψασα γυνὴ ζεύγει κατὰ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα
 ἐς πόλιν ἔλθοι τῶν δημοσίων· ἀλλ' ἦν τὰ μέγισθ' ὑφέληται
 φορμὸν πυρῶν τάνδρὸς κλέψασ', αὐθημερὸν αὖτ' ἀπέδωκεν.

they say, no man would venture to compete. The words *χρόνου πολλοῦ* are usually connected with *ἐγχειρεῖ*, *nemo vestrum a longo jam tempore ne conatur quidem certare*; but having regard to their position, it seems more reasonable to treat them as genitives of Age (as one says, "a man *ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*"), the famous battle of long ago.

808. *Εὐβούλης*] This is an allusion to the tame surrender by the popularly elected Council of Five Hundred of their high offices of state to the usurping Four Hundred; an event which, like the defeat of Charminus, took place about a year before the exhibition of the present Play. On this subject, and its bearing on the date of the Thesmo-phoriazusae, the reader is referred to the Introduction. In the name *Εὐβούλης* there is of course a play on the words *βουλείαν*, *βουλευτής*. And possibly the speaker is referring to Eubule, one of the three daughters of Leos (*τοῦ Λεῶ κόραι*), who died to save Athens in her hour of peril, and in whose honour the grateful Athenians erected the *Λεωκόριον*, the fane of the daughters of Leos. See Aelian V. H. xii. 28 and the Commentators there. And certainly the sacrifice of Eubule and her sisters would furnish a striking contrast to the pusillanimity of the Five Hundred.

809. *οὐδ' αὐτός*] The speaker, as has

frequently been observed, is singling out and addressing some one of the Five Hundred, who was sitting as a spectator in the theatre. It must be remembered that the oligarchic Four Hundred had by this time disappeared, and the popular Council had been reinstated in its former position.

810. *εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι*] This line, as Dobree pointed out, is modelled on the Homeric *ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι*. *Iliad* iv. 405.

811. *οὐδ' ἂν κλέψασα κ. τ. λ.*] "Nor will a Woman come driving in a carriage and pair to the Acropolis" (as, she implies, Men do), "having filched from the public treasury 50 talents at a time." Fritzsche thinks that the taunt is levelled at Peisander, and doubtless he was a notable offender in this line: see *Lysistrata* 490. On *κατὰ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα* (cf. *Wasps* 669) the Scholiast remarks, *οὐκ εἶπεν πεντήκοντα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πεντήκοντα, τὸ συνεχές ἐκφαίνων*.

812. *ἐς πόλιν ἔλθοι*] ἀπὸ *συμμάχων ἢ στρατείας*. — Scholiast. And as his explanation is quoted by the Commentators without a word of dissent, I presume that they acquiesce in it. But it seems clearly wrong. *πόλις* means the Acropolis; and the expression *ζεύγει ἐς πόλιν ἔλθοι* is exactly equivalent to the *ἄρμ' ἐλαύνης πρὸς πόλιν* of *Clouds* 69.

813. *φορμὸν*] A basket, that is, a basket-

ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἂν πολλοὺς τούτων
 ἀποδείξαιμεν ταῦτα ποιοῦντας.
 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις γάστριδας ἡμῶν
 ὄντας μᾶλλον καὶ λωποδύτας
 καὶ βωμολόχους κἀνδραποδιστάς.
 καὶ μὲν δήπου καὶ τὰ πατρῷά γε
 χείρους ἡμῶν εἰσὶν σφῆξιν·
 ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ σὼν ἔτι καὶ νῦν

815

820

ful. We have the diminutive *φορμίς* in Wasps 58. The words *φορμὸν πυρῶν τάνδρὸς κλέψασα* are, I believe, universally understood as explanatory of the preceding ἦν τὰ μέγισθ' ὑφέληται; "the greatest of her thefts is to purloin a basketful of wheat from her husband, and even that she replaces the very same day." But though in my translation I have followed this interpretation, I very much doubt if it is the correct one. It is difficult to understand how the wife could replace the wheat she had purloined from her husband; and equally difficult, in this view, to give any meaning to αὐτ'. For neither Bothe's "αὐτὸ familiariter dictum pro αὐτὸν, τὸν φορμὸν πυρῶν," nor Fritzsche's "αὐτὰ ad τὰ μέγιστα refertur" can be considered satisfactory. The passage seems rather to mean "A woman does not steal the public money by the 50 talents, and spend it in sumptuous equipages; however much of the public money she may steal, she replaces it the same day, having (for the purpose of replacing it) purloined a basketful of wheat from her husband." She replaces the public

money by the proceeds of the private theft.

814-829. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς . . . σκιάδειον] These sixteen lines constitute the Pnigos or Macron. The Pnigos, which is invariably in anapaestic dimeters, consists in the Knights of four lines, in the Acharnians of six, in the Wasps and the Peace of ten, in the Birds of fifteen, and here of sixteen. It seems impossible however that the longer systems can have been really pronounced, ἀπνευστὶ, without pausing to take breath.

822. τάντιον κ. τ. λ.] They are going to prove their superiority to men by showing how much more carefully they have preserved their mothers' belongings, than the men have preserved what their fathers left them, "We are still using," they say, "the ἀντίον, the κανὼν, the καλαθίσκοι, and the σκιάδειον, which our mothers used before us." The σκιάδειον is an *umbrella*: the other articles belong, two to the weaving, and one to the spinning, business. They are all enumerated by Pollux, in his list τῶν ἐν γυναικωνίτιδι σκευῶν, and elsewhere, but without any explanation. Eustathius

τάντιον, ὁ κανὼν, οἱ καλαθίσκοι,
 τὸ σκιάδειον·
 τοῖς δ' ἡμετέροις ἀνδράσι τούτοις
 ἀπόλωλεν μὲν πολλοῖς ὁ κανὼν 825
 ἐκ τῶν οἴκων αὐτῇ λόγχῃ,
 πολλοῖς δ' ἑτέροις
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὥμων ἐν ταῖς στρατιαῖς
 ἔρριπται τὸ σκιάδειον.
 πόλλ' ἂν αἱ γυναῖκες ἡμεῖς ἐν δίκη μεμψαίμεθ' ἂν 830

however, in his Commentary on Odyssey xiii. 107, describes the *ἀντίον* as that ἐν ᾧ τυλίσσεται τὸ ὑφανόμενον. And in 2 Sam. xxi. 19 the words which we translate *the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam* are by the LXX translated τὸ ξύλον τοῦ δόρατος αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀντίον ὑφανόντων. And there seems no doubt that *ἀντίον* was the stout wooden bar at the top of the loom from which the threads depended. Κανὼν is any straight shaft or rod, and, as applied to weaving, signifies the weaving-rod. Homer (Iliad xxiii. 761), describing Odysseus as running so close behind his antagonist in the foot-race that his breast kept all but grazing the other's back, compares him to a woman working at the loom, who is always drawing her κανὼν through the threads, and yet keeping it close to her bosom. The καλαθίσκοι are the work-baskets into which the spinning woman carded the wool. Lysistrata 535, 579. The σκιάδειον and κανὼν are, of course, selected with a view to the taunt about to be directed against the men.

825. ἀπόλωλεν ὁ κανὼν] The κανὼν and

σκιάδειον of the men are quite different from those of the women. The σκιάδειον is now the shield, under the shadow of which the warrior fights. And the Scholiast explains κανόνα to be the spear-shaft, τὴν κάμακα τῆς λόγχης, τὸ ξίλον τῆς λόγχης, no doubt rightly, though in Homer, κανόνες are the bars at the back of the shield, to which the leathern handle, or shield-strap, is fastened. "But where are *your* κανὼν and σκιάδειον, your shield and spear-shaft?" ask the women; "ye have thrown them away as ye fled from the battlefield." αἰνίττεται εἰς Κλεώνυμον, says the Scholiast; and certainly Cleonymus is, in Aristophanes, the regular representative of the ῥιψάσπιδες. But the allusion here is not restricted to a single individual; and many another Athenian shield, besides that of Cleonymus, was vilely cast away in the disorderly flight from Delium.

830. μεμψαίμεθ' ἂν] The first line of the Epirrhema recalls the first line of the earliest Epirrhema extant, οἱ γέροντες οἱ παλαιοὶ μεμφόμεσθα τῇ πόλει (Ach. 676). In the Acharnians the special example of the injustice complained of is reserved

τοῖσιν ἀνδράσιν δικαίως, ἐν δ' ὑπερφνέστανον.
 χρῆν γάρ, ἡμῶν εἰ τέκοι τις ἄνδρα χρηστὸν τῇ πόλει,
 ταξίαρχον ἢ στρατηγὸν, λαμβάνειν τιμὴν τινα,
 προεδρίαν τ' αὐτῇ δίδοσθαι Στηνίοισι καὶ Σκίροις,
 ἐν τε ταῖς ἄλλαις ἑορταῖς αἰσιν ἡμεῖς ἤγομεν.
 εἰ δὲ δειλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν ἄνδρα τις τέκοι γυνή,
 ἢ τριήραρχον πονηρὸν, ἢ κυβερνήτην κακὸν,

835

for the Antepirrhemia; and there, as here, is introduced by the words τῷ γὰρ εἰκὸς, *quomodo enim aequum est, how can it be seemly?* (Ach. 703, infra 839). There however the veterans have but one grievance: here the Women have many. With ἐν δίκῃ, δικαίως, Fritzsche compares διὰ κενῆς ἄλλως, Wasps 929; εἰκῇ ῥαδίως, Frogs 733; and other passages.

834. Στηνίοισι καὶ Σκίροις] ἀμφοτέραι ἑορταὶ γυναικῶν.—Scholiast. It was at the Scira, the Parasol festival, that the women in the Ecclesiastusae hatched their great conspiracy for seizing the reins of government. See Eccl. 18, and the note there. If the statements of the grammarians (which are collected by Kuster) are trustworthy, the Stenia were a sort of prelude to the Thesmophoria. They were celebrated, the Scholiast tells us, on the 9th of Pyanepsion, πρὸ δυνεῖν τῶν Θεσμοφορίων. Photius says Στήνια· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν, ἐν ᾗ ἐδόκει ἡ ἄνοδος γενέσθαι τῆς Δήμητρος, ἐλοιδοροῦντο δ' ἐν αὐτῇ νυκτὸς αἱ γυναῖκες ἀλλήλαις· οὕτως Εὐβουλος. Probably the words εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν have dropped out before τῆς Δήμητρος; for there was no such thing as the ἄνοδος of Demeter; the first day of the Thesmophorian festival was

known as the Ascent (ἄνοδος) of the women to the Thesmophorium. The Στήνια took place on the 9th, the ἄνοδος on the 10th, of Pyanepsion, and probably in the night between those two days the women who had been celebrating the Στήνια were preparing for the ἄνοδος. From the raillery which was banded about amongst them on that night, the word στήνιῶσαι (see Hesychius s.v.) became equivalent to λοιδορῆσαι.

835. ἡμεῖς] that is, the Women. *And in the other festivals which we Women are accustomed to keep.*

838. σκάφιον ἀποκεκαρμένην] *Cropped bowl-fashion.* This was an ignominious mode of tonsure, mostly reserved for slaves and harlots. εἶδος κουρᾶς.—Photius. εἶδος κουρᾶς τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὃ κείρεσθαι φασὶ τὰς ἐταιρευούσας.—Hesychius. A bowl was placed on the crown of the head, and the hair clipped closely round it. In Birds 806 Euelpides compares his friend to a bird, σκάφιον ἀποτετιλμένον, *plucked bowl-fashion.*

839. τῆς τὸν ἀνδρείον τεκούσης] τὸ ἐξῆς, ὑστέραν τῆς τὸν ἀνδρείον τεκούσης.—Scholiast. With this suggestion of the Comic poet, compare the standard of precedence which the noble knights of mediaeval

ὑστέραν αὐτὴν καθῆσθαι, σκάφιον ἀποκεκαρμένην,
 τῆς τὸν ἀνδρεῖον τεκούσης. τῷ γὰρ εἰκὸς, ὦ πόλις,
 τὴν Ὑπερβόλου καθῆσθαι μητέρ' ἡμφιεσμένην 840
 λευκὰ καὶ κόμας καθεῖσαν πλησίον τῆς Λαμάχου,
 καὶ δανείζειν χρήμαθ', ἢ χρῆν, εἰ δανείσειέν τινι
 καὶ τόκον πράττοιτο, διδόναι μηδέν' ἀνθρώπων τόκον,
 ἀλλ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι βία τὰ χρήματ', εἰπόντας τοδὶ,

Christendom occasionally adopted and enforced in their jousts and tournaments. "For in those days," so runs a fragment of an ancient author, cited by M. Guizot, "in those days when the land was at peace and joyous festivities were held, many knights, and ladies, and noble maidens would come and sit them down to see. But if a lady or damsel of bad repute or blemished honour should have seated herself by the side of a virtuous matron or maiden of good repute, then though she might be of higher lineage or a wealthier house, the loyal-hearted knights of that day would sometimes come to her in the presence of all, and would take the good, and advance her above the blemished (et de prendre les bonnes, et de les mettre au-dessus des blasmées) and would say to the evil-minded lady in the presence of all 'Lady, let it not anger you that this matron or this maiden take the higher place, for though not so nobly born nor so richly wedded as you, yet is she of stainless honour, and therefore in the number of the good.' Then the virtuous maidens would in their hearts thank God that they had kept themselves pure, and were therefore held in honour and exalted to the higher place. But those

others sat with eyes cast down in great shame and dishonour." *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, sixième leçon. Vol. iii. 377.

840. τὴν Ὑπερβόλου μητέρ'] We know from *Clouds* 552 that the mother of Hyperbolus was a favourite butt of the Comic writers; and one reason, at least, for their persistent hostility is disclosed in the passage before us. It is plain that she made her wealth by money-lending, a business often profitable, but never popular. Hyperbolus (*Thuc.* viii. 73) and Lamachus (*Thuc.* vi. 101) were both dead at the date of this Play; and Aristophanes contrasts the rich and contemptible demagogue—the successor of Cleon, and the predecessor of Cleophon, less powerful and therefore less mischievous than either—with the poor but gallant soldier, who had fallen with honour in the Sicilian expedition. *ἐπαιεῖ τὸν Λάμαχον νῦν* says the Scholiast, *ἥδη γὰρ ἐτεθνήκει ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τετάρτῳ ἔτει πρότερον*. He died in July or August, B.C. 414, *felix opportunitate mortis*.

844. ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ χρήματ'] "*pecuniam; hoc est, ipsam sortem*" (*capital*) "*nedum ut fœnus dent mulieri.*"—Bothe. Compare *Plautus, Mostellaria* III. i. 34 "*Qui mihi neque fœnus neque*

“ἀξία γοῦν εἶ τόκου, τεκοῦσα τοιοῦτον τόκον.”

845

MN. ἰλλὸς γεγένημαι προσδοκῶν· ὁ δ' οὐδέπω.

τί δῆτ' ἂν εἴη τοῦμποδῶν; οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως

οὐ τὸν Παλαμήδην ψυχρὸν ὄντ' αἰσχύνεται.

τῷ δῆτ' ἂν αὐτὸν προσαγαγοίμην δράματι;

ἐγὼ δα· τὴν καινὴν Ἑλένην μιμήσομαι.

850

πάντως ὑπάρχει μοι γυναικεία στολή.

sortem argenti danunt.” *From whom I can get neither principal nor interest.* And Martial v. 42. 3 “Debitor usuram pariter sortemque negabit.”

845. ἀξία κ.τ.λ.] The ἀξία is of course ironical. “A nice person *you* are to be exacting τόκον (in the sense of *interest*), *you*, who have borne such a τόκον (in the sense of *son*).” Bothe’s notion that ἀξία εἶ τόκον means “You are worthy of your son,” though adopted by Fritzsche, destroys all the humour, if not all the sense, of the passage. With the alliteration in this line compare Wasps 685, and see the note there.

846. ἰλλός] The close of the Parabasis finds Mnesilochus and Critylla in the same place and attitude as at the commencement. He is still a suppliant at the altar of the Twain; she is still watching him there. Ever since he despatched his tablets with a message for Euripides, he has been straining his eyes for some answer; but none has yet arrived. Consequently he has become quite ἰλλός, *cross-eyed*, διεστραμμένος τὴν ὄψιν.—Scholiast. στρεβλός, στραβός, διεστραμμένος.—Hesychius. Ἰλλόν· στρεβλόν, στραβόν.—Photius. Ἰλλόν· Ἀττικῶς, στραβόν, Ἑλληνικῶς.—Moeris.

850. τὴν καινὴν Ἑλένην] At the date of

this Comedy, the Helen was one of the most recent of the Plays of Euripides. It had been brought out, apparently, in the preceding year. Here the Scholiast explains καινὴν by ὑπόγυον δεδιδαγμένην, *quite recently exhibited*: on 1012 he tells us that the Andromeda συνδεδίδακται τῇ Ἑλένῃ; and on 1060 that the Andromeda was exhibited πέρυσιν, the year before it was parodied in the Thesmophoriazusae.

852. τί κυρκαῖς;] *Why are you so restless?* Cf. supra 429. τί κοικύλλεις ἔχων; *why do you keep staring about?* κοικύλλεις· περιβλέπει, ἢ κακοτεχνεῖς.—Suidas.

853. πικρὰν Ἑλένην ὄψει] This is equivalent to our idiom, *I’ll Helen you*. It is the retort minatory. The speaker catches up an obnoxious word used by the other, prefixes the epithet πικρός, and adds ἔξεις, ὄψει, or the like. The idiom is as old as Homer. When Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, is regaling the suitors with a fictitious tale of his adventures in Egypt and Cyprus, “Stand away from my table,” roars Antinous, “μὴ τάχα πικρὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἴδῃαι,” Od. xvii. 448. Aristophanes twice employs it in the Birds, 1045 and 1468. So when in Lucian’s Cataplus 13 Megapenthes is clamouring for precedence in Charon’s boat, on the ground

KPI. τί αὖ σὺ κυρκανᾶς; τί κοικύλλεις ἔχων;

πικράν Ἑλένην ὄψει τάχ', εἰ μὴ κοσμίως

ἔξεις, ἔως ἂν τῶν πρυτάνεων τις φανῇ.

MN. (ὡς Ἑλένη) Νείλου μὲν αἶδε καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαί,

855

ὃς, ἀντὶ δίας ψακάδος, Αἰγύπτου πέδον

λευκῆς νοτίζει, μελανοσυρμαῖον λεών.

that he was a τύραννος, καὶ δορυφόρους εἶχε μυρίους, Clotho calls for a stick, and says, πικράν τὴν τυραννίδα ἔξεις, γευσάμενος τοῦ ξύλου. Cf. Id. Symposium 47. And compare Euripides, Medea 398, 9; Iph. in Aul. 955; Bacchae 357; Cyclops 589, and the epithet πικρόγαμος in Odyssey i. 266 and Heliodorus, Aethiopics vii. 28.

855. Νείλου κ. τ. λ.] Mnesilochus, paying no heed to the woman's objurgation, at once starts off with the opening lines of the Helen of Euripides. The first two lines, and the first word of the third line, are quoted accurately, but for the Euripidean τακείσης χιόνος ὑγραίνει γύας he substitutes νοτίζει μελανοσυρμαῖον λεών. The reader will find in the Introduction a full comparison of the actual lines in the Tragedy with their imitations in the Comedy. Whether καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαί are, as some think, *streams frequented by beautiful nymphs*, or, as others say, *fair virgin streams*, is a question which may be left to the interpreters of Euripides.

856. ἀντὶ δίας ψακάδος] *In lieu of heavenly rain*. See Deuteronomy xi. 10, 11, where the Holy Land is contrasted with Egypt, as being a land which ἐκ τοῦ ὑετοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πίεται ὕδωρ. Compare Heliodorus ix. 9, where it is said that the Egyptians laud and magnify

the Nile, ἀντίμμον οὐρανοῦ τὸν ποταμὸν σεμνηγοροῦντες, οἷα δὲ δίχα νεφώσεων καὶ ὑετῶν αερίων τὴν ἀρουμένην αὐτοῖς ἄρδοντος, καὶ εἰς ἔτος ἀεὶ τεταγμένως ἐπομβρίζοντος. In Euripides the epithet λευκῆς agrees with χιόνος, *when the white snow melts*; but as Aristophanes has transformed the line, it becomes a singularly inappropriate epithet of Egypt itself.

857. μελανοσυρμαῖον λεών] It will have been observed that Euripides in the Helen provides his verb with two accusatives, πέδον, *plain*, in the second line, and γύας, *fields*, in the third, not connecting the two by any copula. Aristophanes ridicules this double accusative by changing γύας into μελανοσυρμαῖον λεών, *black-dosed people*, so making the whole passage absurd. The μελανο- is intended merely as a contrast to λευκῆς; whilst -συρμαῖον is an allusion to the συρμαία, the purge and emetic which, according to Herodotus, the Egyptians were accustomed to take for three consecutive days every month. Συρμαῖζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἐκάστου, ἐμέτοισι θηρώμενοι τὴν ὑγιεινὴν καὶ κλύσμασι, ii. 77. But black-dosed involves also a play on black-dressed, the σύρμα being a long trailing robe. See Peace 1254, and the note there.

KPI. πανούργος εἶ νῆ τὴν Ἑκάτην τὴν φωσφόρον.

MN. ἐμοὶ δὲ γῇ μὲν πατρὶς οὐκ ἀνώνυμος

Σπάρτη, πατήρ δὲ Τυνδάρεως. KPI. σοί γ', ὦλεθρε, 860

πατήρ ἐκείνός ἐστι; Φρυνώνδας μὲν οὖν.

MN. Ἑλένη δ' ἐκλήθην. KPI. αὖθις αὖ γίγναι γυνή,

πρὶν τῆς ἐτέρας δοῦναι γυναικίσεως δίκην;

MN. ψυχαὶ δὲ πολλαὶ δι' ἔμ' ἐπὶ Σκαμανδρίαις

858. Ἑκάτην τὴν φωσφόρον] *φωσφόρος* is a recognized epithet of Hecate, and as such is employed by Aristophanes elsewhere. Yet there was always a certain quaintness about it; and as we are here dealing specially with the Helen of Euripides, it is not unlikely that Aristophanes is alluding to line 569 of that Play, ὦ φωσφόρ' Ἑκάτη, πέμπε φάσματ' εὐμενῇ. Hecate was specially invoked by women. See *Frogs* 1362, and the note there.

859. ἐμοί] In the Helen it is ἡμῖν, but the sense is the same. *Mine is a fatherland not unknown to fame, even Sparta; and Tyndareus was my father.* As a rule, the speeches of Mnesilochus before the entrance of Euripides are borrowed, with but little alteration, from the soliloquy of Helen in the Tragedy before the entrance of Teucer.

861. Φρυνώνδας] *immo vero, Phrynon-das.* Phrynon-das, though not an Athenian, resided at Athens during some part of the Peloponnesian War. He was a rogue of such superior and notable rascality, that to call a man a Phrynon-das was equivalent to calling him a *cheat*; just as to call him a Melitides (*Frogs* 991) was equivalent to calling him a *dolt*. Aeschines (against Ctesiphon,

137. p. 73) intimates his opinion that Demosthenes was far superior to Phrynon-das in his distinguishing characteristic. And Taylor, in his note on that remark, to which Fritzsche refers, collects the various passages in which Phrynon-das is mentioned. Aristophanes uses the name in a very similar fashion in his *Amphiaraus*, ὦ μαρὰ καὶ Φρυνώνδα καὶ πόνηρε σύ; and again in the *Proagon*, though the words have not been preserved. Eupolis too more than once treats the name as synonymous with "swindler." In Isocrates against Callimachus (66) the speaker, after showing how grossly Callimachus had perjured himself, concludes, "For him to accuse me of lying is as though Phrynon-das were to upbraid me for rascality." So Lucian (Alexander 4) says that the man was the very prince τῶν ἐπὶ κακίᾳ διαβοήτων, superior to Eurybatus and Phrynon-das and other notorious rascals. Eurybatus and Phrynon-das are frequently coupled in this connexion. They are so by Aeschines in the passage cited above; by Plato, Protagoras, chap. 16; and by Apuleius in his *Apology* (ii. 564, ed. Oudendorp), "versutiam tam insidiosam, tam admirabili scelere confatam, negabis te unquam cognovisse.

- ροαῖσιν ἔθανον. KPI. ὥφελες δὲ καὶ σύ γε. 865
 MN. κάγῳ μὲν ἐνθάδ' εἴμ'. ὁ δ' ἄθλιος πόσις
 οὐμὸς Μενέλαος οὐδέπω προσέρχεται.
 τί οὖν ἔτι ζῷ τῶν κοράκων πονηρία;
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ αἰκάλλει τι καρδίαν ἐμήν.
 μὴ ψεύσον, ὦ Ζεῦ, τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐλπίδος. 870
 ET. (ὡς Μενέλαος) τίς τῶνδ' ἐρμυῶν δωμάτων ἔχει κράτος,

Quis Palamedes, quis Sisyphus, quis denique Eurybatus aut Phrynondestalem excogitasset?" Many other passages to the same effect will be found in Taylor's note. Here the Woman, disgusted with the knavery of Mnesilochus, declares that he must be the son of Phrynondas, the greatest swindler in all the world. The Scholiast, after saying that Phrynondas ἐπὶ πονηρία διαβάλλεται, adds, *τινὲς δὲ καὶ πατέρα αὐτῷ φασὶν*

ἀληθῶς εἶναι τοῦτον. This last observation is of course quite groundless; Critylla knows nothing of Mnesilochus or his father: she is speaking of his *character*, not of his real parentage.

865. ὥφελες κ. τ. λ.] So in Odyssey ii. 182, one of the suitors, scoffing at the prophet, who had announced that the return of Odysseus was nigh at hand, says,

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς

ᾤλετο τῇλ' ὡς καὶ σὺ καταφθίσθαι σὺν ἐκείνῳ
 ὥφελες.

867-870. οὐμὸς . . . ἐλπίδος] There is nothing in the Helen corresponding to these four lines except that the question τί δῆτ' ἔτι ζῷ; occurs in line 56, as it does again in line 293.

869. αἰκάλλει] σαίνει. — Scholiast. *Eiwns on me. Smiles upon my heart.* Compare Aesch. Ag. 1089 οὐ με φαιδρύνει λόγος.

870. μὴ ψεύσον κ. τ. λ.] The Scholiast cites from the Peleus of Sophocles, μὴ ψεύσον, ὦ Ζεῦ· μὴ μ' ἔλῃς ἄνευ δορός. With τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐλπίδος, *my dawning* (literally, *approaching*) *hope*, compare Eccl. 105 τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν, *the dawning day*. The expression ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος is very common, and many in-

stances of its usage are collected by the Commentators here; but I will merely set down those which I have myself observed. In Hdt. ix. 61, just before the commencement of the battle of Plataea, Pausanias, turning to Hera's temple, beseeches the Goddess μηδαμῶς σφείας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος (*Let me not be disappointed of my hope*. Psalm cxix. 116, Prayer-book version). So Sophocles, Ajax 1382; Xenophon, Hellenics vii. 5. 24 (of the tactics of Epaminondas before the battle of Mantinea). But no writer is more partial to the phrase than Theodoret in his Ecclesiastical History: see I. vii. 2; IV. xix. 16, xxi. 10; V. iv. 4, xxxix. 18.

871. τίς τῶνδ'] Up to this point all

- ὅστις ξένους δέξαιτο ποντίῳ σάλῳ
 κάμνοντας ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ναυαγίαις ;
 MN. Πρωτέως τὰδ' ἐστὶ μέλαθρα. ΕΥ. ποίου Πρωτέως ;
 KPI. ὦ τρισκακώδαιμον, ψεύδεται νῆ τῷ θεῷ, 875
 ἐπεὶ τέθνηκε Πρωτέας ἔτη δέκα.
 ΕΥ. ποίαν δὲ χώραν εἰσεκέλασμεν σκάφει ;
 MN. Αἴγυπτον. ΕΥ. ὦ δύστηνος, οἶ πεπλώκαμεν.
 KPI. πείθει τι τούτῳ, τῷ κακῶς ἀπολουμένῳ
 ληροῦντι λῆρον ; Θεσμοφόριον τουτογί. 880
 ΕΥ. αὐτὸς δὲ Πρωτεύς ἔνδον ἔστ' ἢ ἑλώπιος ;
 KPI. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ ναυτιᾶς ἔτ', ὦ ξέने,
 ὅστις γ' ἀκούσας ὅτι τέθνηκε Πρωτέας
 ἔπειτ' ἐρωτᾶς " ἔνδον ἔστ' ἢ ἑλώπιος ;"
 ΕΥ. αἰαί· τέθνηκε ; ποῦ δ' ἐτυμβεύθη τάφῳ ; 885

the quotations from the Helen have been taken from the heroine's soliloquy, which forms the prologue of the Play. That soliloquy is interrupted by the entrance of Teucer, whose first words are *τίς τῶνδ' ἐρυμῶν δωμάτων ἔχει κράτος*; Here, instead of Teucer, Euripides enters in the character of Menelaus, but his first words are the words of Teucer. The two lines which follow are not borrowed from the Helen; but the subsequent dialogue between Euripides and Mnesilochus to the end of 881 is altered from a dialogue occurring later on in the Euripidean Play, between Menelaus and an old lady who is keeping the door of the Palace. It is noteworthy that no surprise is now exhibited by anybody at the intrusion of men—Euripides, the Magistrate, the Scythian archer—into the precincts of the Thesmophorium. It seems as though the cata-

strophe of Mnesilochus had operated here, as the introduction of the wounded Prince did in the College of Tennyson's Princess, where men, theretofore excluded, "out and in Walked at their will, and everything was changed."

876. *Πρωτέας*] She need not be, but she probably is, referring to a real personage. The Scholiast says, *Πρωτέας· οὕτω καλούμενος Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς ἐτεθνήκει πρόπαλαι*; and Kuster's suggestion that she means the general whom Thucydides mentions (i. 45; ii. 23) as one of the commanders of the Athenian navy about the time of the commencement of the Peloponnesian War, but of whom there is no subsequent record, has, not without reason, obtained universal acceptance.

879. *πείθει τι τούτῳ*] With the first part of this line compare supra 592; and with the latter part Peace 2.

881. *ἑλώπιος*] This, as Kuster observes,

MN. τόδ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ σῆμ', ἐφ' ᾧ καθήμεθα.

KPI. κακῶς ἄρ' ἐξόλοιο κάξολεῖ γέ τοι,
ὅστις γε τολμᾷς σῆμα τὸν βωμὸν καλεῖν.

ET. τί δαὶ σὺ θάσσεις τάσδε τυμβήρεις ἔδρας
φάρει καλυπτὸς, ᾧ ξένη; MN. βιάζομαι 890
γάμοισι Πρωτέως παιδὶ συμμῖξαι λέχος.

KPI. τί, ᾧ κακόδαιμον, ἐξαπατᾷς αὐτὸν ξένον;
οὗτος πανουργῶν δεῦρ' ἀνήλθεν, ᾧ ξένη,
ὡς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπὶ κλοπῇ τοῦ χρυσίου.

MN. βᾶῦζε, τοῦμὸν σῶμα βάλλουσα ψόγῳ. 895

ET. ξένη, τίς ἡ γραῦς ἡ κακορροθοῦσά σε;

MN. αὕτη Θεονόη Πρωτέως. KPI. μὰ τῷ θεῷ,
εἰ μὴ Κρίτυλλά γ' Ἀντιθέου Γαργηττόθεν·

is a favourite word of Euripides: Medea 624; Alcestis 546; Supplices 1038. But it is not found in the Helen, where Menelaus first inquires of the doorkeeper, whether Proteus ἔστ' ἐν οἴκοις, and on being informed that Proteus is dead, and that his son is now the king, asks again ποῦ δῆτ' ἂν εἴη; πότερον ἐκτός, ἢ 'ν δόμοις; Helen 465, 467.

882. ναυτιᾶς] The word is here used, not of actual sea-sickness, but of the dazed bewilderment which the voyager may continue to feel, even after he has landed. "Nauseo," no doubt a translation of ναυτιάω, is used in precisely the same way by Plautus in his Amphitryon I. i. 173, where Sosia says "Lassus sum hercle e navi, ut vectus huc sum; etiam nunc nauseo."

886. τόδ' ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ.] τόδ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ μνῆμα is in Helen 466 the reply of the doorkeeper to the inquiry of Menelaus

whether Proteus is at home. But, unlike Mnesilochus, she is speaking the truth.

889. τυμβήρεις ἔδρας] This line does not occur in the Helen, but the heroine, before she has seen Menelaus, had referred to her place of refuge as ἔδρας τάφου. We do not take up the Euripidean dialogue again until line 905.

894. ἐπὶ κλοπῇ τοῦ χρυσίου] This is rather too bad of Critylla, for she knew perfectly well the real errand on which Mnesilochus had come, and that he had not intruded himself amongst the women for the purpose of stealing their trinkets. This sort of theft, however, seems to have been common enough. Cf. Ach. 258. The next line appears to be a parody, but not of any passage in the Helen. As to βᾶῦζε, cf. supra 173.

898. εἰ μὴ] These words are frequently employed to introduce, not a mere ex-

σὺ δ' εἶ πανοῦργος. MN. ὁπόσα τοι βούλει λέγε.

οὐ γὰρ γαμοῦμαι σὺ κασίγνητῳ ποτὲ,
προδοῦσα Μενέλαον ἐμὸν ἐν Τροίᾳ πόσιν.

900

ΕΥ. γύναι, τί εἶπας; στρέψον ἀντανγείς κόρας.

MN. αἰσχύνομαί σε, τὰς γνάθους ὑβρισμένη.

ΕΥ. τουτὶ τί ἔστιν; ἀφασία τίς τοί μ' ἔχει.

ὦ θεοί, τίν' ὄψιν εἰσορῶ; τίς εἶ, γύναι;

905

MN. σὺ δ' εἶ τίς; αὐτὸς γὰρ σὲ καὶ ἔχει λόγος.

ception to, or qualification of, the preceding denial, but an affirmative statement of the actual fact. Aristophanes so employs them in *Knights* 186, *Lysistrata* 943. Everybody is familiar with the New Testament examples, St. Matth. xxiv. 36; Galatians i. 7, ii. 16. The woman is not Theonoe the daughter of Proteus, she is Critylla the daughter of Antitheus, who comes from Gargettus, now *Garito*, a village some miles to the north-east of Athens on the road to Mount Pentelicus. It was a deme, as the Scholiast observes, τῆς Αἰγίδος φυλῆς, and was in later times celebrated as the birthplace of Epicurus.

902. ἀντανγείς κόρας] This line does not come from the Helen, but is doubtless either borrowed from some lost Play

of Euripides, or composed in imitation of his style. The epithet ἀντανγείς is susceptible of two interpretations; (1) *sunlike eyes*, ἀντιμίμους ἡλίου τροχῶ, "eyes that do mislead the morn"; ἡλιακὰς ἀκτῖνας, to employ the phrase with which Heliodorus (*Aethiopics* ii. 16) describes brightly glancing eyes; and to some extent like the ἀνθῆλιον πρόσωπον, "the countenance flashing like the sun," ascribed to Athene in Eur. *Ion* 1550; (2) *eyes meeting mine*; τὰς κόρας σου ἀντιπροσώπους μοι στρέψον, as the Scholiast explains it; and this is the general, and I think the right, interpretation. So Empedocles (*Plutarch, De Pythiae oraculis* 12) says that the Sun, which obtains its brilliance from the heavenly light,

ἀντανγεῖ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀταρμύκτοισι προσώποις.

And Ecphantus (*Stobaeus* xlviii. 64) calls the eagle ἀντωπὸν ἀλίῳ, just as Euripides (*Iph. in Aul.* 585) uses the words ἀντωπὸς βλεφάροιςιν of the glances of Helen meeting the ardent glances of Paris. αὐγὰς is used for the *eyes* in Eur. *Androm.* 1180.

903. ὑβρισμένη] ἐπειδὴ ξυρηθεῖς ἦν.—Scholiast. He remembers, for the

moment, that Helen is the shaved and singed Mnesilochus, just as he remembers, seven lines below, that Menelaus is really the market-gardener's son.

904. ἀφασία] In Helen 549, 550 Menelaus says, δέμας δείξασα σὸν, Ἐκπληξὺν ἡμῖν ἀφασίαν τε προστίθης. But, as Bergler and Fritzsche observe, lines more resembling the present are to be

ΕΥ. 'Ελληνὶς εἴ τις ἦ 'πιχωρία γυνή;

MN. 'Ελληνίς. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σὸν θέλω μαθεῖν.

ΕΥ. 'Ελένη σ' ὁμοίαν δὴ μάλιστ' εἶδον, γύναι.

MN. ἐγὼ δὲ Μενελάω σ' ὅσα γ' ἐκ τῶν ἰφύων.

910

ΕΥ. ἔγνωσ ἄρ' ὀρθῶς ἄνδρα δυστυχέστατον.

MN. ὦ χρόνιος ἐλθὼν σῆς δάμαρτος ἐς χέρας,

λαβέ με λαβέ με πόσι, περιβάλε δὲ χέρας.

found in Herc. Fur. 515 οὐκ οἶδα, θύγατερ' ἀφασία δὲ καὶ μ' ἔχει, and Iph. in Aul. 837 ποίους γάμους φῆς' ἀφασία μ' ἔχει, γύναι. The next line is altered from Helen 557 (see also Id. 72), whilst line 906 is taken from Helen 558 without any alteration at all.

907. 'Ελληνίς εἴ τις κ.τ.λ.] Just as the commencement of the Choephoroe has been preserved only by its quotation in the Frogs; so this line has been restored to the Helen only from its quotation here. It is absolutely necessary to the Euripidean dialogue, but had fallen out, doubtless because the following line commenced with the same word 'Ελληνίς. The transcribers of Aristophanes had been more careful, and Markland replaced the line in the Helen from the parody here. The five following lines, down to ἐς χέρας, are taken from the Helen without any alteration except that mentioned in the next note.

910. ὅσα γ' ἐκ τῶν ἰφύων] *To judge from those sprigs of lavender.* δέον εἰπεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὄψεων, εἶπεν ἐκ τῶν ἰφύων. Ἰφύον δέ ἐστιν εἶδος ἀγρίου λαχάνου, ὅτι Εὐριπίδης λαχανοπόλιδος Κλειτοῦς νίδος ἦν δηλονότι. —Scholiast. Photius (s.v.) and Suidas (s.v. ἰφύη) also describe it as an ἄγριον

λάχανον. But this seems an error, arising from the fact that there is undoubtedly an allusion to the poet's mother, and to the ἄγρια λάχανα which she is represented as selling, supra 387, 456. For Theophrastus, who frequently mentions it, invariably classes it with flowers, and not with potheibs. In Hist. Plant. vi. 6. 11 he speaks of it as woody, and having a woody root; in vi. 8. 3 he says that it blossoms in summer; and in vii. 13. 7 he observes that the blossoms come before the leaves. Hesychius (s.v. ἰφία), after describing it both as ἄνθος and as λάχανον, adds ὁ ἡμεῖς Λαβαντίδα (*lavandulam*) καλοῦμεν. And both Stackhouse, in his "Illustrations of Theophrastus," and Sprengel, i. p. 86, identify it with the lavender plant. Euripides would seem to be wearing some lavender about him, possibly a garland round his head, as Pierson suggests, in his note on Moeris, s.v. Ἀγνιά. The Ἰφύον is mentioned again by Aristophanes in his Phoenissae. Athenaeus iii. 39.

913. λαβέ με κ.τ.λ.] Here we part company with the Helen, and Mnesilochus extemporizes a little series of emotional ejaculations, preparatory to his making

φέρει σὲ κύσω. ἄπαγέ μ' ἄπαγ' ἄπαγ' ἄπαγέ με 915
λαβὼν ταχὺ πάνν. KPI. κλαύσετ' ἄρα νῆ τῷ θεῷ
δοῖς σ' ἀπάξει, τυπτόμενος τῇ λαμπάδι.

EY. σὺ τὴν ἐμὴν γυναῖκα κωλύεις ἐμέ,
τὴν Τυνδάρειον παῖδ', ἐπὶ Σπάρτην ἄγειν;

KPI. οἴμ' ὥς πανοῦργος καὶ τὸς εἶναι μοι δοκεῖς, 920
καὶ τοῦδ' ἐτι ξύμβουλος. οὐκ ἐτὸς πάλα
ἡγυπτιάζετ'. ἀλλ' ὅδε μὲν δώσει δίκην.
προσέρχεται γὰρ ὁ πρύτανις χά τοξότης.

EY. τουτὶ πονηρόν· ἀλλ' ὑπαποκινήτεον.

off in the company of Euripides. ταῦτα λέγει, says the Scholiast, ἀκολουθῶν αὐτῷ, καὶ βουλόμενος ἐκφυγεῖν. In the Helen, it should be remembered, Menelaus does not believe that the lady is really his wife, though he is struck with the wonderful likeness; and therefore when she says, ὦ χρόνιος ἔλθων τῆς δάμαρτος ἐς χέρας, he exclaims, "Wife indeed! keep your hands off my clothes," ποίας δάμαρτος, μὴ θίγῃς ἐμῶν πέπλων. However, in the next scene, when he is at last compelled to recognize her, Helen does indulge in a little outburst of delirious joy; φίλαι, φίλαι, she cries, πόσιν ἐμὸν, ἐμὸν ἔχομεν ἔχομεν, ὃν ἔμενον ἔμενον ἐκ Τροίας πολυετὴ μολεῖν.

922. ἡγυπτιάζετ'] *Egyptianized, played at being Egyptians*; referring of course to their previous conversation about Egypt: but with a further allusion to the cunning craftiness with which the ancient Egyptians were credited. The Scholiast says, ἐπανουργεῖτε· ὥς δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πανούργων ὄντων. And the Scholiast on Clouds 1130, as Kuster observes, cites from Aeschylus δεινοὶ πλέκειν

τοὶ μηχανὰς Αἰγύπτιοι (a line which passed into a proverb, and is frequently quoted by ancient authors) and Theocritus xv. 47 οὐδεὶς κακοεργὸς Δαλείται τὸν ἰόντα, παρέρπων Αἰγυπτιστί. Many passages to the same effect are collected in Valckenauer's note on Theocritus.

926. ἦνπερ ἐμπνέω] ἕως ζῶ.—Scholiast. "si modo vixero."—Brunck.

928. μήρινθος] *An angler's line*. The speaker means "that throw caught nothing," cf. Wasps 175. It is a proverb borrowed, as Brunck says, "a piscatoribus qui hamum retrahunt inanem." This line, given to the Woman in the MSS. and early editions, is by most recent editors transferred to Mnesilochus.

929. ὄδ' ἔσθ' κ.τ.λ.] Cleisthenes had hurried off, after line 654, to lay a complaint before the Prytanes about the misconduct of Mnesilochus; and Mica had followed him, after line 764. And now one of these Magistrates enters to investigate the matter, accompanied by a Scythian archer (doubtless, until after the Choral song, represented by a

- MN. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ κακοδαίμων τί δρῶ; ΕΤ. μέν' ἥσυχος. 925
οὐ γὰρ προδώσω σ' οὐδέποτε, ἤνπερ ἐμπνέω,
ἤν μὴ προλίπωσ' αἱ μυρίαί με μηχαναί.
- MN. αὕτη μὲν ἡ μήρινθος οὐδὲν ἔσπασεν.
- ΠΡ. ὅδ' ἔσθ' ὁ πανοῦργος ὃν ἔλεγ' ἡμῖν Κλεισθένης;
οὔτος, τί κύπτεις; δῆσον αὐτὸν εἰσάγων 930
ὦ τοξότ' ἐν τῇ σανίδι, κάπειτ' ἐνθαδὶ
στήσας φύλαττε καὶ προσιέναι μηδένα
ἔα πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μάστιγ' ἔχων
παῖ', ἤν προσίῃ τις. ΚΡΙ. νῆ Δί' ὥς νῦν δὴ γ' ἀνῆρ

Choregic actor), who was the proper minister to carry out his commands. See the note on 654 supra. They find the culprit hanging down his head for very shame at being detected by these officials in woman's clothes: just as Demus, in Knights 1354, hung down his, when made conscious of his folly in times past. And the words οὔτος, τί κύπτεις; were addressed to Demus there, just as they are to Mnesilochus here.

930. εἰσάγων] *Take him within*, as Kuster rightly explains it. See Clouds 1212; Peace 842, 1020; Eccl. 1037. The Archer is to take Mnesilochus behind the scenes, and tie him to the plank; then to bring him out again, so tied, on the stage, and watch him there. Mnesilochus is accordingly taken out after line 946, and is brought in again, bound, after line 1000.

931. σανίδι] The σανὶς was a straight plank to which malefactors were bound, often as a preliminary to execution. Duris, the Samian historian, said that Pericles, after conquering Samos, carried the Samian trierarchs and marines to

Miletus, and having tied them to planks, σανίσι προσδήσας, and exposed them for ten days, had their brains beaten out with cudgels; but Plutarch (Pericles 28), who records the statement, does not believe a word of it. So when Brutus condemned to death his own sons, and the other youths who were conspiring to bring back the Tarquins, "stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi juvenes: missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium nudatos virgis caedunt, securique feriunt," Livy ii. 5. The plank was fixed perpendicularly in the ground; the culprit was in front with his back to the plank; and the process does not seem to have been painful in itself, though, like our pillory, it would become so by exposure to the sun and storms. So long as Mnesilochus was personating Helen, it was appropriate that he should have been sitting on the altar of his own free will: but now that he is to represent Andromeda chained to the rock, it is desirable that he should appear as a helpless victim tied to the plank.

ὀλίγον μ' ἀφείλετ' αὐτὸν ἱστιορράφος.

935

MN. ὦ πρύτανι πρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἥνπερ φιλεῖς
κοίλην προτείνειν, ἀργύριον ἦν τις διδῶ,
χάρισαι βραχὺ τί μοι καίπερ ἀποθανομένω.

ΠΡ. τί σοι χαρίσωμαι; MN. γυμνὸν ἀποδύσαντά με
κέλευε πρὸς τῇ σανίδι δεῖν τὸν τοξότην,
ἵνα μὴ 'ν κροκωτοῖς καὶ μίτραις γέρων ἀνὴρ
γέλωτα παρέχω τοῖς κόραξιν ἐστιῶν.

940

ΠΡ. ἔχοντα ταῦτ' ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ σε δεῖν,
ἵνα τοῖς παριοῦσι δῆλος ᾦς πανοῦργος ὢν.

935. ἱστιορράφος] Literally, a *sail-stitcher*. ἐπεὶ ἄνω αἰγυπτιάζειν αὐτοὺς ἔφη, οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι λινοποιοὶ εἰσιν. ὁ πανοῦργος, ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν τὰ ἄρμενα (*ship-tackle*) ῥαπτῶντων.—Scholiast. The verb ῥάπτειν is very commonly employed in relation to weaving plots and conspiracies, and Bergler thinks that ἱστιορράφος is a play on the word μηχανορράφος with a contemptuous allusion to the shipwrecked stranger (873 supra) as a sailor of the lowest class. But I suspect that in the colloquial language of the day ἱστιορράφος had come to mean a *spinner of yarns*, a romancer, a man who, to borrow Cleveland's description of Claud Halero in the twelfth chapter of *The Pirate*, "spins as tough a yarn as ever an old man-of-war's-man twisted on the watch at midnight."

937. κοίλην προτείνειν] *To hold out, hollowed for the purpose of receiving coin*. According to Suetonius (Oct. xci), Augustus was impelled by a nightly vision to beg alms of the people one day every year, "*cavam manum asses porrigentibus*

praebeens." And Vespasian, when told that a large sum of money had been voted for his statue, held out his hand, and said that he should like to have the money instead. His action is described by Suetonius (Vesp. xxiii) as "*cavam manum ostentans*," and by Dio Cassius (lxxi. 14) *προέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα*. The venality of the Prytanes has already been satirized (Peace 908, see the note there). And the last four words of the present line are repeated from *Clouds* 98.

942. ἐστιῶν] *While I am furnishing them with a dinner*.

946. σωτηρίας] All the Actors now leave the stage; the Archer takes Mnesilochus away; and the Prytanis and Critylla severally depart. To prevent the monotony which might be felt if the travesty of the Helen were followed immediately by the travesty of the Andromeda, Aristophanes interposes between the two a dancing-song of considerable length, which combines at least three distinct dances, (1) the ring-dance, (2) the διπλῆ, a stately dance of

MN. *ἱατταταιάξ· ὦ κροκώθ' οἷ' εἵργασαι·* 945
κοῦκ ἔστ' ἔτ' ἐλπίς οὐδεμία σωτηρίας.

XO. *ἄγε νυν ἡμεῖς παίσωμεν ἅπερ νόμος ἐνθάδε ταῖσι γυναιξίν,*
ὅταν ὄργια σεμνὰ θεαῖν ἱεραῖς ὥραις ἀνέχωμεν, ἅπερ καὶ
Παύσων σέβεται καὶ νηστεύει,
πολλάκις αὐταῖν ἐκ τῶν ὥρῶν 950
ἐς τὰς ὥρας ξυνεπευχόμενος
τοιαῦτα μέλειν θάμ' ἑαυτῷ.

ὄρμα, χῶρει·
κοῦφα ποσὶν ἄγ' ἐς κύκλον,

Tragedy, and (3) a lively Bacchic evolution.

947. *ἄγε νυν*] *Come now, let us disport ourselves, as we women are wont to do, when in the holy seasons we celebrate the noble solemnities of the Twain.* These are the *ὄργια σεμνὰ* which Demeter instituted before she returned to her proper place within the Halls of Olympus; *ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσιν Σεμνά.* Homeric Hymn to Demeter 476. And see infra 1151. This Chorus, if we except the allusion to Pauson in the anapaestic dimeters, and possibly the stanzas in honour of Dionysus at the end, is apparently a genuine representation of the service of dance and song which the Athenian women were accustomed to render at the Thesmophorian festival. It is an invocation to the deities who preside over the pursuits and pleasures of their country homes; to Apollo the minstrel Archer, Artemis the huntress, and Hera the marriage Queen; and again, to Pan and the Nymphs, and the pastoral Hermes; and finally to the

Wine-god Bacchus, into whose train both Pan and the nymphs were ultimately absorbed. We miss in the invocation the names of the Twain, and the great name of Athene; but to these three goddesses a special hymn is appropriated infra 1136.

949. *Παύσων*] They are sure that Pauson will keep a strict fast on the *Νηστεία*, "non ex religione quadam, sed quia non habet quod comedat," as Bergler observes. This Pauson was an animal-painter, of small means and less character. Aristophanes in his first extant play calls him *Παύσων ὁ παμπόνηρος* (Ach. 854), and in his last extant play "the messmate, *ξύσσιτος*, of Poverty" (Plutus 602). He is such a devotee of fasting, the Chorus go on to say, that he will without intermission (*ἐκ τῶν ὥρῶν ἐς τὰς ὥρας, from one season to another*) pray the Twain that such observances may frequently fall to his lot.

954. *ἐς κύκλον*] "Describitur hic chorea, quae fiebat in orbem, et consortis manibus." — Kuster. The four-and-twenty

χειρὶ σύναπτε χεῖρα, ῥυθ-
μὸν χορείας ὕπαγε πᾶσα,
βαῖνε καρπαλίμοιν ποδοῖν.
ἐπισκοπεῖν δέ,
πανταχῇ κυκλοῦσαν ὄμμα, χρὴ Χοροῦ κατὰστασιν.

955

ἄμα δὲ καὶ
γένος Ὀλυμπίων θεῶν
μέλπε καὶ γέραιρε φωνῇ πᾶσα χορομανεῖ τρόφῳ.
εἰ δέ τις
προσδοκᾷ κακῶς ἐρεῖν

960

persons of the Chorus form themselves into one great ring, and, all joining hands, dance round and round the Thymele in the orchestra, after the fashion of the old English dance "round the mulberry-bush." This was a wild and romping dance (*χορμενῆς τρόπος*) unsuitable for sacred hymns; and accordingly they discontinue it for a more sober movement before they actually commence the religious invocation.

959. *Χοροῦ κατὰστασιν*] *The Choral array*: a mere periphrasis for *χορὸν*, just as *χάριν χορείας*, infra 982, is a mere periphrasis for *χορείαν*. Fritzsche refers to Aesch. Ag. 22, but the expression *χορῶν κατὰστασιν* is there employed in quite a different sense, equivalent, as Bp. Blomfield remarks, to the *χοροστασίαν* of later writers.

960. *ἄμα δὲ καὶ*] Here follow three symmetrical triplets, first arranged in their proper order by Bentley. It would perhaps be wrong to call them antistrophical, for the ring-dance did not easily lend itself to the movements of strophe and antistrophe.

967. *ὡς ἐπ' ἔργον ὀδικόν*] The manuscript and common reading *ὥσπερ ἔργον αὐτὸ καινὸν* satisfies neither the sense nor the metre; nor am I sure that Hermann's *οἷσπερ ἔργον, αὐτίκα*, or Dindorf's *ὥσπερ ἔργον αὐτίκα*, is an improvement in either particular. The Scholiast's comment is *ἐπειδὴ μέλλουσιν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν ὥδην*, and the emendation that I have made gives the right sense and the right metre; though it is too prosaic to be introduced into the text without brackets. The meaning is, *But we must needs stay the graceful movement of the prettily circling dance, in preparation for the business of the odes.* *σῆσαι βάσιν* is *sistere gradum*, to stop the movement. Yet strange to say the Commentators generally have taken it to mean the reverse. Kuster explains it "rhythmicè et in numerum terram pedibus pulsare," and Fritzsche "cito te oportet primum in orbem saltare itaque novam praeeparare choream."

969. *πρόβαινε ποσὶ*] They are no longer to move in a circle. They are to move forward, in a solemn and stately measure (the Tragic *διπλῇ*) befitting a religious

ἐν ἱερῷ γυναικὰ μ' οὔσαν ἄνδρας, οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονεῖ.

965

ἀλλὰ χρῆν,

[ὥς ἐπ' ἔργον φθικόν,]

πρῶτον εὐκύκλου χορείας εὐφῶ στήσαι βάσιν.

πρόβαινε ποσὶ τὸν Εὐλύραν

[στρ.

μέλπουσα καὶ τὴν τοξοφόρον

970

Ἄρτεμιν ἄνασσαν ἀγνήν.

χαῖρ' ὦ Ἐκάεργε,

ὅπαζε δὲ νίκην·

Ἦραν δὲ τὴν τελείαν

strophe and antistrophe. Three deities are invoked in each hymn. In the strophe ὁ Πύθιος Εὐλύρας Ἀπόλλων (Eur. Alc. 571), Ἄρτεμις, and Ἦρα τελεία are proposed as the objects of prayer.

973. Ἦραν τελείαν] Ἦρα τελεία καὶ Ζεὺς τέλειος ἐτιμῶντο ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ὡς πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν γάμων. τέλος δὲ ὁ γάμος. διὰ καὶ προτέλεια ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ θυσία ἡ πρὸ τῶν γάμων γινομένη.—Scholiast. See Ruhnken's Timaeus, s.v. προτέλεια. Τελείους τοὺς γεγαμηκότας καλοῦσι.—Photius. And so Hesychius, Pollux, and others. For the Greeks did not consider an unmarried man τέλειος, complete and fulfilled in his manhood, or an unmarried woman τελεία. The Hindu religious books carried it further: "he only is a perfect man who consists of three persons united: himself, his wife, and his offspring." Manu. ix. 45. And though Ἦρα τελεία is commonly translated "Hera, the Goddess of marriage," as if it were merely the equivalent of *Juno pronuba*, yet in reality the name strictly means "the matron Hera," Ἦρα τελεία, Ζηνὸς εὐναία δάμαρ (Aesch. Fragm. Inc.

89, Wagner). Ζεὺς τέλειος and Ἦρα τελεία are the *paterfamilias* and *materfamilias* (Plautus, *Amphitryon* II. ii. 201) of Olympus, and all earthly nuptials derived their sanctity from that *primaeval* and heavenly union, which was emphatically styled the *ἱερὸς γάμος*. Hence to dishonour and bring to nought the marriage tie, is to dishonour and bring to nought those mutual pledges of Zeus and Hera (Ἦρας τελείας καὶ Διὸς πιστώματα, Eumenides 205) to which all human marriages owed their significance. Hence too the terrible irony with which Clytaemnestra, punning on the name, invokes Ζεὺς τέλειος to fulfil her prayers (τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει, Agam. 946) for the murder of her husband. The very hymenaeal song, heard at every earthly wedding, was a mere echo of that which had erst been sung at the divine nuptials of Zeus and Hera. See Birds 1731-1735; Theocritus xvii. 131-134. The dances in which Ἦρα τελεία specially loved to disport herself were, we may suppose, those which were the regular accompaniment of a marriage festivity (see the

μέλψωμεν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς,
 ἢ πᾶσι τοῖς χοροῖσιν ἐμπαίξει τε καὶ
 κλῆδας γάμου φυλάττει.
 Ἑρμῆν τε Νόμιον ἄντομαι
 καὶ Πᾶνα καὶ Νύμφας φίλας
 ἐπιγελάσαι προθύμως

975

[ἀντ.]

note on Peace 1317), though indeed the sacred chorus of dance and song was the bond of union between heaven and earth. The Gods loved and joined in it, above: men loved and joined in it, below. No Goddess was too great, or too dignified, to take part in that great choral music of sky, and earth, and sea. Here it is Hera who joins in the chorus; below (1136) it is Athene who is φιλόχορος; in the Lysistrata (1315) it is Artemis who leads the dance, ἀγνὰ χοραγὸς εὐπρεπής.

976. κλῆδας γάμου φυλάττει] *Keeps the keys of wedlock.* The expression "to hold the keys" of a thing, in the sense of having control over it, is as common in Greek classical literature as it is in Holy Scripture. See Pindar, Pyth. viii. 5, and Eur. Hipp. 538-541 where Love is described as holding the keys of the bride-chambers of Aphrodite. The words "at her girdle" in my translation are

probably derived from Tennyson's couplet about England,

She moving, at her girdle clash
 The golden keys of East and West,

a couplet which, though first printed by its author in 1889, long after the date of my translation, and introduced by him somewhat irrelevantly into his lines To the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, had been familiar to me for nearly forty years before from its occurrence, without the author's name, in the introductory chapter of Henry Lushington's "A Great Country's little Wars," published in 1844.

977. Ἑρμῆν, Πᾶνα, Νύμφας] These are the three Powers invoked in the antistrophe. Pan, himself the ποιμενικός θεός, the God of shepherds and of sheep-folds, was also the recognized associate and leader of the Nymphs. The Homeric Hymn in his honour describes him as

αἰγυπόδην, δικέρωτα, φιλόκροτον, ὅστ' ἀνὰ πίσῃ
 δεινὸν ἔχεντ' ἄμυνδ' φοιτᾷ χοροθήσει Νύμφαις.

And in the Anthology (Scolium 8) he is addressed as ὄρχηστὰ, Βρομίαις ὁπαδὲ Νύμφαις. Pan and the Nymphs were the rustic deities of the country folk. It would be easy to multiply examples, but perhaps the Pastorals of Longus

afford the best instance of the extent to which their conjoint worship permeated the entire rural life of the Greeks. In that love-story Pan and the Nymphs are everywhere. To them the rustics sacrifice and pray; by them they swear; of

ταῖς ἡμετέραισι
 χαρέντα χορείαις.
 ἔξαιρε δὴ προθύμως
 διπλὴν χάριν χορείας.
 παίσωμεν ᾧ γυναῖκες οἶάπερ νόμος,
 πάντως δὲ νηστεύωμεν.

980

them they dream; their help in peril they invoke. ὦ Νύμφαι καὶ Πᾶν, exclaims Daphnis in surprise and delight, when he sees Chloe returning to her home. The pair take pleasure in decorating the grotto and fountain of the Nymphs, and the statue of Pan beside the fir-tree; to that grotto and statue they run, so soon as the advent of spring releases them from their long confinement indoors; and finally when the lovers marry, they settle down amongst their flocks and herds, θεοὺς σέβοντες, Νύμφας, καὶ Πᾶνα, καὶ Ἑρώτα. And Hermes νόμιος, the pastoral deity of Arcady, was hardly less closely associated with the Nymphs. In Homer's *Odyssey* xiv. 435 the swineherd Eumaeus dedicates a seventh part of the meat Νύμφησι καὶ Ἑρμῇ, on which Eustathius remarks, δωρεῖται μοῖραν ὁ Εὐμαιος, Νύμφαις μὲν, ἵνα γῆθεν ἀναδιδόειν τροφὰς τοῖς ζώοις, ὡς ἐπιστατοῦσαι κρήναις, καὶ ἄλλεσι, καὶ ποταμοῖς Ἑρμῇ δὲ, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ Νομίῳ καὶ αὐξητικῷ τῶν θρεμμάτων. And on the present passage the Scholiast says of Hermes, ἔφορος γὰρ τῶν θρεμμάτων ὁ θεός. And indeed Hermes was himself the father of Pan. In the Hymn to which reference has already been made, we are told that, at the birth of Pan, his mother fled affrighted from her grotesque and misshapen offspring, but Hermes took

him up and presented him to the assembled gods. However, in Lucian's *Twenty-second Dialogue of the Gods*, Hermes is thoroughly ashamed of the relationship, and says to his ungainly son, "When you and I are alone, we will be good friends, but πατέρα ὄρα μὴ καλέσῃς με, ἀκούοντός γε τινός." Hermes is far the principal personage in this invocation, a fact which perhaps accounts for the use of the singular χαρέντα just below; but the Nymphs naturally attracted the greatest affection, and hence the epithet applied to them, here and elsewhere, Νύμφαι φίλαι, "the dear Nymphs."

982. διπλὴν] Ὀρχήσεως εἶδος ἢ κρούματος.—Hesychius. And Pollux iv. segm. 105 includes it amongst the τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα. It was obviously a stately religious dance, but of its character we know nothing. As to χάριν χορείας, see the note on 959 supra.

984. πάντως δὲ νηστεύωμεν] *But whatever we do, let us keep the fast.* The manuscript reading νηστεύωμεν δὲ πάντως is unmetrical; and modern editors adopt Bentley's suggestion νηστεύομεν δὲ πάντως. But such a bald statement of fact would be quite out of place in this little exhortation; and by a mere transposition of the words, without the change of a letter, we not only preserve the sense

ἀλλ' εἴ' ἐπ' ἄλλ' ἀνάστρεφ' εὐρύθμῳ ποδί,
 τόρενε πᾶσαν ῥῶδην·
 ἡγοῦ δέ γ' ῥῶδης αὐτὸς,
 σὺ κισσοφόρε Βάκχειε
 δέσποτ'· ἐγὼ δὲ κώμοις
 σὲ φιλοχόροισι μέλψω.

985

Εὔιον ὦ Διὸς τε
 Βρόμει καὶ Σεμέλῃ παῖ,
 χοροῖς τερπόμενος
 κατ' ὄρεα νυμφᾶν ἑρατοῖς ἐν ὕμνοις,

[στρ. 990

and the metre, but also restore πάντως to its usual position at the head of the sentence; see Knights 232, 799; Wasps 603; Peace 1194; Birds 935; supra 851, infra 1012; Eccl. 704; Plutus 273.

985. ἐπ' ἄλλ' ἀνάστρεφ'] The Coryphaeus is exhorting the Chorus to turn to another strain; just as the Coryphaeus in the Frogs does in lines 382, 383, and 396, 397 of that Play. For now the διπλῇ which superseded the ring-dance is itself to be superseded; and the dancers are to enter upon a third system of choral evolutions. Now they are to sing of Bacchus and his train of attendant Nymphs, sweeping with cries of religious ecstasy along the hills and glades of his own Cithaeron. Those hills and glades had witnessed the portentous events which form the groundwork of the Bacchae of Euripides; the frenzy of the Theban women, and the tragic death of Pentheus. But it is not of events like these that the worshippers of the Twain are thinking. In *their* song Cithaeron is echoing back nothing

but the joyous cries of religious exaltation. From the direction τόρενε πᾶσαν ῥῶδην, *shrill every song*, we may possibly infer that this Bacchic hymn in some way imitated the shrill cries of the enthusiastic Bacchanals.

986. τόρενε] Τορῶς καὶ τρανῶς λέγε τὴν ῥῶδην.—Scholiast. In the following line I have substituted ῥῶδης for the unmetrical and unmeaning ὦδ' of the MSS. and editions. Βάκχειε is an adjective, agreeing with δέσποτα (cf. Frogs 1259). The proper name (in Aristophanes) is Βάκχιος.

990. Εὔιον] The great dancing-song concludes with a short strophe and antistrophe in honour of Dionysus. The Chorus appear to break into the exhortation of the Coryphaeus, explaining the σὲ in the preceding line by a triumphant cry of Εὔιον. Διὸς τε is Fritzsche's correction for Διόνυσε. The καὶ before the Mother's name implies that the Father's name has already been mentioned; and the alteration brings the first line of the strophe into accord with the first line of the antistrophe.

ὦ Εὐί' Εὐί' εὐοῖ
ὦ Εὐί' ἀναχορεύων.

ἀμφὶ δὲ σοὶ κτυπεῖται [ἀντ. 995
Κιθαιρώνιος ἡχῶ,
μελάμφυλλά τ' ὄρη
δάσκια πετρώδεις τε νάπαι βρέμονται·
κύκλω δὲ περὶ σὲ κισσὸς
εὐπέταλος ἔλικι θάλλει. 1000

ΣΚ. ἐνταῦτα νῦν οἰμῶξι πρὸς τὴν αἰτρίαν.

993. *νυμφᾶν ἐρατοῖς ἐν ὕμνοις*] *Amidst* (that is, *accompanied by*) *the pleasant hymnings of the Nymphs*. For the Nymphs, as has already been observed, had become mere satellites, moving in the train of Dionysus. See the note on 947 supra.

997. *ὄρη δάσκια*] The same expression was afterwards used by Euripides in *Bacchae* 218. And indeed the whole of that Play forms the best illustration of these little Bacchic odes.

999. *κισσός*] It is possible that a hymn to Dionysus was really a part of the Thesmophorian worship; but of course

such a hymn is more especially appropriate to the divine patron of the drama at the Dionysian festivals. And the epithet *κισσοφόρε* in the prelude can hardly have been used, and the reference here to the ivy's clinging tendril can hardly have been made, without the thought that if the Play were successful, the Poet himself would become *κισσοφόρος*, and be crowned with the ivy's clinging tendril before the audience in the theatre. And hence, long afterwards, Antipater of Thessalonica (25) said, even of the Poet's written Plays,

βίβλοι Ἀριστοφάνευσ, θεῖος πόνος, αἶσιν Ἀχαρνέδς
κισσὸς ἐπὶ χλοερὴν πουλὺς ἔσεισε κόμην.

1001. *ἐνταῦτα κ.τ.λ.*] For *ἐνταῦθα νῦν οἰμῶξε πρὸς τὴν αἰθρίαν*. Cf. *Plutus* 1129. The Scythian, now represented by a Professional Actor, brings out Mnesilochus tied to the plank, and it is important to bear in mind that he remains in that ignominious position (in the pillory as it were) all the time that he

is acting the part of Andromeda and down to line 1208 infra. On the words *πρὸς τὴν αἰτρίαν* the Scholiast says, *ἀντὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν αἰθρίαν*. *βαρβαρίζει δὲ ὁ τοξότης*. He speaks a sort of broken Greek, and we are not to look for anything (from a grammatical point of view) rational or consistent in his

MN. ὦ τοξόθ' ἱκετεύω σε. ΣΚ. μή μ' ἱκετεύσι σύ.

MN. χάλασον τὸν ἥλον. ΣΚ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δρᾶσ' ἐγώ.

MN. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, μᾶλλον ἐπικρούεις σύ γε.

ΣΚ. ἔτι μᾶλλο βούλεις; MN. ἀτταταῖ ἱατταταῖ 1005

κακῶς ἀπόλοιο. ΣΚ. σίγα κακοδαίμων γέρον.

πέρ', ἐγὼ 'ξενίγκι πορμός, ἵνα πυλάξῃ σοι.

MN. ταυτὶ τὰ βέλτιστ' ἀπολέλαυκ' Εὐριπίδου.

ἔα· θεοὶ, Ζεῦ σῶτερ, εἰσὶν ἐλπίδες.

ἀνὴρ ἔοικεν οὐ προδώσειν, ἀλλὰ μοι 1010

jargon. In the lines immediately following we have *ἱκετεύσι* for *ἱκετεύσης*, *δρᾶσ'* for *δρῶ*, *βούλεις* for *βούλει* and the like. And he is as destitute of aspirates as a London cockney.

1003. *ταῦτα δρᾶσ'*] Ἀντὶ τοῦ δρῶ. τοῦτο δὲ εἰπὼν, πλέον αὐτὸν ἐπισφίγγει.—Scholiast. The ἥλος was evidently a peg which, as it was turned this way or that, would tighten or relax the prisoner's bonds. The Scythian, besought to give it the relaxing twist, deliberately gives it the other.

1007. *πέρ' κ.τ.λ.*] Φέρε, ἐγὼ ἐξενέγκω φορμὸν, ἵνα φυλάξω σε. It has been observed that the Scythian occasionally, though perhaps not invariably, terminates all the persons of the singular with an *iota*. We find it in the first person here, in 1104 *infra* *κἀγὼ λέγι*, *I say so too*, &c.; in the second, *infra* 1102 *τί λέγι*; for *τί λέγεις*; and in the third, in 1176 *infra* *κῶμο τίς ἀνεγειρὶ*, &c. The Scythian now brings out his mat, and settles himself comfortably down beside his prisoner.

1011. *Περσεύς*] Ἀντὶ τοῦ ὡς Περσεύς.—Scholiast. Euripides shows himself for

a moment disguised as Perseus in the Play, with his winged sandals, and the Gorgon's head. His appearance in that costume is a sign that he is coming as Perseus to rescue Mnesilochus as Andromeda, a character which the latter accordingly sets himself at once to assume. The Palamede and the Helen have proved unsuccessful, and the third Play to be travestied is the famous Andromeda, which, the Scholiast informs us, was put on the stage at the same time as the Helen, *συνδεδιδασκται τῇ Ἑλένῃ*.

1014. *παρέπτατο*] *Else he would not have flown by*: "alioqui enim non praetervolasset."—Kuster. The allusion is to the *πτερόεντα πέδιλα* with which Perseus came flying through the air. Doubtless in the Tragedy he entered flying by some special machinery, which is probably caricatured in the Comedy. But he does not enter yet, and Mnesilochus commences by adopting to his own melancholy position the Lamentation which in the Tragedy Andromeda sang before the entry of Perseus. The next seven lines from *φίλοι παρθένοι τοι εἰσεῖν* are commonly given to Euripides, and are so

σημεῖον ὑπεδήλωσε Περσεὺς ἐκδραμῶν,
 ὅτι δεῖ με γίγνεσθ' Ἀνδρομέδαν· πάντως δέ μοι
 τὰ δέσμ' ὑπάρχει. δῆλον οὖν ἔτ' ἔσθ' ὅτι
 ἤξει με σώσων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν παρέπτατο.

(ὡς Ἀνδρομέδα)

φίλοι παρθένοι φίλοι,
 πῶς ἂν ἀπέλθοιμι, καὶ
 τὸν Σκύθην λάθοιμι;
 κλύεις, ᾧ προσάδουσα ταῖς ἐν ἄντροις,

1015

given in my translation: but although this arrangement may add to the liveliness of the scene, I cannot but acquiesce in the view of Tyrwhitt and Elmsley that Euripides does not enter as Perseus until 1098 *infra*, and that the entire Lamentation from 1015 to 1055 is delivered by Mnesilochus in the character of Andromeda, in accordance with the original transcript of the Ravenna MS. It is most unlikely that Euripides, as Perseus, should have appropriated part of the Lament of Andromeda which was sung, in the Play, before the appearance of Perseus; the ἀπέλθοιμι in line 1016 can be uttered by Mnesilochus only; the term *γυνῆκα* in line 1021 would be quite inapplicable to the παρθένος Andromeda; whilst Mnesilochus would naturally commence the part of Andromeda, just as he did the part of Helen, before the entrance of Euripides.

1015. φίλοι παρθένοι] Παρὰ τὰ ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας Εὐριπίδου “φίλοι παρθένοι, φίλοι μοι.”—Scholiast. In the original the παρθένοι φίλοι are the Court damsels who form the sympathizing Chorus of the Play.

1018. κλύεις κ.τ.λ.] Πάλιν ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας. πρὸς τὴν Ἠχὴ Ἀνδρομέδα λέγει “προσαῖδουσαι τὰς” (*lege προσάδουσα ταῖς*) “ἐν ἄντροις ἀπόπανσον ἔασον, Ἀχοί, με σὺν φίλαις γόου πόθον λαβεῖν.” διὰ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἀποσπάσματα ἀσύνδετον τὸ ὅλον γίνεται.—Scholiast. Andromeda pauses after the word λάθοιμι (or whatever was the corresponding word in the original) and hears her last few syllables echoed back from the cavernous rocks around her. The MSS., like the Scholiast, read *προσαῖδουσαι τὰς*, and very wild conjectures, ᾧ πρὸς Αἰδοῦς σέ, ᾧ προσανδῶ σέ, have been introduced into the text, but Elmsley's emendation ᾧ προσάδουσα seems certain. The use of a participle after κλύεις ᾧ is quite in conformity with Euripidean phraseology; κλύεις, ᾧ τεκοῦσα τόνδε μᾶτερ; Phoenissae 298, κλύεις, ᾧ κατ' αὐλὰν ἀλαίων; Id. 1536. And compare such passages as ἐλθ', ᾧ διὰ ξουθῶν γενύων ἐλελιζομένα Helen 1111. The ταῖς may possibly refer to the Nymphs, but more probably to persons speaking, like Andromeda herself, at the entrance of the caverns hollowed out by the surge. As to Echo dwelling in the rocks and caves

κατάνευσον, ἔασον ὥς
τὴν γυναῖκά μ' ἔλθειν.
ἄνοικτος ὅς μ' ἔδησε τὸν
πολυπονώτατον βροτῶν
μόλις δὲ γραῖαν ἀποφυγῶν
σαπρὰν, ἀπωλόμην ὅμως.
ὅδε γὰρ ὁ Σκύθης φύλαξ

1020

1025

Fritzsche cites Ovid, Met. iii. 394; Aesch. Pers. 393; Eur. Hec. 1110.

1021. ὥς τὴν γυναῖκα] "Andromeda dixerat forte τὴν μητέρα" (but see the Scholiast quoted in the preceding note); "Mnesilochus τὴν γυναῖκα visere cupit: et mox, v. 1206, Euripides eum demittit ὥς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδί' οἶκαδε."—Tyrwhitt. Mnesilochus everywhere, in a ludicrous manner, interweaves his own personal troubles into the Lament of Andromeda.

1022. ἄνοικτος κ.τ.λ.] Παρὰ τὰ τοῦ Χοροῦ ἐν Ἀνδρομέδᾳ "ἄνοικτος ὅς τεκῶν σε τὴν πολυπονωτάτην βροτῶν μεθήκεν Ἄδᾳ πατρὸς ὑπερβαίνειν."—Scholiast. In the Tragedy, as we saw in the note on 1015, Andromeda calls on Echo to cease from babbling, and allow her to continue her Lament without interruption. But in the present parody Mnesilochus calls upon her to assist him in escaping from the custody of the Scythian. However Echo makes no response, and Mnesilochus settles down into an uninterrupted Lament. The expression πολυπονωτάτην βροτῶν is also found, as Fritzsche observes, in Hec. 721 (where again it is addressed by the Chorus to the heroine of the Play), and the same Commentator cites many other instances of the use of the

epithet by the Tragedians. Some recent editors have, without any authority, altered the word into the far less appropriate πολυστονωτάτην, apparently for the sole purpose of making the line iambic, not observing that in this part of the Lament there is a constant intermingling of iambic and trochaic lines. Indeed this line corresponds in every syllable to ὅδε γὰρ ὁ Σκύθης φύλαξ, three lines below.

1024. γραῖαν] Τὴν τηρήσασαν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις.—Scholiast. He repays Critylla's abuse by calling her "a rotten old woman." The epithet σαπρὰ is merely an unpleasant synonym for "old." Enger cites Phrynichus 354 and Photius, s. v. σαπρὸν οὐ τὸ μοχθηρὸν καὶ φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ παλαιόν. It is applied to an old Hag in Eccl. 884, 926, and 1098, and Lys. 378.

1027. ἐφέστηκ'] *Stands guard over me.* The use of the verbs ἐφέστηκεν and ἐκρέμασεν, without any conjunction, is an example of the ἀσύνδετον mentioned in the Scholium on 1018.

1030. ὁρᾷς; . . . νεανίδων] Πάλιν ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας.—Scholiast. Andromeda would say, "Not with choral dances, nor by maidens of my own age, am I escorted to the house of my bridegroom." But

πάλαι ἐφέστηκ', ὅλοδν ἄφιλον
 ἐκρέμασεν κόραξι δεῖπνον.
 ὄρα's ; οὐ χοροῖσιν, οὐδ' ὑφ'
 ἡλίκων νεανίδων [κμη-
 ῶ' φέστηκ'] ἔχουσα ψῆφον,
 ἀλλ' ἐν πυκνοῖς δεσμοῖσιν ἐμ-
 πεπλεγμένη κῆτει βορά

1030

Mnesilochus, for the maiden's joy, substitutes the joy of an old Athenian dicast, "*am I standing by the verdict-box with my vote in my hand.*" κάπισταιήν ἐπὶ τοῖς κημοῖς Ψηφίζομένων ὁ τελευταῖος is the prayer of Philocleon in Wasps 754. Though the words in the text κμηῶ' φέστηκ' ἔχουσα ψῆφον cannot, for metrical reasons, be the actual words employed by Aristophanes, yet they undoubtedly express his meaning. The MSS. have ψῆφον κμηὸν ἔστηκ' ἔχουσ', which is mere nonsense. Some omit ψῆφον, but of course it is the ψῆφος, and not the κμηὸς (the funnel through which the ψῆφος was dropped into the verdict-box, see the note on Wasps 99), which the dicast would be holding in his hand. ψῆφων κμηὸν, the prevailing reading in the printed editions, is open to the same objection as well as to others. The dicast would be standing beside the κμηὸς, and holding the ψῆφος. It might be permissible to omit κμηὸς, which would then be understood. The ejaculation ὄρα's ; if not *extra metrum* is *extra metri leges*.

1033. κῆτει βορά] Bergler refers to the Scholiast on Birds 348, where the words ἐκθεῖναι κῆτει φορβάν are cited from the Andromeda of Euripides, possibly from the very Lament which Aristophanes is

here adapting to his own purposes. We have already heard of Glaucetes in Peace 1008 as a glutton and eager devourer of fish ; ὀψοφάγος καὶ γαστρίμαργος ὁ Γλαυκέτης, ὡς ἐν Εἰρήνῃ δηλοῦται, says the Scholiast here. And Kuster refers to the lines from the Περιαλγῆς of Plato Comicus, preserved by the Scholiast on Clouds 109,

ὦ θεεῖ Μόρυχε, νῦν γὰρ εὐδαίμων ἔφες,
 καὶ Γλαυκέτης ἡ ψῆττα, καὶ Λεωγόρας,
 οἳ ζῆτε τερπνῶς, οὐδὲν ἐνθυμούμενοι.

Meineke (Fragm. Com. ii. 652) imagines that the only reason for this nickname of Glaucetes was because the ψῆττα (*turbot*) was his favourite food ; but no doubt the real reason was that the ψῆττα was itself a voracious devourer of small fish, crustacea, and mollusca. See Yarrell's British Fishes, ii. 327. And that it was considered by the ancients a ravenous fish may be inferred from Lucian's Piscator 49. There Lucian (under the name of Parrhesiades), angling for the pseudo-philosophers with a bait of figs and gold, exclaims, Ἰδοῦ· τίς ἄλλος οὗτος ὁ πλατὺς, ὥσπερ ἡμίτομος ἰχθύς (Lysistrata 115, 116) προσέρχεται ; ψῆττά τις κεχηνῶς ἐς τὸ ἀγκιστρον κατέπιεν· ἔχεται ἀνασπασθῶ.

Γλαυκέτῃ πρόκειμαι.

γαμηλίῳ μὲν οὐ ξὺν

παιῶνι, δεσμίῳ δέ,

1035

γοᾶσθέ μ', ὦ γυναῖκες,—ὡς

μέλεα μὲν πέπονθα μέλεος,

ὦ τάλας ἐγὼ, τάλας,

ἀπὸ δὲ συγγόνων ἄλλ' ἄνομα

πάθεα—φῶτα λιτομέναν, πολυ-

1040

δάκρυτον Ἀίδα γόνον φεύζουσιν

αἶ αἶ αἶ αἶ, ἐ, ἐ,

1034. γαμηλίῳ] Καὶ τοῦτο ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας.
—Scholiast. Andromeda bewails her virgin death, as Polyxena does in the Hecabè, Electra in the Orestes, and Antigone in the Phœnissæ. And many other examples will at once occur to every reader's mind. The term δέσμιος, as "Hotibius" also observes, recalls the fearful spell chanted by the Furies in the Eumenides of Aeschylus 311-328, which was δέσμιος φρενῶν, ἀφόρμκτος, αὐτὸνὰ βροτοῖς. But here of course the immediate allusion is to the prisoner's bonds mentioned four lines above.

1039. ἀπὸ δὲ συγγόνων] Καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας.—Scholiast. Andromeda has two causes for lamentation. It is bitter, in any case, to be exposed to the sea-monster; but still more bitter to suffer this calamity at the hands of her own kith and kin. These last-mentioned sufferings are different to the first (ἄλλα), and contrary to all moral law (ἄνομα). With *her* the reference is to Cepheus and her own family; Mnesilochus probably intends it to be understood of his κηδεστής Euripides, though the word is

not apt for that purpose.

1040. φῶτα λιτομέναν] *Supplicating the man*. What follows seems to show that he is referring to Euripides, and not, as many have thought, to the Scythian. The Scholium says δεομένη τοῦ βαρβάρου, that is, the Scythian. It proceeds, προεῖπε δὲ "γοᾶσθέ μ', ὦ γυναῖκες." The latter observation is intended to account for the accusative; γοᾶσθέ με λιτομέναν. And this is certainly right, the intervening words from ὡς μέλεα τὸ ἄνομα πάθεα being parenthetical. The Scholium continues, γρ. καὶ φῶτα ἀντομένα· καὶ τοῦτο ἔχει νοῦν πρὸς τὰ ἐξῆς "ὅς ἔμ' ἀπεξίγρησε πρῶτον." This alternative construction has of course no special connexion with the reading ἀντομέναν, and seems to be, with λιτομέναν, the true construction.

1041. φεύζουσιν] *Bewailing*: cf. Aesch. Ag. 1279 τί τοῦτ' ἔφενξας; where Bp. Blomfield cites from Eustathius on Il. xxii. 447 οἰμώζειν, τὸ οἶμοι λέγειν, καὶ φεύζειν, τὸ φεῦ λέγειν. I have substituted φεύζουσιν for the φεύγουσαν of the MSS. and the older editions. Musgrave (on Eur. Or. 1394) suggested φλέγουσαν, com-

ὃς ἔμ' ἀπεξύρῃσεν πρῶτον,
 ὃς ἐμὲ κροκόεν εἴτ' ἐνέδυσεν,
 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσδ', ἐς τόδ' ἀνέπεμψεν 1045
 ἱερὸν, ἔνθα γυναῖκες.
 ἰὼ μοι μοίρας ἄτεγκτε δαίμων·
 ὦ κατάρατος ἐγὼ.
 τίς ἐμὸν οὐκ ἐπόψεται
 πάθος ἀμέγαρτον ἐπὶ κακῶν παρουσίᾳ;
 εἶθε με πυρφόρος αἰθέρος ἀστήρ 1050

paring Bacchylides (Stobaeus 55. 3) παιδικοί θ' ὕμνοι φλέγονται, and Virgil's "incendentem luctus," Aen. ix. 500. And this suggestion is adopted by most recent editors. But it is not altogether satisfactory: the passages cited are not entirely in point, and if so wide a departure from the MS. reading were necessary, I should prefer to borrow χέουσιν from the parallel passage in Eur. Suppl. 773 (to which Fritzsche refers) "Ἄδου δὲ μολπὰς ἐκχέω δακρυρρόους.

1044. κροκόεν ἐνέδυσεν] Ἀντὶ τοῦ κροκωτὸν ἀμφέδυσεν.—Scholiast. With κροκόεν we must understand ἐνδυμα.

1046. ἔνθα γυναῖκες] No translation can preserve the inimitable brevity of the original. And the proposal of G. Burges to omit these two words as a gloss, well deserved the Ciceronian invective of Fritzsche, "Quousque tandem abutere patientiâ nostrâ, Burgesi? Quem ad finem sese effrenata tua jactabit audacia? Nugari te non vides? errare te, falli, ruere non sentis? Ah, Corydon, Corydon—!" We cannot doubt, though the Scholiast gives us no assistance on this

point, that the rest of the Lament is more or less parodied from the Andromeda. The language is quite Euripidean. The words, ὦ κατάρατος ἐγὼ, occur also, as Fritzsche observes, in line 839 of the Andromache. On the compound ἀνέπεμψεν see the note on 585 supra.

1049. ἀμέγαρτον] Which none can envy. Bergler refers to Eur. Hec. 193 ἀμέγαρτα κακῶν, and from 227 of the same Play Fritzsche cites the words παρουσίαν κακῶν.

1050. πυρφόρος αἰθέρος ἀστήρ] The fire-flashing meteor of Ether, that is, the lightning-flash. In Soph. Phil. 1198 Zeus is called πυρφόρος ἀστεροπητῆς, and Herwerden would so read here; but the quaintness of the expression in the text is no argument against its authenticity. On βάρβαρον in the following line the Scholiast says, διχῶς τὸν ἄθλιον, and Brunck reads δύσμορον here. And it is probable that, in the Tragedy, Andromeda did in truth call upon the lightning to consume herself τὴν δύσμορον. But in the parody, as Fritzsche was the first to point out, Mnesilochus, while

τὸν βάρβαρον ἐξολέσειεν.
οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀθανάταν φλόγα λεύσσειν
ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ φίλον, ὥς ἐκρεμάσθην,
λαϊμότμητ' ἄχῃ δαιμόνων, αἰόλαν
νέκυσιν ἔπι πορείαν.

1055

adopting the language of Andromeda, is careful at the last moment to divert the curse from his own head to that of his gaoler. Cf. supra 349. For a similar transfer of a curse, see Catullus, xlv. 20, where the poet acknowledges his fault

in having listened to Sextius, promises never to do it again, and prays, that, if he does, a curse may fall *non mi sed ipsi Sextio*. In order to preserve the point in the translation, another line should be added:

O how they will chide me, and gibe, and deride me !
And O that the flashing, and roaring, and dashing
Red bolt of the thunder might smite me in sunder
The Scythian who lingers beside me !

where the "me" in the third line is used as in the "Knock me at the gate" of Shakespeare, or "Saddle me the ass" of the Book of Kings. In Greek it should be not *με* but *μοι*.

1054. ἄχῃ . . . πορείαν] If these words are to be amenable to any laws of grammar, they must be treated as, what grammarians call "accusatives in apposition to an entire sentence, in order to express an opinion or judgment upon the contents of that sentence." The phrases are certainly Euripidean, and are, in all probability, taken from the Andromeda itself, where they may have been either "accusatives in apposition," or little detached ejaculatory sentences such as are found in almost every Greek Tragedy, where two mourners are mingling their lamentations together. To take one example out of hundreds, the speech of Helen τὰ δ' ἐμὰ κατὰ

μέλαθρα πάθεα, πάθεα, μᾶτερ, οἱ ἴω. (Helen 684) is a mere exclamation, having no grammatical connexion with anything which precedes, or anything which follows. And the expressions "throat-cutting agonies from the Gods" and the "twilight journey close upon the dead" may have been similar ejaculations in the Andromeda. The epithet αἰόλαν is by some translated *speedy*, but the Scholiast explains it by σκοτεινὴν, and the word is so constantly connected with Night (in the sense of *variegated by stars*), αἰόλη νύξ, αἰολόχρως νύξ and the like, that it seems to have itself acquired the signification of "nightly."

1056. ΗΧΩ] The MSS. prefix Εὐριπ. ἡχώ, and the Scholiast says, ὑποκρίνεται Εὐριπίδης τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς Ἥχους. But this, as Tyrwhitt observed, is certainly wrong. Euripides was seen equipped

ΗΧΩ. χαῖρ', ὦ φίλη παῖ· τὸν δὲ πατέρα Κηφέα,
ὅς σ' ἐξέθηκεν, ἀπολέσειαν οἱ θεοί.

MN. σὺ δ' εἰ τίς, ἦτις τοῦμὸν ῥκτειρας πάθος;

ΗΧΩ. Ἦχῶ, λόγων ἀντῳδὸς ἐπικοκκάστρια,

ἥπερ πέρυσιν ἐν τῷδε ταῦτῳ χωρίῳ

1060

as Perseus, supra 1009; and he comes upon the stage in that character, infra 1098. It is impossible that between these two lines he should make his appearance in a woman's dress, infra 1073, 1090. And indeed, had he done so, Mnesilochus would have spoken a few lines after 1097, to give him time to discard the woman's dress and reassume the equipment of Perseus, but no interval whatever is allowed for that purpose. Add to this that in line 1061 Echo speaks of herself as a personage distinct from Euripides; and I think that every reader will be ready to say with Dobree, "non puto Echūs personam egisse Euripidem." And, in truth, I do not believe that Echo appears on the stage at all. The Scythian could hardly have asked *Whence comes that voice?* had he seen an actual woman in conversation with his prisoner, and the latter's allusion to a woman in the immediate neighbourhood seems to be merely a jest at the Scythian's expense. It is very unlikely that in the Andromeda Echo appeared in a bodily form, and here too I believe that she was represented as *vox et praeterea nihil*. It may be taken for granted that the voice was that of the actor who was personating Euripides, just as in the Frogs the Choreutae first sing the Frog-songs behind the scenes, and

then enter as the Mystical Chorus; but that is a very different thing from the statement that Euripides is personating the Echo. The two lines of the present speech were, in the Andromeda, probably spoken by some friend who entered before the entrance of Perseus. The idea of Echo entering into a rational conversation is of course purely Aristophanic.

1059. ἐπικοκκάστρια] *A joker, mocker.* εἰωθῖα γελᾶν, γελάστρια. — Scholiast. Suidas, s. v. ἡχώ. Kuster refers to Eustathius on Od. xiv. 350 τὸ ἐπικοκκάσειν ὕβρει, ὅθεν παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει τὸ αἰοιδὸς ἐπικοκκάστρια. Fritzsche compares the *jocosa imago* of Horace Odes I. xii. 4 and xx. 8.

1060. πέρυσιν] *Last year.* ἐπεὶ πέρυσιν ἐδιδάχθη ἡ Ἀνδρομέδα. — Scholiast. So in the Prologue to the Amphitryo of Plautus (88-92) Mercury says "Jupiter himself will act this Comedy. Why marvel, as if it were something new for Jove to take part in a Play? Why but a year ago, on this very stage, the actors called on Jove, and he entered here to assist them"; doubtless as a *deus ex machina*. As to the bearing which this note of time has on the date of the Thesmophoriazusae, some remarks will be found in the Introduction.

Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ τῇ ξυνηγωνιζόμενῃ.

ἀλλ', ὃ τέκνον, σὲ μὲν τὸ στυγερῆς χρῆ ποιεῖν,

κλαίειν ἑλαινῶς. MN. σὲ δ' ἐπικλαίειν ὕστερον.

HXΩ. ἐμοὶ μελήσει ταῦτά γ'. ἀλλ' ἄρχου λόγων.

MN. ὃ νύξ ἱερὰ

1065

ὥς μακρὸν ἵππευμα διώκεις,

ἀστεροειδέα νῶτα διφρεύουσ'

αἰθέρος ἱερᾶς,

τοῦ σεμνοτάτου δι' Ὀλύμπου.

HXΩ. δι' Ὀλύμπου.

MN. τί ποτ' Ἀνδρομέδα περίαλλα κακῶν

1070

μέρος ἐξέλαχον; HXΩ. μέρος ἐξέλαχον;

MN. θανάτου τλήμων. HXΩ. θανάτου τλήμων.

MN. ἀπολεῖς μ', ὃ γραῦ, στωμυλλομένη.

HXΩ. στωμυλλομένη.

MN. νῆ Δί' ὀχληρά γ' εἰσήρρηκας

1075

1065. ὃ νύξ ἱερὰ.] 'Ο Μνησιλοχος ὡς Ἀνδρομέδα. τοῦ προλόγου Ἀνδρομέδας εἰσβολή.—Scholiast. "Sunt haec ipsissima Euripidis verba, ut vel ex Scholiaste Theocr. ad Idyll. 2 patet, ubi hunc ipsum locum Euripidi tribuit. Ait enim ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ ἄρματος ὀχεῖται ἡ νύξ· Εὐριπίδης· ὃ νύξ ἱερὰ, ὡς μακρὸν ἵππευμα διώκεις, ἀστεροειδέα νῶτα διφρεύουσα. Eundem locum Euripidis expressit Ennius apud Varro-nem, Lib. iv. *De Ling. Lat.* ubi Andromeda Nocti dicit

Quae cava coeli signitinentibus
Conficis bigis.

Sic enim locum hunc emendavit divinus Scaliger, in notis ad Varronem; quem nec locus hic Aristophanis fugerat."—

Kuster. The epithet ἱερὰ is again given to Night in Eur. Ion 85.

1070. τί ποτ' Ἀνδρομέδα] Καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ προλόγου.—Scholiast.

1072. θανάτου τλήμων] The Scholiast says λείπει, μέλλουσα τυχεῖν, meaning, as Matthiae observed, that in the Tragedy the line stood θανάτου, τλήμων, μέλλουσα τυχεῖν. Aristophanes purposely destroys both sense and grammar by appropriating the first two words only. In the next line the Scholiast explains στωμυλλομένη by φλυαροῦσα.

1075. ὀχληρά γ' εἰσήρρηκας] "*Molesta huc intrasti.*"—Kuster. ἴσθ' ὀχληρὸς ὦν δόμοις, as Euripides says in Ach. 460. In Knights 4 εἰσήρρησεν is explained in a gloss by μετὰ φθορᾶς παρεγένετο.

- λίαν. ΗΧΩ. λίαν.
 MN. ὦγάθ', ἔασόν με μονοδηῆσαι,
 καὶ χαριεῖ μοι. παῦσαι. ΗΧΩ. παῦσαι.
 MN. βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας. ΗΧΩ. βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας. 1079
 MN. τί κακόν; ΗΧΩ. τί κακόν; MN. ληρεῖς. ΗΧΩ. ληρεῖς.
 MN. οἴμωζ'. ΗΧΩ. οἴμωζ'. MN. ὁτότυζ'. ΗΧΩ. ὁτότυζ'.
 ΣΚ. οὗτος σί λαλῖς; ΗΧΩ. οὗτος σί λαλῖς;
 ΣΚ. πρυτάνεις καλέσω. ΗΧΩ. πρυτάνεις καλέσω.
 ΣΚ. σί κακόν; ΗΧΩ. σί κακόν; 1085
 ΣΚ. πῶτε τὸ πωνή; ΗΧΩ. πῶτε τὸ πωνή;
 ΣΚ. σὺ λαλῖς; ΗΧΩ. σὺ λαλῖς; ΣΚ. κλαῦσαι. ΗΧΩ. κλαῦσαι.
 ΣΚ. κακκάσκι μοι; ΗΧΩ. κακκάσκι μοι;
 MN. μὰ Δί', ἀλλὰ γυνή πλησίον αὐτῇ.
 ΗΧΩ. πλησίον αὐτῇ. 1090
 ΣΚ. ποῦ 'στ' ἡ μιὰρά; καὶ δὴ πεύγει.
 ποῖ ποῖ πεύγεις; οὐ καιρήσεις.

1077. μονοδηῆσαι] In the Tragedy, Andromeda is mingling her tears with those of her companions, and she says ἔασον, Ἀχοί, με σὺν φίλοις γόου πόθον λαβεῖν. See the note on 1018 supra. In the Comedy she is alone, and says ἔασόν με μονοδηῆσαι. There is much chaff in the Frogs about the monodies of Euripides. In using the masculine ὦγάθ', Mnesilochus seems to be making a little slip, unless indeed he is appealing to the actor as such. For ὦγάθ' cannot be ὦγαθῇ, as the Scholiast thinks (τὸ πλήρες, ὦγαθῇ); and there is no reason to believe that by any colloquialism, or otherwise, ὦγαθῇ could be applied to a female.

1083. σί λαλῖς;] For τί λαλεῖς; The

Scythian suddenly awakes to the fact that his prisoner is carrying on a conversation with somebody. That he does not see the other party to the dialogue seems plain from his questions, *Whence comes that voice?* and *Where is the minx?* See the note on 1056 supra. On λαλῖς the Scholiast remarks χωρὶς τοῦ ε γράφεται· ὁ γὰρ Σκύθης βαρβαρίζει.

1085. σί κακόν;] For τί κακόν; as supra 1080. In the next line the Scholiast rightly explains πῶτε τὸ πωνή; by πόθεν ἢ φωνή; and adds θαυμάζει τὴν ἡχώ.

1089. κακκάσκι μοι;] *Are you mocking me?* There is no doubt about the meaning, but there is considerable doubt about the verb which κακκάσκι represents. The Scholiast thinks it a corruption of κατα-

ΗΧΩ. οὐ καιρήσεις.

ΣΚ. ἔτι γὰρ γρύξεις; ΗΧΩ. ἔτι γὰρ γρύξεις;

1095

ΣΚ. λαβὲ τῇ μιάρᾳ. ΗΧΩ. λαβὲ τῇ μιάρᾳ.

ΣΚ. ἄλλο καὶ κατάρματο γύναικο.

ΕΤ. (ὡς Περσεύς) ὦ θεοὶ τίν' ἐς γῆν βαρβάρων ἀφίγμεθα
ταχεῖ πεδίλῳ; διὰ μέσου γὰρ αἰθέρος

γελᾶς, Bergler of καγχάζεις, Fritzsche of καταχάσκεις.

1094. οὐ καιρήσεις] Ἀντὶ τοῦ, οὐ χαίρησεις.—Scholiast. *You shall not do this with impunity, you shall smart for it.* Fritzsche refers to Knights 235, 828, and Plutus 64; to which passages may be added Acharnians 563, Wasps 186, supra 719, Frogs 843. The old reading was οὐκ αἰρήσεις; which Bothe defends on the ground that the Scythian, being half asleep, forgets that Mnesilochus cannot stir hand or foot, and calls upon him to catch the Echo. "Paene irascor Bothio," observes Fritzsche, "cui 'somnulosus lictor ridicule Mnesilocho cruci adfixo imperare videtur, ut aufugientem Euripidem corripit.' Ego citius Bothium dixerim somniasse, quam lictorem." So, two lines below, the imperative λαβὲ is addressed neither to Mnesilochus, as Bothe supposes, nor yet to any casual passer-by, as Fritzsche suggests. It is a mere formula of self-exhortation, like the reiterated λαβὲ in Eumenides 125, τῇ μιάρᾳ, of course, represents τὴν μιάρᾳ.

1097. γύναικο] The Scholiast says that these words stand for τὴν ἄλλον καὶ κατάρματον γυναῖκα, but they seem rather to be nominatives, *O the chattering and abominable woman.* With this, the Echo-interlude is ended.

1098. ὦ θεοὶ κ.τ.λ.] Euripides now enters as Perseus with his winged sandals ταχεῖ πεδίλῳ, to effect the rescue of the doomed Princess. He is reciting the lines which Perseus spoke, when he first arrived at the rugged coast, whereon Andromeda was awaiting the approach of the sea-monster. ἐστὶ Περσέως (so Fritzsche for εἰς Περσέα) ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας τρία τὰ πρῶτα καὶ λοιπὸν (Enger, with great probability, suggests ἀλλοθεν) ἐπέ- ζευξε τὰ ἐξῆς.—Scholiast. Apparently all the lines come from the Andromeda, but the first three from one place, and the remaining line and a half from another.

1100. τέμνων κέλευθον] The phraseology is thoroughly Euripidean. Kuster compares the first line of the Phoenissae, ὦ τὴν ἐν ἄστροις οὐρανοῦ τέμνων ὁδόν, and the somewhat similar address to the Sun in the Poet's epigram, preserved by Athenaeus ii, 57; and Fritzsche adds τέμνων κέλευθον from Rhesus 423. Kuster also cites the Latin phrase *secare viam*, and the *via secta* of Lucretius v. 273; and with the latter part of the line he compares τιθεῖς πόδα Rhesus 571, ἀβρὸν πόδα τιθεῖσ' Helen 1528, and other passages. The epithet ὑπόπτερον is specially appropriate to Perseus. In the very pleasant narrative of Andromeda's rescue

- τέμνων κέλευθον, πόδα τίθημ' ὑπόπτερον, 1100
 Περσεὺς, πρὸς Ἄργος ναυστολῶν, τὸ Γοργόνος
 κάρα κομίζων. ΣΚ. σί λέγι; τῇ Γόργος πέρι
 τὸ γραμματέο σὺ τῇ κεπαλή; ΕΥ. τὴν Γοργόνος
 ἔγωγε φημί. ΣΚ. Γοργό τοι κἀγὼ λέγι.
 ΕΥ. ἔα· τίν' ὄχθον τόνδ' ὀρῶ καὶ παρθένον 1105

given in the Fourteenth Sea-Dialogue of Lucian, one of the Nereids asks "But how did Perseus get to Libya" (where the Gorgons were)? And Triton answers διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος· ὑπόπτερον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἔθηκεν.

1102. σί λέγι; κ.τ.λ.] Τί λέγεις; τοῦ Γόργου φέρεις τοῦ γραμματέως σὺ τὴν κεφαλὴν; For Fritzsche is undoubtedly right in holding that περί is not the preposition (as the Scholiast and previous Commentators had considered it to be) but is intended to represent φέρεις: cf. supra 1007. ὁ δὲ Γόργος, says the Scholiast, γραμματεὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ βάρβαρος. The latter description is probably derived from Birds 1700, βάρβαροι δ' εἰσὶν γένος Γοργίαι τε καὶ Φίλιπποι. For, in my opinion, by "the writer Gorgos" the Scythian means the eminent rhetorician Gorgias of Leontini, who has already been mentioned in the Wasps and the Birds, and who was probably, at this very moment, a resident at Athens; and possibly a spectator of the present Comedy. In Plato's Symposium, chap. xx. (198 c) there is a similar play of words upon the Gorgon's head, and the head of Gorgias of Leontini. And it may be observed that Gorgias, Periander's brother, who is introduced into Plutarch's "Symposium of the Seven Wise Men"

(§ 17), is more commonly known as Γόργος. See Müller's Dorians I. vi. 8 note.

1104. Γοργό] The word is doubtless used by the Scythian merely as an exclamation of menace or derision, like μορμῶ in Knights 693, Theocr. xv. 40. "Est autem γοργό pro γοργῶ, quod adverbialiter accipio, ut alibi μορμῶ."—Brunck. Fritzsche laughs at this notion, but it is, I may observe, strongly supported by the fact that Γοργῶ, as well as Μορμῶ, was employed, as a sort of bugbear, to frighten children; τοῖς παισὶ προσφέρομεν τὰς ἡδεῖς μύθους εἰς προτροπὴν· εἰς ἀποτροπὴν δὲ τοὺς φοβερούς. ἥ τε γὰρ Δάμια μῦθος ἐστὶ, καὶ ἡ Γοργῶ, καὶ ὁ Ἐφιάλτης, καὶ ἡ Μορμολόκη Strabo i. 2 (vol. i. p. 51, ed. Siebentees).

1105. ἔα· τίν' ὄχθον κ.τ.λ.] Πάλιν ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας. "ἔα τίν' ὄχθον τόνδ' ὀρῶ περίρρυτον Ἀφρῶ θαλάσσης, παρθένου τ' εἰκώ τινα."—Scholiast. To the Scholiast's quotation scholars have added, from other sources, another line and a half εἰκώ τινα Ἐξ αὐτομόρφων λαΐνων τεχνασμάτων Σοφῆς ἄγαλμα χειρός. See Musgrave Eur. Fragm., Porson on Phoenissae 466, Bp. Monk on Alcestis 358. "Verba sunt Persei," says Porson, "Andromeden e longinquo spectantis, quam imaginem esse ex ipso saxo, cui alligata est, sculptam sibi fingit." The words

- θεαῖς ὁμοίαν ναῦν ὅπως ὥρμισμένην ;
 MN. ὦ ξένε, κατοίκτηιρόν με τὴν παναθλίαν,
 λῦσόν με δεσμῶν. ΣΚ. οὐκὶ μὴ λαλήσι σύ ;
 κατάρατο τολμᾶς ἀποθανουμένη λαλᾶς ;
 ΕΥ. ὦ παρθέν' οἰκτεῖρω σὲ κρεμαμένην ὀρών. 1110
 ΣΚ. οὐ παρτέν' ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἀμαρτωλὴ γέρων,
 καὶ κλέπτο καὶ πανοῦργο. ΕΥ. ληρεῖς ὦ Σκύθα.
 αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν Ἀνδρομέδα παῖς Κηφέως.
 ΣΚ. σκέψαι τὸ κύστο· μή τι μικτὸν παίνεται ;
 ΕΥ. φέρε δεῦρό μοι τὴν χεῖρ', ἵν' ἄψωμαι κόρης· 1115
 φέρε, Σκύθ'· ἀνθρώποισι γὰρ νοσήματα
 ἅπασιν ἐστίν· ἐμὲ δὲ καὐτὸν τῆς κόρης
 ταύτης ἔρωσ εἴληφεν. ΣΚ. οὐ ζηλώσι σε·
 ἀτὰρ εἰ τὸ πρωκτὸ δεῦρο περιστραμμένον,

ναῦν ὅπως ὥρμισμένην seem, as Bergler observes, to be borrowed from Herc. Fur. 1094. Whether the answer of Mnesilochus comes from the Andromeda is unknown.

1107. ὦ ξένε] This little prayer is the only contribution which Mnesilochus, who took so large a part in the dialogue of the Helen, makes to the dialogue of the Andromeda. Aristophanes, doubtless for the purpose of avoiding monotony, prefers to rely here upon the farcical barbarisms of the Scythian guard.

1109. κατάρατο κ.τ.λ.] Ἀποθανουμένη τολμᾶς λαλῆσαι.—Scholiast. "Scelestes, audesne tu nugari moriturus?" Fritzsche, after Bergler. Cf. Plutus 454.

1111. οὐ παρτέν' κ.τ.λ.] Οὐ παρθένος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἀμαρτωλὸς γέρων, καὶ κλέπτῃς καὶ πανοῦργος. This and most of the Scythian's barbarisms have been translated into Attic Greek by Bergler, whose

versions I have generally adopted.

1114. τὸ κύστο] For τὸν κύστον. Euripides had described Mnesilochus as a woman. The Scythian, waxing ironical, retorts σκέψαι τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον, and therewith (to use the words of the Scholiast) δεικνυσιν αὐτῷ τὸ αἰδοῖον of Mnesilochus, which of course is τὸ σκύτινον of Clouds 538, and not a γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον at all. κύστο is Scaliger's emendation of the MS. σκύτο, which the Scythian could hardly have used, and which, besides, gives us a spondee in the second place; and the Scythian, however barbarous his phraseology, is expected to conform to the laws of metre. μικτὸν is a barbarism for μικρόν.

1119. ἀτὰρ εἰ κ.τ.λ.] Εἰ μὴ τὸ νῶτον ἦν, φησὶ, πρὸς τῇ σανίδι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐτέτραπτο, οὐκ ἂν σοι ἐφθόνησα ἀπαγαγόντι περαεῖν.—Scholiast. "Indicativo utitur Scythia pro infinitivo."—Enger.

- οὐκ ἐπτόνησά σ' αὐτὸ πυγίξεις ἄγων. 1120
- ΕΥ. τί δ' οὐκ ἔῃς λύσαντά μ' αὐτήν, ὦ Σκύθα,
πεσεῖν ἐς εὐνήν καὶ γαμήλιον λέχος;
- ΣΚ. εἰ σπόδρ' ἐπιτυμεῖς τῇ γέροντο πύγισο,
τῇ σανίδο τρήσας ἐξόπιστο πρῶκτισον.
- ΕΥ. μὰ Δί', ἀλλὰ λύσω δεσμά. ΣΚ. μαστιγῶ σ' ἄρα. 1125
- ΕΥ. καὶ μὴν ποιήσω τοῦτο. ΣΚ. τὸ κεπαλή σ' ἄρα
τὸ ξιπομάκαιραν ἀποκεκόψο τουτοῖ.
- ΕΥ. αἶ αἶ τί δράσω; πρὸς τίνας στρεφθῶ λόγους;
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐνδέξαιτο βάρβαρος φύσις.
σκαιοῖσι γάρ τοι καινὰ προσφέρων σοφὰ 1130
μάτην ἀναλίσκοις ἂν, ἀλλ' ἄλλην τινὰ
τούτῳ πρέπουσαν μηχανὴν προσοιστέον.

1122. πεσεῖν κ.τ.λ.] It is difficult to believe, with Porson at Hec. 1010, that this line is taken from the Andromeda. More probably, if not composed by Aristophanes in the style of Euripides, it was borrowed, like 1130 infra, from some other of the Poet's tragedies. The expression γαμήλιον λέχος is found in Orestes 1050, and has already been employed by Aristophanes in Birds 1758.

1123. εἰ σπόδρ' κ.τ.λ.] That is, εἰ σφόδρα ἐπιθυμεῖς τὸν γέροντα πυγίσαι, τὴν σανίδα τρήσας (*having bored a hole through the plank*) ἐξόπισθε (*from behind*) πρῶκτισον.

1126. τὸ κεπαλή κ.τ.λ.] *I will cut off your head with this cutlass, τὴν κεφαλὴν σου τῇ ξιφομαχαίρᾳ ταύτῃ ἀποκόψω.*

1130. σκαιοῖσι γάρ] This line, as the Scholiast points out, is found in Medea 299,

Σκαιοῖσι μὲν γὰρ καινὰ προσφέρων σοφὰ,
δόξεις ἀχρεῖος, κοῦ σοφός, πεφυκέναι.

And Bergler refers to Athenaeus x. 43, ὁ Σοφοκλῆς φησὶ,

διψῶντι γάρ τοι πάντα προσφέρων σοφὰ,
οὐκ ἂν πλεον τέρψειας ἢ πεινῶν διδούς.

But this is an obvious parody of the passage in the Medea, and cannot be rightly ascribed to Sophocles.

1132. προσοιστέον] He borrows the word προσφέρειν from 1130 supra, but applies it in a slightly different sense; a sense in which he himself employs it in Iph. in Taur. 112. The expression προσφέρειν μηχανὰς τιμὴν is a metaphor, drawn from assailants who are bringing their warlike engines to bear upon a hostile fortification. And therefore in the Clouds (479-81), when Socrates is inquiring into the intellectual character of Strepsiades,

ἦν' αὐτὸν εἰδὼς ὅστις ἐστὶ, μηχανὰς
ἤδη 'πὶ τούτοις πρὸς σὲ καινὰς προσφέρω,

ΣΚ. *μιαρὸς ἀλώπηξ, οἶον ἐπιτήκιζέ μοι.*

MN. *μέμνησο Περσεῦ μ' ὥς καταλείπεις ἀθλίαν.*

ΣΚ. *ἔτι γὰρ σὺ τῇ μάστιγαν ἐπιτυμείς λαβεῖν;*

1135

ΧΟ. *Παλλάδα τὴν φιλόχορον ἔμοι*

δεῦρο καλεῖν νόμος ἐς χορὸν,

παρθένον ἄζυγα κούρην,

1139

ἢ πόλιν ἡμετέραν ἔχει

[στρ. α

καὶ κράτος φανερὸν μόνῃ

κληδοῦχός τε καλεῖται.

Strepsiadēs immediately exclaims in alarm

τί δέ; τειχομαχεῖν μοι διανοεῖ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν;

The engine "befitting" the gross and licentious character of the Scythian is itself so gross and licentious as to cast a dark shadow over the concluding scenes of the Play.

1133. *ἐπιτήκιζε*] *Πιθηκίζειν*, to play the monkey, Wasps 1290. Euripides now leaves the stage. The line which Mnesilochus flings after him, though not actually taken from the Andromeda, is probably a reminiscence of the virgin's address to Perseus as he is going forth to do battle with the monster.

1135. *τῇ μάστιγαν ἐπιτυμείς*] *Τὴν μάστιγα ἐπιτυμείς*.

1136. *Παλλάδα κ.τ.λ.*] Euripides having departed to perfect his new device, Mnesilochus and the Scythian relapse into their former condition. The action is therefore for the moment at a standstill, and the Chorus take the opportunity of singing a little ode, mostly in glyconics and dactyls. It consists of two addresses; the first to Athene, the *Πολιοῦχος* of the City: the

second to the two Thesmophorian Goddesses, Demeter and Persephone. One would have expected these addresses to be antistrophical, but it is certain that they were not intended to be so. The hymn to the Twain is almost entirely dactylic, and is singularly light and airy, even more so, perhaps, than the dactyls in the last song which the Athenian Chorus sing in the closing scene of the *Lysistrata*. The hymn to Athene is more complicated. If we omit the two bacchic dimeters, — — — | — — —, (1143, 1144) it consists of three glyconic triplets, though indeed the first triplet, having always a dactyl for its base, may perhaps be more naturally described as dactylic. The *-χορον* in *φιλόχορον* is merely a long syllable resolved into two short ones. As to the application of this epithet to Pallas, see the note on 973 supra.

1138. *παρθένον*] The late Bp. Wordsworth of Lincoln, in the sixteenth chapter of his "Athens and Attica,"

φάνηθ' ὦ τυράννους
στυγοῦσ' ὥσπερ εἰκός.

1144

δῆμός τοί σε καλεῖ γυναι-
κῶν· ἔχουσα δέ μοι μόλοις
εἰρήνην φιλέορτον.

[ἀντ. α

ἤκετέ τ' εὖφρονες ἴλαοι,
πότνιαι, ἄλσος ἐς ὑμέτερον,
οὐδ' ἄνδράσιν οὐ θέμις εἰσορᾶν
ὄργια σεμνὰ θεαῖν, ἵνα λαμπάσι

[στρ. β

1150

describes in a very felicitous manner the three famous statues of Athene in the Acropolis, and their influence in Hellenic literature, with special reference to Knights 1169-1180. And even in a passage like the present, possibly without any express allusion being intended, the epithets are naturally determined by the same triple presentment of the national goddess. The Παρθένος is the Maiden of the Parthenon: she who τὴν πόλιν ἔχει is the Πολιοῦχος of the Erechtheum; and the Goddess who alone is the manifest strength and bulwark of Athens is the great Athene Promachus, the colossal statue of bronze, the point of whose glittering spear, and the crest of whose burnished helm, became visible to the approaching mariner soon after he had rounded the promontory of Sunium.

1142. κληδοῦχος] *The Keeper of the Keys; the Warder or Chatelaine of Athens.* See Bp. Lowth on Isaiah xxii. 22. We may conclude, from the use of the word καλεῖται, that this was a recognized appellation of the goddess.

1143. τυράννους στυγοῦσ'] This is, very

probably, a mere ordinary democratic compliment on the part of the δῆμος γυναικῶν. Yet there *may* possibly be a reference to the downfall of the Four Hundred, which occurred a few months previously, and produced, Thucydides tells us, an unwonted harmony and good feeling amongst all classes of the citizens. Thuc. viii. 97.

1147. εἰρήνην φιλέορτον] *Festival-loving Peace.* The comedy of the "Peace" forms the best commentary on this epithet.

1148. ἤκετε κ.τ.λ.] This little hymn to Demeter and Persephone, even if its ideas are borrowed from the Thesmophorian service, cannot really belong to the Intermediate Day, the day of Persephone's absence. On the ὄργια σεμνὰ θεαῖν see the note on 947 supra.

1153. ἵνα] Ὅπου.—Scholiast. "Ubi facibus (*inter faces*) ostenditis immortalem faciem" Kuster. Torches were a general accompaniment to the worship of Demeter and Persephone; and their δαδοῦχος was a very important official in the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

φαίνεταιον ἄμβροτον ὄψιν.

μόλετον ἔλθετον, ἀντόμεθ' ὦ

[ἀντ. β 1155

Θεσμοφόρῳ πολυποτνία,

εἰ καὶ πρότερόν ποτ' ἐπηκόω

ἦλθετον, ἔλθετε νῦν, ἀφίκεσθ' ἵκε-

τεύομεν ἐνθάδε χήμιν.

ΕΥ. γυναιῖκες εἰ βούλεσθε τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον 1160

σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι πρὸς ἐμὲ, νυνὶ πάρα,

ἐφ' ᾧ τ' ἀκοῦσαι μηδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μηδαμὰ

κακὸν τὸ λοιπόν. ταῦτ' ἐπικηρυκεύομαι.

ΧΟ. χρεῖα δὲ ποῖα τόνδ' ἐπείσφereis λόγον;

ΕΥ. ὃδ' ἐστίν, οὖν τῇ σανίδι, κηδεστῆς ἐμός. 1165

ἦν οὖν κομίσωμαι τοῦτον, οὐδὲν μοῦ ποτε

1157. ἐπηκόω] *In answer to our prayers.*

1160. ΕΥ.] Euripides who has already entered as Menelaus and as Perseus, now enters for the last time disguised as an old music-woman, and accompanied by an actor dressed up as one of those ὀρχηστρίδες who were constantly associated with Athenian revelry, and who were generally persons of indifferent repute. See Ach. 1093, Clouds 996, Frogs 514-516, 542-548. The dancing-girl is not represented by one of the three Actors provided by the State: they are now taking the parts of Euripides, Mnesilochus, and the Scythian; she is represented by a Choregic Actor, that is to say by an additional actor supplied by the Choregus at his own expense. Euripides does not begin to talk in his new character until twelve lines later, where the

Scholiast says Εὐριπίδης ἐν σχήματι προαγωγῷ γραδός.

1163. ταῦτ' ἐπικηρυκεύομαι] He speaks as a belligerent offering terms in the ordinary fashion through a herald.

1168. ἃ νῦν ὑποικουρεῖτε] Λάθρα ποιεῖτε.—Scholiast. *What ye do in your houses; how ye carry on at home in their absence.*

1172. 'Ελάφιον] 'Εταίρας ὄνομα 'Ελάφιον, ὡς Χρυσίον καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.—Scholiast. Cf. supra 289. The reader must beware of supposing that these diminutives have any reference to stature: they are merely pet-names.

1174. ἀνακόλπασον] *Tuck up your skirts* for the dance, by drawing the dress up, and letting it fall in a loose fold, κόλπος, over your girdle.

1175. ἐπαναφύσα Περσικόν] He bids the piper play the accompaniment to the Persian dance; the music to which the Περσικὸν ὄρχημα was danced. Com-

κακῶς ἀκούσεται· ἦν δὲ μὴ πίθησθέ μοι,
 ἃ νῦν ὑποικουρεῖτε, τοῖσιν ἀνδράσιν
 ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς παροῦσιν ὑμῶν διαβαλῶ.

ΧΟ. τὰ μὲν παρ' ἡμῶν ἴσθι σοι πεπεισμένα· 1170
 τὸν βάρβαρον δὲ τοῦτον αὐτὸς πείθε σύ.

ΕΥ. ἐμὸν ἔργον ἐστίν· καὶ σὸν, ὠλάφιον, ἃ σοι
 καθ' ὁδὸν ἔφραζον ταῦτα μεμνήσθαι ποιεῖν.
 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν δίελθε κἀνακόλπασον.
 σὺ δ', ὦ Τερηδῶν, ἐπαναφύσα Περσικόν. 1175

ΣΚ. τί τὸ βόμβο τοῦτο; κῶμο τίς ἀνεγείρι μοι;

ΕΥ. ἡ παῖς ἔμελλε προμελετᾶν ὦ τοξότα.
 ὀρχησομένη γὰρ ἔρχεθ' ὡς ἄνδρας τινάς.

pare the use of πυρρίχη in Frogs 153. The dance is described by Xenophon, Anabasis V. ix. 9 (cf. Athenaeus, i. 27), "Then," says he, "he danced the Persian dance, rattling his two targes together, and he kept sinking down on his haunches, and springing up again, ὠκλαζε καὶ ἀνίστατο; and this he did rhythmically to the sound of an αὐλός." This sinking on the haunches seems to have been the special peculiarity of the Persian dance, so that the entire dance, as the Scholiast here observes, sometimes went by the name of ὠκλασμα. See Pollux iv. segm. 100. The same dance is described by Heliodorus under the name of "Assyrian." Καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλεπῶν, πρὸς αὐλοῖς ἔτι καὶ ὀρχήσεσιν ὄντας, ἃς ὑπὸ πηκτίδων ἐπίτροχον μέλος, Ἀσσύριόν τινα νόμον, ἐσκίρων, ἄρτι μὲν κούφοις ἄλμασιν εἰς ὕψος αἰρόμενοι, ἄρτι δὲ τῇ γῇ συνεχῆς ἐποκλάζοντες, καὶ στροφὴν

ὀλοσώματον, ὥσπερ οἱ κάτοχοι, δινεύοντες.—iv. 17. We may perhaps infer from this passage, coupled with 1217 infra, that while Teredon played the αὐλός, Euripides himself was playing the πηκτίς or Lydian lute. Teredon seems, as Fritzsche observes, to be the name of a man, like Sarpedon, and not, as the Scholiast supposed, the name of a woman. And indeed it is very unlikely that Euripides and Elaphium were accompanied by a piper of their own: the appeal is doubtless made to the theatrical αὐλητής. See Eccl. 891 and the note there.

1176. τί τὸ βόμβο κ.τ.λ.] Τίς ὁ βόμβος οὗτος; κῶμον τίς ἀνεγείρει μοι; βόμβος signifies the sound of the αὐλός, as Bergler remarks, referring to Ach. 866 Χαιριδῆς βομβαύλιοι.

1178. ὡς ἄνδρας τινάς] That is, at some symposium.

- ΣΚ. ὀρκῆσι καὶ μελετῇσι, οὐ κωλύσ' ἐγώ.
ὥς ἐλαπρός, ὥσπερ ψύλλο κατὰ τὸ κώδιο. 1180
- ΕΥ. φέρε, θοίμάτιον κατάθου μὲν, ὦ τέκνον, τοδί·
καθιζομένη δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι γόνασι τοῦ Σκύθου,
τὼ πόδε πρότεινον, ἵν' ὑπολύσω. ΣΚ. ναῖκι ναὶ
κάτησο κάτησο, ναῖκι ναὶ, τυγάτριον.
οἴμ' ὥς στέριπο τὸ τιττί', ὥσπερ γογγύλη. 1185
- ΕΥ. αὖλει σὺ θᾶττον· ἔτι δέδοικας τὸν Σκύθην;
ΣΚ. καλὸ γε τὸ πυγῇ. κλαυσί γ' ἂν μὴ ἔνδον μένης.
ἀνακύπτει καὶ παρακύπτει ἀπεψωλημένος·
εἶεν· καλὴ τὸ σκῆμα περὶ τὸ πρόστιον.
- ΕΥ. καλῶς ἔχει. λαβὲ θοίμάτιον· ὦρα ὅτι νῶν

1179. ὀρκῆσι κ.τ.λ.] 'Ορχησάσθω καὶ μελετησάτω' οὐ κωλύσω ἐγώ. 'Ὡς ἐλαφρὰ, ὥσπερ ψύλλα κατὰ τὸ κώδιον. "Scythia, qua est morum elegantia, Elaphium puellam eamque saltatricem mirabundus, dicit tanta esse agilitate, quanta in lecto pulicem, eximium profecto saltatorem."—Fritzsche. This is perhaps a little hard upon the Scythian's manners, for the dancing-girl, now subsiding to the ground, now bounding up, and whirling round with her whole body in motion, might not altogether inaptly be compared to "a flea upon a blanket." Aristophanes was apparently the first to use this metaphor, which in modern times is not uncommon. In St. Ronan's Well, chap. viii, a lawyer, speaking of the difficulty of catching a poacher, says "A poacher may just jink ye back and forward like a flea in a blanket (wi' pardon), hap ye out of ae county and into anither." And the same metaphor is employed at the end of the

first chapter of Redgauntlet.

1181. κατάθου μὲν] I have substituted these words for the ἀνωθεν of the MSS. and editions, which seems to give no sense. It is plain that Elaphium is here directed to lay aside her upper garment, which she resumes in 1189 infra. And for this process κατάθου is the regular word. κατάθου ταχέως θοιμάτιον Plutus 926; where indeed the next direction is (very much as here) ἔπειθ' ὑπόλυσαι. So in Clouds 497 ἴθι νῦν κατάθου θοιμάτιον. The ostensible purpose for which Elaphium is to discard her upper garment and her shoes is that she may execute the evolutions of the dance with still greater rapidity; and Euripides accordingly calls upon the piper to quicken his tune, αὖλει σὺ θᾶττον. But this is not the real purpose, and it is not even quite certain that she does in fact dance any more. All this is merely a bait to beguile the Scythian from his duty.

- ἤδη βαδίζειν. ΣΚ. οὐκὶ πιλῆσι πρῶτά με; 1190
 ΕΥ. πάνυ γε· φίλησον αὐτόν. ΣΚ. ὃ δ' ὃ παπαπαπαῖ,
 ὥς γλυκερὸ τὸ γλῶσσ', ὥσπερ Ἀττικὸς μέλις.
 τί οὐ κατεύδει παρ' ἐμέ; ΕΥ. χαῖρε τοξότα,
 οὐ γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν τοῦτο. ΣΚ. ναὶ ναὶ γράδιον.
 ἐμοὶ κάρισο σὺ τοῦτο. ΕΥ. δώσεις οὖν δραχμὴν; 1195
 ΣΚ. ναὶ ναίκε δῶσι. ΕΥ. τὰργύριον τοίνυν φέρε.
 ΣΚ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔκῳδέν· ἀλλὰ τὸ συμβήνην λαβέ.
 ἔπειτα κομίζεις αὐτίς; ἀκολουθεῖ, τέκνον.
 σὺ δὲ τοῦτο τήρει τῇ γέροντο, γράδιον.
 ὄνομα δέ σοι τί ἐστιν; ΕΥ. Ἀρτεμισία. 1200
 ΣΚ. μεμνήσι τοίνυν τοῦνομ'· Ἀρταμουξία.

1184. κάθησο κ.τ.λ.] Κάθησο, κάθησο, *raxi, nai, thugatrion*· οἱμοι, ὡς στέριφον τὸ τιτθίον, ὥσπερ γογγύλη, *firm as a turnip*.

1187. καλὸ κ.τ.λ.] Καλή γε ἡ πυγή. κλαύσει ἢ μὴ ἔνδον (*sub veste*) μένης. "Mutonem ipsum alloquitur," says Fritzsche, referring to Horace Sat. I. ii. 68, "mala ei maxima minitans, nisi quieverit." ἀνακύπτει καὶ παρακύπτει ἀπεψωλημένον (*scilicet τὸ πέος*). εἶεν. καλὸν τὸ σχῆμα περὶ τὸ πόσθιον. Some think that these observations are made as Elaphium is whirling round in the dance; but I doubt if she ever leaves the Scythian after line 1182.

1190. οὐκὶ πιλῆσι] Οὐχὶ φιλήσεις, or φιλήσει. And, two lines below, ὡς γλυκερὰ ἢ γλῶσσα, ὥσπερ Ἀττικὸν μέλι, *sweet as the honey of Hymettus*. So in the Truculentus of Plautus II. iv. 20, Dinarchus, receiving the loving embrace of his mistress, exclaims "Ah! hoc est mel melle dulci dulcius."

1195. κάρισο] Χάρισο, *grant me this*

favoun. δῶσι in the following line stands for δώσω.

1197. ἔκῳδέν] Ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἔχω οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ τὴν σιβύνην λαβέ. *But I have not got any; but take this bow-case*. σιβύνη is a barbarous form of σιβύνη, which here, as the Scholiast observes, is equivalent to τοξοθήκη, the case which held the bow and sometimes the arrows also. It was doubtless the only article of value which the Scythian had to offer; and he would naturally be responsible to the State for its safety. And this is why he is so anxious to get it back; ἔπειτα κομείς αὐτίς, he says, *you will let me have it back again*, when I bring you the drachma.

1198. ἀκολουθεῖ κ.τ.λ.] Ἀκολουθεῖ, τέκνον. σὺ δὲ, γράδιον, τοῦτον τὸν γέροντα τήρει. *Keep an eye on the prisoner*. Μεμνήσι, a line or two below, represents μεμνήσομαι, *I'll remember*. The Scythian and Elaphium leave the stage, and Euripides and Mnesilochus are there alone.

- ΕΥ. Ἐρμῇ δόλιε ταυτὶ μὲν ἔτι καλῶς ποιεῖς.
 σὺ μὲν οὖν ἀπότρεχε, παιδάριον τουτὶ λαβών·
 ἐγὼ δὲ λύσω τόνδε. σὺ δ' ὅπως ἀνδρικῶς
 ὅταν λυθῇς τάχιστα, φεύξει, καὶ τενεῖς 1205
 ὡς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδί' οἴκαδε.
- MN. ἐμοὶ μελήσει ταυτά γ', ἣν ἅπαξ λυθῶ.
- ΕΥ. λέλυσσο. σὸν ἔργον, φεύγε πρὶν τὸν τοξότην
 ἤκοντα καταλαβεῖν. MN. ἐγὼ δὴ τοῦτο δρῶ.
- ΣΚ. ὦ γράδι' ὡς καριέντό σοι τὸ τυγάτριον, 1210
 κού δύσκολ' ἀλλὰ πρᾶο. ποῦ τὸ γράδιον;

1202. Ἐρμῇ δόλιε] It need hardly be mentioned that δόλιος (*the God of craft*) was one of the special appellations of Hermes, cf. Plutus 1157, Frogs 1143, 1144. How worthily he earned the title on the very day of his birth, we learn from the Homeric Hymn in his honour.

1203. σὺ μὲν οὖν κ.τ.λ.] This derisive exclamation, like that in 1226 *infra*, is flung after the Scythian who has just disappeared. "You be off with the girl, and I will release your prisoner." *Tu igitur hinc proripe cursu, puellā hāc sumptā: ego vero solvam hunc* (Kuster). So all the earlier Commentators. Fritzsche, however, who is followed by the more recent editors, considers παιδάριον to be the vocative addressed to Teredon, *You, boy, be off, taking this*; the Scholiast explaining τουτὶ by τὴν τοξοθήκην, and, as an alternative, τὰ ὄργανα τῆς ὀρχηστρίδος. The reason for this construction is that (to use the words of Enger) "παιδάριον semper *puerum* significat." But this is a heresy against which the ancient grammarians with one voice protest. In

other dialects, they say, παιδάριον always means a *boy*; in the Attic dialect it means either a *boy* or a *girl*. παιδάριον καὶ τὸ θυγάτριον, Ἀττικῶς παιδάριον, μόνως τὸ ἄρρεν, Ἑλληνικῶς.—Moeris; where Hudson cites Clemens Alex. Paedagog. I. iv. 11 ταύτη μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ Ἀττικοὶ παιδάριον ἐπικοίνας οὐ μόνον τὸ ἄρρεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ θῆλυ κεκλημέναι. See also Pierson's note on the same passage. Photius says παιδάριον οὐ μόνον τὸ ἄρρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ θῆλυ λέγουσιν. And so Pollux, Suidas, and others. All that Fritzsche can oppose to this array of authorities is the feeble remark, that none of them state "puellam istā voce saepe numero indicatam esse." And indeed he himself admits that "per se παιδάριον, quippe diminutivum verbi παῖς, non minus quam ὁ, ἡ, παῖς, tam puellas quam pueros significare potest." And doubtless it signifies the dancing-girl here.

1210. ὦ γράδι'] Ὁ γράδιον, ὡς χαριέν σου τὸ θυγάτριον, καὶ οὐ δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ πρᾶον. ποῦ τὸ γράδιον; οἱμοι, ὡς ἀπόλωλα. ποῦ ὁ γέρων ἐντευθεῖ; The Scythian re-enters with Elaphium, to find that he

οἴμ' ὥς ἀπόλωλο· ποῦ τὸ γέροντ' ἐντεντενί;

ὦ γράδι', ὦ γρά'. οὐκ ἐπαινώ γράδιο.

Ἄρταμουξία.

διέβαλλέ μ' ὁ γράυς. ἀπότρεκ' ὥς τάκιστα σύ

ὀρτῶς δὲ συβήνῃ στί· καταβηνῇσι γάρ.

1215

οἴμοι,

τί δρᾶσι; ποῖ τὸ γράδι'; Ἄρταμουξία.

ΧΟ. τὴν γραῦν ἐρωτᾷς ἢ ἔφερεν τὰς πηκτίδας;

ΣΚ. ναὶ ναῖκι. εἶδες αὐτό; ΧΟ. ταύτη γ' οἴχεται

αὐτὴ τ' ἐκείνη καὶ γέρων τις εἶπετο.

has been a mere dupe; and that his prisoner, and the old woman who had undertaken to guard him, have, during his absence, disappeared together.

1214. διέβαλλέ] Ἐξηπάτησεν. ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν Ὀρμισι (1648) "διαβάλλεται σ' ὁ θεῖος." —Scoliast. Incensed at discovering that Elaphium was acting as a bait to lure him from his post, the Scythian turns angrily upon her, "eamque," to use Fritzsche's language, "facessere hinc atque abire Morboniam jubet"; ἀπότρεχ' ὥς τάκιστα σύ. Cf. supra 1203.

1215. ὀρτῶς κ.τ.λ.] Ὀρθῶς δὲ σιβύνη ἐστί· (it is rightly so called); κατεβίνησε γάρ (for it played me a foul trick, that is, deceived me). Or it may mean *She* (the old woman) *played me a foul trick*. "Pharetram, quam συβίνην appellat Scythia," says Brunck, "ἐπώνυμον esse, recteque sic appellari dicit, vel quia, hoc pignore dato, meretriculam ἐβίνησε, vel potius, quia ipse quodammodo καταβεβίνηται. Scilicet anus, accepto hoc pignore, os ei sublevit, eumque ludibrio habuit, quod verbo καταβινεῖν exprimit." συβίνη, I may explain, is Brunck's alter-

ation of the MS. συβίνη. In the next line τί δρᾶσι stands for τί δράσω.

1217. τὰς πηκτίδας;] The instrument called the *πηκτίς*, or the *πηκτίδες* (Pollux, iv. chap. 9), was a Lydian lute from which, according to Pindar (Athenaeus, xiv. 37), Terpander derived the idea of the Greek *βάρβιτον*. Cf. Müller's Greek Literature, xii. 4. Photius describes it as a *λύδιον ὄργανον, χωρὶς πλήκτρου ψαλλόμενον*. Herodotus (i. 17) tells us that the armies of Alyattes, the King of Lydia and father of Croesus, marched on to the sound *συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων*. Athenaeus, in the chapter mentioned above, refers *τῇ παρὰ Λυδοῖς πηκτίδι*. In the previous chapter he had cited from the Mysians of Sophocles:

πολὺς δὲ Φρὺξ τρίγωνος, ἀντίπαστά τε
Λυδῆς ἐφυμνεί πηκτίδος συγχόρδια.

And in the twenty-first chapter of the same book he quotes from Telestes:

τοὶ δ' ὀξυφάνοις πηκτίδων ψαλμοῖς κρέκον
λύδιον ὕμνον.

And see the note on 1175 supra.

- ΣΚ. κροκῶτ' ἔκοντο τὴ γέροντο; ΧΟ. φήμ' ἐγώ. 1220
 ἔτ' ἂν καταλάβοις, εἰ διώκοις ταυτηί.
 ΣΚ. ὦ μιὰρὸ γράῳ· πόττερα τρέξι τὴν ὁδόν;
 Ἄρταμουξία.
 ΧΟ. ὀρθὴν ἄνω δίωκε. ποῖ θεῖς; οὐ πάλιν
 τηδὶ διώξεις; τοῦμπαλιν τρέχεις σύ γε.
 ΣΚ. κακόδαιμον, ἀλλὰ τρέξι Ἄρταμουξία. 1225

1220. κροκῶτ' ἔκοντο] Κροκωτὸν ἔχων (or εἶχεν) ὁ γέρων; *An old man in a yellow gown?*

1221. ταυτηί] That the Chorus have only succeeded in bewildering the Scythian is plain from the following line, *O luckless me, which is the way she went?* And Dobree therefore supposes that the ταύτη in this line indicates a different route from that which is indicated by the ταύτη of line 1218. But it seems more probable that on each occasion the vague and indefinite gesture of the Coryphaeus left in doubt which exit he intended to designate.

1223. ὀρθὴν ἄνω] *Straight up the hill*; doubtless, as Bothe observes, pointing towards the Acropolis, on the side of which the theatre was constructed. On ποῖ θεῖς; the Scholiast observes ὡς αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκείνην θέλοντος ἀπελθεῖν, οἷαν ἀπηλθόν οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην. Not-

withstanding the confusing directions of the Chorus, he has accidentally stumbled upon the right track, and has to be promptly recalled.

1225. ἀλλὰ τρέξι] *At interim currit Artamuxia*.—Brunck. *But while I am delaying, Artamuxia is running.* τρέξι is the third person singular: see the note on 1007 supra. Some alter ἀλλὰ into ἀλλα, *alià aufugit Artamuxia* (Kuster), but this is no improvement. The Scythian now runs out by the opposite route to that which the fugitives have taken.

1226. ἐπουρίσας] “Scudding before the favouring breezes,” “with the wind in your sails,” *secundis ventis*, or, in other words, “as quickly as you can.” The second τρέχε νυν was added by Brunck, since the line is obviously an iambic senarius. With the expression in the next line *πέπαισται μετρίως ἡμῖν* compare the concluding line of the Clouds, *ἡγείσθ'*

ΧΟ. τρέχε νυν, τρέχε νυν, κατὰ τοὺς κόρακας, ἐπουρίσας.

ἀλλὰ πέπαισται μετρίως ἡμῖν·

ὥσθ' ὦρα δῆτ' ἐστὶ βαδίζειν

οἵκαδ' ἐκάστη.

τὼ Θεσμοφόρῳ δ' ἡμῖν ἀγαθὴν

τούτων χάριν ἀνταποδοίτην.

1230

ἔξω· κεχόρευται γὰρ μετρίως τό γε τήμερον ἡμῖν.

1228. ὦρα δῆτ' ἐστὶ] *So that in very truth* (referring to the words of Euripides, supra 1189, ὦρα 'στὶ νῶν ἥδη βαδίζειν) *it is time for us to be going, each to her own home.* The MSS. read ὦρα δῆ 'στι, which Bothe and others have cor-

rected into ὦρα δῆτ' ἐστὶ, because we should here expect a full anapaestic dimeter, rather than a paroemiac verse. And I have followed their correction for the further reason that δῆτα is almost invariably found in repetitions of this kind, as, for example, in lines 739, 740 supra,

WOMAN. παράβαλλε πολλὰς κληματίδας, ὦ Μανία.

MNESILOCHUS. παράβαλλε δῆτα.

And in Peace 977, 978,

TRYGAEUS. δέξαι θυσίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν.

CHORUS. δέξαι δῆτ' ὦ πολυτιμήτη.

And (to take an example from Tragedy) in Eur. Electra 672, 673,

ORESTES. οἴκτειρέ γ' ἡμᾶς, οἴκτρα γὰρ πεπόνθαμεν.

ELECTRA. οἴκτειρε δῆτα, σοῦ γε φύντας ἐκγόνους.

Yea in very truth accept it. Yea in very truth have mercy upon us.

1231. ἀγαθὴν χάριν] *A good reward*, by giving them the victory in the theatrical contest. No record of the issue has

come down to our times, but we cannot doubt that their wish was fulfilled, and that the prize was not withheld from what is one of the wittiest and pleasantest specimens of Aristophanic comedy.

EURIPIDES

AND

THE WOMEN OF ATHENS

A FREE TRANSLATION

OF THE

THESMOPHORIAZUSAE OF ARISTOPHANES

NOTICE

THE greater part of this translation was composed from memory, when the translator had no copy of Aristophanes at hand. Consequently, it everywhere departs from the sense of the original; words, sentences, and even whole speeches have been omitted, transposed, or added; actives are changed into passives, and vice versa; and sometimes the English goes clean contrary to the meaning of the Greek. It was completed from a copy of Bekker's Aristophanes, the text and arrangement of which differ widely from the text and arrangement of the present edition. If therefore any critic should observe that there is hardly a line in the translation which represents the exact meaning of the original, let him remember that the translator heartily agrees with him; *habet confitentem reum*. Nevertheless it is hoped that even from this inaccurate version, a reader, taking the Play as a whole, may obtain an idea, not altogether inaccurate, of the Thesmophorizusae of Aristophanes.

CHARACTERS OF THE DRAMA

MEN.

EURIPIDES, the famous Tragic Poet.

MNESILOCHUS, his connexion by marriage.

AGATHON, another well-known Tragic Poet.

AGATHON'S SERVANT.

CLEISTHENES, an effeminate Athenian.

A POLICEMAN, really an important Athenian Magistrate, but in this version taking a more homely position.

A SCYTHIAN, one of the Scythian archers, the real Athenian police.

WOMEN.

CHORUS of Athenian matrons celebrating the Thesmophoria, or festival of Demeter and Persephone as givers of home and social customs.

A CRIERESS.

MICA.

SECOND WOMAN.

CRITYLLA.

ECHO, heard but not seen.

HOP-O-MY-THUMB, a dancing-girl, seen but not heard.

Several Athenian women, attendants on the principal Women; amongst them, Mica's nursemaid.

THE THESMOPHORIAZUSAE

Two elderly men are discovered, when the Play opens, pacing along an Athenian street. In one, both by his gait and by his language, we at once recognize a Philosopher and a Genius. His companion is a garrulous and cheery old man, evidently tired out by a long promenade. They prove to be the poet Euripides, and Mnesilochus his connexion by marriage, in the translation inaccurately styled his cousin. The latter is the first to speak.

- MN. Zeus! is the swallow NEVER going to come?
Tramped up and down since daybreak! I can't stand it.
Might I, before my wind's ENTIRELY gone,
Ask where you're taking me, Euripides?
- EUR. You're not to hear the things which face to face
You're going to see. MN. What! Please say that again.
I'm not to hear? EUR. The things which you shall see.
- MN. And not to see? EUR. The things which you shall hear.
- MN. A pleasant jest! a mighty pleasant jest!
I'm not to hear or see at all, I see.
- EUR. (*In high philosophic rhapsody.*)
To hear! to see! full different things, I ween;
Yea verily, generically diverse.
- MN. What's "diverse"? EUR. I will explicate my meaning.
When Ether¹ first was mapped and parcelled out,
And living creatures breathed and moved in her,
She, to give sight, implanted in their heads
The Eye, a mimic circlet of the Sun,
And bored the funnel of the Ear, to hear with.

¹ In the original, Ether is the creative agent throughout; she parcels herself out; she herself gives birth to the breathing and moving creatures.

- MN. DID SHE! That's why I'm not to hear or see!
 I'm very glad to get that information.
 O, what a thing it is to talk with Poets!
- EUR. Much of such knowledge I shall give you. MN. (*Involuntarily.*) O!
 Then p'raps (excuse me) you will tell me how
 Not to be lame to-morrow, after this.
- EUR. (*Loftily disregarding the innuendo.*)
 Come here and listen. MN. (*Courteously.*) Certainly I will.
- EUR. See you that wicket? MN. Why, by Heracles,
 Of course I do. EUR. Be still. MN. Be still the wicket?
- EUR. And most attentive. MN. Still attentive wicket?
- EUR. There dwells, observe, the famous Agathon,
 The Tragic Poet. MN. (*Considering.*) Agathon. Don't know him.
- EUR. He is that Agathon— MN. (*Interrupting.*) Dark, brawny fellow?
- EUR. O no, quite different; don't you know him really?
- MN. Big-whiskered fellow? EUR. Don't you know him really?
- MN. No. (*Thinks again.*) No, I don't; at least I don't remember.
- EUR. (*Severely.*) I fear there's much you don't remember, sir.
 But step aside: I see his servant coming.
 See, he has myrtles and a pan of coals
 To pray, methinks, for favourable rhymes.

(*The two retire into the background. Agathon's servant enters from the house.*)

- SERVANT. All people be still!
 Allow not a word from your lips to be heard,
 For the Muses are here, and are making their odes
 In my Master's abodes.
 Let Ether be lulled, and forgetful to blow,
 And the blue sea-waves, let them cease to flow,
 And be noiseless. MN. Fudge! EUR. Hush, hush, if you please.
- SERV. Sleep, birds of the air, with your pinions at ease;
 Sleep, beasts of the field, with entranquillized feet;
 Sleep, Sleep, and be still. MN. Fudge, Fudge, I repeat.

SERV. For the soft and the terse professor of verse,
Our Agathon now is about to— MN. (*Scandalized*¹.) No, no! 50

SERV. What's that? MN. 'Twas the ETHER, FORGETTING TO BLOW!

SERV. (*Beginning pettishly, but soon falling back into his former tone.*)

I was going to say he is going to lay
The stocks and the scaffolds for building a Play.
And neatly he hews them, and sweetly he glues them,
And a proverb he takes, and an epithet makes,
And he moulds a most waxen and delicate song,
And he tunnels, and funnels, and— MN. Does what is wrong.

SERV. What clown have we here, so close to our eaves?

MN. Why, one who will take you and him, by your leaves,
Both you and your terse professor of verse,
And with blows and with knocks set you both on the stocks,
And tunnel and funnel, and pummel, and worse.

SERV. Old man, you must have been a rare pert youngster.

EUR. O, heed not *him*; but quickly call me out
Your master Agathon; do pray make haste.

SERV. No need of prayer: he's coming forth directly.
He's moulding odes; and in the cold hard winter
He cannot turn, and twist, and shape his strophes
Until they are warmed and softened in the Sun.

(*The servant goes back into the house.*)

MN. And what am I to do? EUR. You're to keep quiet.
O Zeus! the Hour is come, and so's the Man!

MN. O, what's the matter? what disturbs you so?
O, tell me what: I really want to know.
Come, I'm your cousin; won't you tell your cousin?

EUR. There's a great danger brewing for my life.

MN. O, tell your cousin what. EUR. This hour decides

¹ He is scandalized at what he expects is coming (for Agathon was suspected of great immorality), but apparently the word was only *rehearse*.

Whether Euripides shall live or die.

MN. Why, how is that? There's no tribunal sitting,
No Court, no Council, will be held to-day.
'Tis the Mid-Fast, the third Home-Festival.

EUR. It is! it is! I wish enough it wasn't.
For on this day the womankind have sworn
To hold a great assembly, to discuss
How best to serve me out. MN. Good gracious! Why?

EUR. (*With the mild surprise of injured innocence.*)

Because, they say, I write lampoons upon them.

MN. Zeus and Poseidon! they may well say that.
But tell your cousin what you mean to do.

EUR. I want to get the poet Agathon
To go among them. MN. Tell your cousin why.

EUR. To mingle in the Assembly, perhaps to speak
On my behalf. MN. What, openly, do you mean?

EUR. O no, disguised: dressed up in woman's clothes.

MN. A bright idea that, and worthy you:
For in all craftiness we take the cake.

(*By a contrivance very common in ancient theatres, a portion of Agathon's house is here wheeled forward, turning on a pivot, so as to disclose the interior of an apartment. The poet is discovered, surrounded by the most effeminate luxuries, and in the act of writing a Tragic Play. He has just composed, and is now about to recite, a little lyrical dialogue between his Chorus and one of his actors.*)

EUR. O, hush! MN. What now? EUR. Here's Agathon himself.

MN. Where? Which? EUR. Why there: the man in the machine.

MN. O dear, what ails me? Am I growing blind?
I see Cyrene¹; but I see no man.

EUR. Do, pray, be silent; he's just going to sing.

(*Agathon gives a fantastic little trill.*)

MN. Is it "the Pathway of the Ants," or what?

100

¹ This is, of course, a hit at Agathon's effeminacy. Cyrene was a dissolute woman of the day.

(*Agathon now sings his little dialogue in a soft womanly voice and with pretty effeminate gestures.*)

- AGATHON. (*As actor.*) *Move ye slowly, with the holy
Torchlight dear to Awful Shades,
Singing sweetly, dancing featly,
Yes, and neatly, freeborn maids.*
- (*As Chorus.*) *Whose the song of festal praise?
Only tell us, we are zealous
Evermore our hymns to raise.*
- (*As actor.*) *Sing of Leto¹, sing of Thee too,
Archer of the golden bow,
Bright Apollo, in the hollow
Glades where Ilian rivers flow,
Building buildings, long ago.*
- (*As Chorus.*) *Raise the music, softly swelling
To the fame of Leto's name,
To the God in song excelling,
Brightest he, of all there be,
Giving gifts of minstrelsy.*
- (*As actor.*) *Sing the maiden, quiver-laden,
From the woodland oaks emerging,
Haunted shades of mountain glades,
Artemis, the ever Virgin.*
- (*As Chorus.*) *We rejoice, heart and voice,
Hymning, praising, gently phrasing,
Her, the maiden quiver-laden.*
- (*As actor.*) *Soft pulsation of the Asian
Lyre, to which the dancers go,
When the high and holy Graces
Weave their swiftly whirling paces,
Phrygian measure, to and fro.*

¹ Leto does not, in the original, assume this prominent position; she is here, as elsewhere, placed in the background, as subordinate to her own children.

(*As Chorus.*) *Lyre Elysian, heavenly vision,
 When thy witching tones arise,
 Comes the light of joy and gladness
 Flashing from immortal eyes.
 Eyes will glisten, ears will listen,
 When our manful numbers ring.
 Mighty master, Son of Leto,
 Thine the glory, Thou the King.*

(*Mnesilochus utters a cry of delight.*)

- MN. Wonderful ! Wonderful !
 How sweet, how soft, how ravishing the strain !
 What melting words ! and as I heard them sung,
 Ye amorous Powers, there crept upon my soul
 A pleasant, dreamy, rapturous titillation.
 And now, dear youth, for I would question thee
 And sift thee with the words of Aeschylus,
 Whence art thou, what thy country, what thy garb ?
 Why all this wondrous medley ? Lyre and silks,
 A minstrel's lute, a maiden's netted hair,
 Girdle and wrestler's oil ! a strange conjunction.
 How comes a sword beside a looking-glass ?
 What art thou, man or woman ? If a man,
 Where are his clothes ? his red Laconian shoes ?
 If woman, 'tis not like a woman's shape.
 What art thou, speak ; or if thou tell me not,
 Myself must guess thy gender from thy song.
- AG. Old man, old man, my ears receive the words
 Of your tongue's utterance, yet I heed them not.
 I choose my dress to suit my poesy.
 A poet, sir, must needs adapt his ways
 To the high thoughts which animate his soul.
 And when he sings of women, he assumes
 A woman's garb, and dons a woman's habits.

MN. (*Aside to Eur.*) When you wrote Phaedra¹, did you take her habits?

AG. But when he sings of men, his whole appearance
Conforms to man. What nature gives us not,
The human soul aspires to imitate.

MN. (*As before.*) Zounds, if I'd seen you when you wrote the Satyrs!

AG. Besides, a poet never should be rough,
Or harsh, or rugged. Witness to my words
Anacreon, Alcaeus, Ibycus,
Who when they filtered and diluted song,
Wore soft Ionian manners and attire.
And Phrynichus, perhaps you have seen him, sir,
How fair he was, and beautifully dressed;
Therefore his Plays were beautifully fair.
For as the Worker, so the Work will be.

MN. Then that is why harsh Philocles writes harshly,
And that is why vile Xenocles writes vilely,
And cold Theognis writes such frigid Plays.

AG. Yes, that is why. And I perceiving this
Made myself womanlike. MN. My goodness, how?

EUR. O, stop that yapping: in my youthful days
I too was such another one as he.

MN. Good gracious! I don't envy you your schooling.

EUR. (*Sharply.*) Pray, let us come to business, sir. MN. Say on.

EUR. A wise man, Agathon, compacts his words,
And many thoughts compresses into few.
So, I in my extremity am come
To ask a favour of you. AG. Tell me what.

EUR. The womankind in their Home-feast to-day
Are going to pay me out for my lampoons.

AG. That's bad indeed, but how can I assist you?

¹ By "Phaedra" he means the Hippolytus; by "the Satyrs," the Cyclops of Euripides.

- EUR. Why every way. If you'll disguise yourself,
 And sit among them like a woman born,
 And plead my cause, you'll surely get me off.
 There's none but you to whom I dare entrust it.
- AG. Why don't you go yourself, and plead your cause?
- EUR. I'll tell you why. They know me well by sight;
 And I am gray, you see, and bearded too,
 But you've a baby face, a treble voice,
 A fair complexion, pretty, smooth, and soft.

(After a short pause Agathon bethinks him of a famous line in the Alcestis of Euripides.)

- AG. Euripides! EUR. Yes. AG. Wasn't it you who wrote
 YOU VALUE LIFE; DO YOU THINK YOUR FATHER DOESN'T?
- EUR. It was: what then? AG. Expect not me to bear
 Your burdens; that were foolishness indeed.
 Each man must bear his sorrows for himself.
 And troubles, when they come, must needs be met
 By manful acts, and not by shiftY tricks.
- MN. Aye, true for you, your wicked ways are shown 200
 By sinful acts, and not by words alone.
- EUR. But tell me really why you fear to go.
- AG. They'd serve me worse than you. EUR. How so? AG. How so?
 I'm too much like a woman, and they'd think
 That I was come to poach on their preserves.
- MN. Well, I must say that's not a bad excuse.
- EUR. Then won't you really help? AG. I really won't.
- EUR. Thrice luckless I! Euripides is done for!
- MN. O friend! O cousin! don't lose heart like this.
- EUR. Whatever can I do? MN. Bid *him* go hang!
 See, here am I; deal with me as you please.
- EUR. *(Striking while the iron is hot.)* Well, if you'll really give yourself to me,
 First throw aside this overcloke. MN. 'Tis done.
 But how are you going to treat me? EUR. Shave you here,

And singe you down below. MN. (*Magnanimously.*) Well, do your worst;
I've said you may, and I'll go through with it.

EUR. You've always, Agathon, got a razor handy;
Lend us one, will you? AG. Take one for yourself,
Out of the razor-case. EUR. Obliging Youth!

(*To Mn.*) Now sit you down,

(*Mnesilochus seats himself in a chair.*)

and puff your right cheek out.

MN. Oh! EUR. What's the matter? Shut your mouth, or else
I'll clap a gag in. MN. Lackalackaday!

(*He jumps up, and runs away.*)

EUR. Where are you fleeing? MN. To sanctuary I.
Shall I sit quiet to be hacked like that?
Demeter, no! EUR. Think how absurd you'll look,
With one cheek shaven, and the other not.

MN. (*Doggedly.*) Well, I don't care. EUR. O, by the Gods, come back.
Pray don't forsake me. MN. Miserable me!

(*He resumes his seat. Euripides goes on with the shaving.*)

EUR. Sit steady; raise your chin; don't wriggle so.

MN. (*Wincing.*) O tchi, tchi, tchi! EUR. There, there, it's over now.

MN. And I'm, worse luck, a Rifled Volunteer.

EUR. Well, never mind; you're looking beautiful.

Glance in this mirror. MN. Well then, hand it here.

EUR. What see you there? MN. (*In disgust.*) Not me, but Cleisthenes¹.

EUR. Get up: bend forward. I've to singe you now.

MN. O me, you'll scald me like a sucking-pig.

EUR. Some one within there, bring me out a torch.

Now then, stoop forward: gently; mind yourself.

MN. I'll see to that. Hey! I've caught fire there. Hey!

O, water! water! neighbours, bring your buckets.

¹ Cleisthenes was the most effeminate man in Athens; he comes on the stage by-and-by.

Fire! Fire! I tell you; I'm on fire, I am!

EUR. There, it's all right. MN. All right, when I'm a cinder?

EUR. Well, well, the worst is over; 'tis indeed.

It won't pain now. MN. Faugh, here's a smell of burning!

Drat it, I'm roasted all about the stern.

EUR. Nay, heed it not. I'll have it sponged directly.

MN. I'd like to catch a fellow sponging *me*.

EUR. Though you begrudge your active personal aid,

Yet, Agathon, you won't refuse to lend us

250

A dress and sash: you can't deny you've got them.

AG. Take them, and welcome. I begrudge them not.

MN. What's first to do? EUR. Put on this yellow silk.

MN. By Aphrodite, but 'tis wondrous nice.

EUR. Gird it up tighter. MN. Where's the girdle? EUR. Here.

MN. Make it sit neatly there about the legs.

EUR. Now for a snood and hair-net. AG. Will this do?

It's quite a natty hairdress; it's my nightcap.

EUR. The very thing: i'faith, the very thing.

MN. Does it look well? EUR. Zeus! I should think it did!

Now for a mantle. AG. Take one from the couch.

EUR. A pair of woman's shoes. AG. Well, here are mine.

MN. Do they look well? EUR. They are loose enough, I trow.

AG. You see to that; I've lent you all you need.

Will some one kindly wheel me in again?

(Agathon's apartment, with Agathon in it, is wheeled back into the house; Euripides and Mnesilochus are left standing on the stage. Euripides turns Mnesilochus round, and surveys him with complacency.)

EUR. There then, the man's a regular woman now,

At least to look at; and if you've to speak,

Put on a feminine mincing voice. MN. *(In a shrill treble.)* I'll try.

EUR. And now begone, and prosper. MN. Wait a bit.

Not till you've sworn— EUR. Sworn what? MN. That if I get

In any scrape, you'll surely see me through.

EUR. I swear by Ether, Zeus's dwelling-place.

MN. As well by vile Hippocrates's cabin.

EUR. Well, then, I swear by every blessed God.

MN. And please remember 'twas ¹ your MIND that swore,
Not your tongue only; please remember that.

(The background of the scene opens and a large building is pushed forward upon the stage, representing the Thesmophorium or Temple of the Home-givers. The Athenian ladies, who form the Chorus of the Play, are seen, a few lines later, thronging into the orchestra, to assist in the solemnities of the festival, and to take part in the Assembly they are about to hold. The air above them is thick with the smoke of the torches they are bearing in their hands. Euripides thinks it time to make himself scarce. Mnesilochus assumes the fussy airs and treble voice of an Athenian matron, talking to an imaginary maidservant.)

EUR. O, get you gone: for there's the signal hoisted
Over the Temple; they are assembling now.
I think I'll leave you. MN. Thratta, come along.
O Thratta, Thratta, here's a lot of women
Coming up here! O, what a flare of torches!
O sweet Twain-goddesses, vouchsafe me now
A pleasant day, and eke a safe return.
Set down the basket, Thratta; give me out
The sacred cake to offer to the Twain.
O dread Demeter, high unearthly one,
O Persephassa, grant your votaress grace
To join in many festivals like this,
Or if not so, at least escape this once.
And may my daughter, by your leaves, pick up
A wealthy husband, and a fool to boot;
And little Bull-calf have his share of brains.
Now, then, I wonder which is the best place
To hear the speeches? Thratta, you may go.
These are not things for servant-girls to hear.

(The officials now take their places, and the Assembly at once begins.)

¹ He is alluding to a famous line in the Hippolytus of Euripides—

“'Twas my tongue swore; my Mind remains unsworn.”

CRIERESS.

Worldly clamour
 Pass away !
 Silence, Silence,
 While we pray ;
 To the Twain, the Home-bestowers,
 Holy Parent, holy Daughter,
 And to Wealth, and Heavenly Beauty,
 And to Earth the foster-mother,
 And to Hermes and the Graces,
 That they to this important high debate
 Grant favour and success,
 Making it useful to the Athenian State,
 And to ourselves no less.
 And O, that she who counsels best to-day
 About the Athenian nation,
 And our own commonwealth of women, may
 Succeed by acclamation.
 These things we pray, and blessings on our cause.
 Sing Paean, Paean, ho ! with merry loud applause.

300

CHORUS.

We in thy prayers combine,
 And we trust the Powers Divine
 Will on these their suppliants smile,
 Both Zeus the high and awful,
 And the golden-lyred Apollo
 From the holy Delian isle.
 And thou, our Mighty Maiden,
 Lance of gold, and eye of blue,
 Of the God-contested city,
 Help us too :
 And the many-named, the Huntress,
 Gold-fronted Leto's daughter ;
 And the dread Poseidon ruling
 Over Ocean's stormy water ;

Come from the deep where fishes
 Swarm, and the whirlwinds rave ;
 And the Oreads of the mountain,
 And the Nereids of the wave.
 Let the Golden Harp sound o'er us
 And the Gods with favour crown
 This Parliament of Women,
 The free and noble matrons
 Of the old Athenian town.

CRIERESS. O yes ! O yes !
 Pray ye the Olympian Gods—and Goddesses,
 And all the Pythian Gods—and Goddesses,
 And all the Delian Gods—and Goddesses,
 And all the other Gods—and Goddesses,
 Whoso is disaffected, ill-disposed
 Towards this commonwealth of womankind,
 Or with Euripides, or with the Medes
 Deals to the common hurt of womankind,
 Or aims at tyranny, or fain would bring
 The Tyrant back ; or dares betray a wife
 For palming off a baby as her own ;
 Or tells her master tales against her mistress ;
 Or does not bear a message faithfully ;
 Or, being a suitor, makes a vow, and then
 Fails to perform ; or, being a rich old woman,
 Hires for herself a lover with her wealth ;
 Or, being a girl, takes gifts and cheats the giver ;
 Or, being a trading man or trading woman,
 Gives us short measure in our drinking-cups ;—
 Perish that man, himself and all his house ;
 But pray the Gods—and Goddesses—to order
 To all the women always all things well.

CHOR.

We also pray,
 And trust it may
 Be done as thou premisest,
 And hope that they
 Will win the day
 Whose words are best and wisest.
 But they who fain
 Would cheat for gain,
 Their solemn oaths forgetting,
 Our ancient laws
 And noble cause
 And mystic rites upsetting ;
 Who plot for greed,
 Who call the Mede
 With secret invitation,
 I say that these
 The Gods displease,
 And wrong the Athenian nation.
 O Zeus most high
 In earth and sky,
 All-powerful, all-commanding,
 We pray to Thee,
 Weak women we,
 But help us notwithstanding.

CRIERESS. O yes ! O yes ! The Women's Council-Board
 Hath thus enacted (moved by Sostrata,
 President Timocleia, clerk Lysilla),
 To hold a morning Parliament to-day
 When women most have leisure ; to discuss
 What shall be done about Euripides,
 How best to serve him out ; for that he's guilty
 We all admit. Who will address the meeting ?

MICA. I wish to, I. CRIERESS. Put on this chaplet first.

Order! order! Silence, ladies, if you please.

She's learnt the trick; she hems and haws; she coughs in preparation;

I know the signs; my soul divines a mighty long oration.

MICA. 'Tis not from any feeling of ambition

I rise to address you, ladies, but because

I long have seen, and inly burned to see

The way Euripides insults us all,

The really quite interminable scoffs

This market-gardener's son pours out against us.

I don't believe that there's a single fault

He's not accused us of; I don't believe

That there's a single theatre or stage,

But there is he, calling us double-dealers,

False, faithless, tippling, mischief-making gossips,

A rotten set, a misery to men.

Well, what's the consequence? The men come home

Looking so sour—O, *we* can see them peeping

In every closet, thinking friends are there.

Upon my word we can't do ANYTHING

We used to do; he has made the men so silly.

Suppose I'm hard at work upon a chaplet,

400

Hey, she's in love with somebody; suppose

I chance to drop a pitcher on the floor,

And straightway 'tis, *For whom was that intended?*

I warrant now, for our Corinthian¹ friend.

Is a girl ill? Her brother shakes his head;

The girl's complexion is not to my taste.

Why, if you merely want to hire a baby,

And palm it off as yours, you've got no chance,

¹ These are all references to actual Plays of Euripides. This is from the Stheneboea, the "Corinthian friend" being Bellerophon.

They sit beside our very beds, they do.
 Then there's another thing; the rich old men
 Who used to marry us, are grown so shy
 We never catch them now; and all because
 Euripides declares, the scandal-monger,
An old man weds a Tyrant, not a wife.
 You know, my sisters, how they mew us up,
 Guarding our women's rooms with bolts and seals,
 And fierce Molossian dogs. That's all his doing.
 We might put up with that; but, O my friends,
 Our little special perquisites, the corn,
 The wine, the oil, gone, gone, all gone for ever.
 They've got such keys, our husbands have, such brutes,
 Laconian-made, with triple rows of teeth.
 Then in old times we only had to buy
 A farthing ring, and pantry-doors flew open.
 But now this wretch Euripides has made them
 Wear such worm-eaten perforated seals,
 'Tis hopeless now to try it. Therefore, ladies,
 What I propose is that we slay the man,
 Either by poison or some other way;
 Somehow or other he must die the death.
 That's all I'll say in public: I'll write out
 A formal motion with the clerkess there.

CHOR. Good heavens! what force and tact combined!
 O, what a many-woven mind!
 A better speech, upon my word,
 I don't believe I ever heard.
 Her thoughts so clean dissected,
 Her words so well selected,
 Such keen discrimination,
 Such power and elevation,

'Twas really quite a grand, superb, magnificent oration.
 So that if, in opposition, Xenocles came forth to speak,
 Compared with her
 You'd all aver
 All his grandest, happiest efforts are immeasurably weak !

SECOND WOMAN. Ladies, I've only a few words to add.

I quite agree with the honourable lady
 Who has just sat down : she has spoken well and ably.
 But I can tell you what I've borne myself.
 My husband died in Cyprus, leaving me
 Five little chicks to work and labour for.
 I've done my best, and bad's the best, but still
 I've fed them, weaving chaplets for the Gods.
 But now this fellow writes his Plays, and says
 There are no Gods ; and so, you may depend,
 My trade is fallen to half ; men won't buy chaplets.
 So then for many reasons he must die ;
 The man is bitterer than his mother's potherbs.
 I leave my cause with you, my sisters : I
 Am called away on urgent private business,
 An order, just received, for twenty chaplets.

450

CHOR. Better and better still.
 A subtler intellect, a daintier skill.
 Wise are her words, and few ;
 Well timed and spoken too.
 A many-woven mind she too has got, I find.
 And he must clearly,
 This rascal man, be punished most severely.

*(The motion for putting Euripides to death, having, so to say, been proposed and seconded,
 Mnesilochus rises to speak in opposition.)*

MN. Mrs. Speaker and ladies,
 I'm not surprised, of course I'm not surprised,

To find you all so angry and aggrieved
 At what Euripides has said against us.
 For I myself—or slay my babies else—
 Hate him like poison, to be sure I do,
 He's most provoking, I admit he is.
 But now we're all alone, there's no reporter,
 All among friends, why not be fair and candid?
 Grant that the man has really found us out,
 And told a thing or too, sure they're all TRUE,
 And there's a many thousand still behind.
 For I myself, to mention no one else,
 Could tell a thousand plaguy tricks I've played
 On my poor husband; I'll just mention one.
 We'd been but three days married; I'm abed,
 Husband asleep beside me; when my lover
 (I'd been familiar with him from a child)
 Came softly scratching at the outer door.
 I hear; I know "the little clinking sound,"
 And rise up stealthily, to creep downstairs.
Where go you, pray? says husband. *Where!* say I,
I've such a dreadful pain in my inside
I must go down this instant. Go, says he.
 He pounds his anise, juniper, and sage,
 To still my pains: I seize the water-jug,
 And wet the hinge, to still its creaking noise,
 Then open, and go out: and I and lover
 Meet by Agueus and his laurel-shade,
 Billing and cooing to our hearts' content.
 (*With vivacity.*) Euripides has never found out that.
 Nor how a wife contrived to smuggle out
 Her frightened lover, holding up her shawl
 To the sun's rays for husband to admire.
 Nor how we grant our favours to bargees

And muleteers, if no one else we've got.
 Nor how, arising from a night's debauch,
 We chew our garlic, that our husbands, coming
 Back from the walls at daybreak, may suspect
 Nothing amiss at home. Then what's the odds
 If he does rail at Phaedra? Let him rail.
 What's that to us? Let him rail on, say I.
 Phaedra indeed! He might come nearer home.
 I knew a woman, I won't mention names,
 Remained ten days in childbirth. Why, do you think?
 Because she couldn't buy a baby sooner.
 Her husband runs to every medicine-man
 In dreadful agitation; while he's out,
 They bring a little baby in a basket,
 Bunging its mouth up that it mayn't cry out,
 And stow it safe away till he comes home.
 Then at a given sign she feebly says,
My time is come: please, husband, go away.
 He goes; they open basket; baby cries.
 O, what delight, surprise, congratulations!
 The man runs in; the nurse comes running out,
 (The same that brought the baby in the basket,)
A prodigy! a Lion! such a boy!
Your form, your features: just the same expression:
Your very image: lucky, lucky man!
 Don't we do this? By Artemis, we do.
 Then wherefore rail we at Euripides?
 We're not one bit more sinned against than sinning.

CHOR. What a monstrous, strange proceeding!
 Whence, I wonder, comes her breeding?
 From what country shall we seek her,
 Such a bold audacious speaker?

That a woman so should wrong us,
 Here among us, here among us,
 I could never have believed it ; such a thing was never known.
 But what *may* be, no man knoweth,
 And the wise old proverb showeth,
 That perchance a poisonous sophist lurketh under every stone.
 O, nothing, nothing in the world so hateful will you find
 As shameless women, save of course the rest of womankind.

- MICA. What can possess us, sisters mine? I vow by old Agraulus,
 We're all bewitched, or else have had some strange mischance befall us,
 To let this shameless hussy tell her shameful, bold, improper,
 Unpleasant tales, and we not make the least attempt to stop her.
 If any one assist me, good : if not, alone we'll try,
 We'll strip and whip her well, we will, my serving-maids and I.
- MN. Not strip me, gentle ladies ; sure I heard the proclamation,
 That every freeborn woman now might make a free oration ;
 And if I spoke unpleasant truths on this your invitation,
 Is that a reason why I now should suffer castigation ?
- MICA. It is, indeed : how dare you plead for him who always chooses
 Such odious subjects for his Plays, on purpose to abuse us ;
 Phaedras and Melanippes too : but ne'er a drama made he
 About the good Penelope, or such-like virtuous lady.
- MN. The cause I know ; the cause I'll show : you won't discover any
 Penelope alive to-day, but Phaedras very many. 550
- MICA. You will ? you dare ? how *can* we bear to hear such things repeated,
 Such horrid, dreadful, odious things ? MN. O, I've not near completed
 The things I know ; I'll give the whole : I'm not disposed to grudge it.
- MICA. You can't, I vow ; you've emptied now your whole disgusting budget.
- MN. No, not one thousandth part I've told : not even how we take
 The scraper from the bathing-room, and down the corn we rake,
 And push it in, and tap the bin. MICA. Confound you and your slanders !
- MN. Nor how the Apaturian meat we steal to give our panders,

- And then declare the cat was there. MICA. You nasty tell-tale you !
- MN. Nor how with deadly axe a wife her lord and master slew,
 Another drove her husband mad with poisonous drugs fallacious,
 Nor how beneath the reservoir the Acharnian girl— MICA. Good gracious !
- MN. Buried her father out of sight. MICA. Now really this won't do.
- MN. Nor how when late your servant bare a child as well as you,
 You took her boy, and in his stead your puling girl you gave her.
- MICA. O, by the Two, this jade shall rue her insolent behaviour.
 I'll comb your fleece, you saucy minx. MN. By Zeus, you had best begin it.
- MICA. Come on ! MN. Come on ! MICA. You will ? you will ?

(Flinging her upper mantle to Philista.)

Hold this, my dear, a minute.

- MN. Stand off, or else, by Artemis, I'll give you such a strumming—
- CHOR. For pity's sake, be silent there : I see a woman coming,
 Who looks as if she'd news to tell. Now prithee both be quiet,
 And let us hear the tale she brings, without this awful riot.

*(The supposed woman turns out to be the notorious Cleisthenes, of whom we have already heard.
 The reader must imagine the feelings of Mnesilochus during the ensuing dialogue.)*

- CLEIS. Dear ladies, I am one with you in heart ;
 My cheeks, unfledged, bear witness to my love,
 I am your patron, aye, and devotee.
 And now, for lately in the market-place
 I heard a rumour touching you and yours,
 I come to warn and put you on your guard,
 Lest this great danger take you unawares.
- CHOR. What now, my child ? for we may call thee child,
 So soft, and smooth, and downy are thy cheeks.
- CLEI. Euripides, they say, has sent a cousin,
 A bad old man, amongst you here to-day.
- CHOR. O, why and wherefore, and with what design ?
- CLEI. To be a spy, a horrid, treacherous spy,
 A spy on all your purposes and plans.

CHOR. O, how should he be here, and we not know it?

CLEI. Euripides has tweezered him, and singed him,
And dressed him up, disguised in woman's clothes.

MN. (*Stamping about with a lively recollection of his recent sufferings.*)

I don't believe it; not one word of it;
No man would let himself be tweezered so.
Ye Goddesses, I don't believe there's one.

CLEI. Nonsense: I never should have come here else,
I had it on the best authority.

CHOR. This is a most important piece of news.

We'll take immediate steps to clear this up.
We'll search him out: we'll find his lurking-place.
Zounds, if we catch him! r-r-r! the rascal man.
Will you, kind gentleman, assist the search?
Give us fresh cause to thank you, patron mine.

600

CLEI. (*To Mica.*) Well, who are you? MN. (*Aside.*) Wherever can I flee?

CLEI. I'll find him, trust me. MN. (*Aside.*) Here's a precious scrape!

MICA. Who? I? CLEI. Yes, you. MICA. Cleonymus's wife.

CLEI. Do you know her, ladies? Is she speaking truth?

CHOR. O yes, we know her: pass to some one else.

CLEI. Who's this young person with the baby here?

MICA. O, she's my nursemaid. MN. (*Aside.*) Here he comes; I'm done for.

CLEI. Hey! where's she off to? Stop! Why, what the mischief!

CHOR. (*Aside to Clei.*) Yes, sift her well; discover who she is.

We know the others, but we don't know her.

CLEI. Come, come, no shuffling, madam, turn this way.

MN. (*Fretfully.*) Don't pull me, sir, I'm poorly. CLEI. Please to tell me
Your husband's name. MN. My husband's name? my husband's?
Why What-d'ye-call-him from Cothocidae.

CLEI. Eh, what? (*Considers.*) There was a What-d'ye-call-him once—

MN. He's Who-d'ye-call-it's son. CLEI. You're trifling with me.
Have you been here before? MN. O, bless you, yes.
Why, every year. CLEI. And with what tent-companion?

MN. With What's-her-name. CLEI. This is sheer idling, woman.

MICA. (*To Clei.*) Step back, sir, please, and let me question her
On last year's rites; a little further, please;
No *man* must listen now. (*To Mn.*) Now, stranger, tell me
What first we practised on that holy day.

MN. Bless me, what was it? first? why, first we—drank.

MICA. Right; what was second? MN. Second? Drank again.

MICA. Somebody's told you this. But what was third?

MN. Well, third, Xenylla had a drop too much.

MICA. Ah, that won't do. Here, Cleisthenes, approach.

This is the *MAN* for certain. CLEI. Bring him up.

(*Mnesilochus is seized, carried before a jury of matrons, and pronounced a MAN! A general uproar ensues.*)

CHOR. O, this is why you mocked and jeered us so!

And dared defend Euripides like that!

O, villain, villain. MN. Miserable me!

650

I've put my foot in it, and no mistake.

MICA. What shall we do with him? CLEI. Surround him here.

And watch him shrewdly that he 'scape you not.

I'll go at once and summon the Police.

(*Cleisthenes goes out.*)

CHOR. Light we our torches, my sisters, and manfully girding our robes,
Gather them sternly about us, and casting our mantles aside
On through the tents and the gangways, and up by the tiers and the rows,
Eyeing, and probing, and trying, where men would be likely to hide.

Now 'tis time, 'tis time, my sisters, round and round and round to go,
Soft, with light and airy foot-fall, creeping, peeping, high and low.
Look about in each direction, make a rigid, close inspection,
Lest in any hole or corner, other rogues escape detection.

Hunt with care, here and there,
Searching, spying, poking, prying, up and down, and everywhere.

For if once the evil-doer we can see,
He shall soon be a prey to our vengeance to-day,

And to all men a warning he shall be
 Of the terrible fate that is sure to await
 The guilty sin-schemer and lawless blasphemer.
 And then he shall find that the Gods are not blind
 To what passes below ;
 Yea, and all men shall know
 It is best to live purely, uprightly, securely,
 It is best to do well,
 And to practise day and night what is orderly and right,
 And in virtue and in honesty to dwell.

But if any one there be who a wicked deed shall do,
 In his raving, and his raging, and his madness, and his pride,
 Every mortal soon shall see, aye, and every woman too,

 What a doom shall the guilty one betide.
 For the wicked evil deed shall be recompensed with speed,
 The Avenger doth not tarry to begin,
 Nor delayeth for a time, but He searcheth out the crime,
 And He punisheth the sinner in his sin.

Now we've gone through every corner, every nook surveyed with care,
 And there's not another culprit skulking, lurking anywhere.

(Just as the Chorus are concluding their search, Mnesilochus snatches Mica's baby from her arms, and takes refuge at the altar.)

MICA. Hoy ! Hoy there ! Hoy !

He's got my child, he's got my darling, O !
 He's snatched my little baby from my breast.
 O, stop him, stop him ! O, he's gone. O ! O !

MN. Aye, weep ! you ne'er shall dandle him again,
 Unless you loose me. Soon shall these small limbs,
 Smit with cold edge of sacrificial knife,
 Incarnadine this altar. MICA. O ! O ! O !
 Help, women, help me. Sisters, help, I pray.
 Charge to the rescue, shout, and rout, and scout him.
 Don't see me lose my baby, my one pet.

CHOR. Alas ! Alas !

Merely o' me ! what do I see ?

700

What can it be ?

What, will deeds of shameless violence never, never, never, end ?

What's the matter, what's he up to, what's he doing now, my friend ?

MN. Doing what I hope will crush you out of all your bold assurance.

CHOR. Zounds, his words are very dreadful ; more than dreadful, past endurance.

MICA. Yes, indeed, they're very dreadful, and he's got my baby too.

CHOR. Impudence rare ! Look at him there,

Doing such deeds, and I vow and declare

Never minding or caring— MN. Or likely to care.

CHOR. Here you are come : here you shall stay,

Never again shall you wander away ;

Wander away, glad to display

All the misdeeds you have done us to-day,

But dear you shall pay.

MN. There at least I'm hoping, ladies, I shall find your words untrue.

CHOR. What God do you think his assistance will lend,

You wicked old man, to escort you away ?

MN. Aha, but I've captured your baby, my friend,

And I shan't let her go, for the best you can say.

CHOR. But no, by the Goddesses Twain,

Not long shall our threats be in vain,

Not long shall you flout at our pain.

Unholy your deeds, and you'll find

That we shall repay you in kind,

And perchance you will alter your mind

When Fate, veering round like the blast,

In its clutches has seized you at last,

Very fast.

Comrades, haste, collect the brushwood : pile it up without delay :

Pile it, heap it, stow it, throw it, burn and fire and roast and slay.

MICA. Come, Mania, come ; let's run and fetch the fagots.

(*To Mn.*) Ah, wretch, you'll be a cinder before night.

MN. (*Busily engaged in unpacking the baby.*)

With all my heart. Now I'll undo these wrappers,
These Cretan long clothes; and remember, darling,
It's all your mother that has served you thus.
What have we here? a flask, and not a baby!
A flask of wine, for all its Persian slippers.
O ever thirsty, ever tipling women,
O ever ready with fresh schemes for drink,
To vintners what a blessing: but to us
And all our goods and chattels what a curse!

MICA. Drag in the fagots, Mania; pile them up.

MN. Aye, pile away; but tell me, is this baby
Really your own? MICA. My very flesh and blood.

MN. Your flesh and blood? MICA. By Artemis it is.

MN. Is it a pint? MICA. O, what have you been doing?
O, you have stripped my baby of its clothes.

Poor tiny morsel! MN. (*Holding up a large bottle.*) Tiny? MICA. Yes, indeed.

MN. What is its age? Three Pitcher-feasts or four?

MICA. Well, thereabouts, a little over now.

Please give it back. MN. No thank you, not exactly.

MICA. We'll burn you then. MN. O, burn me by all means;
But anyhow I'll sacrifice this victim.

750

MICA. O! O! O!

Make *me* your victim, anything you like;

But spare the child. MN. A loving mother truly.

But this dear child must needs be sacrificed.

MICA. My child! my child! give me the bason, Mania,
I'll catch my darling's blood, at any rate.

MN. And so you shall; I'll not deny you that.

(*Puts the bottle to his lips and drains every drop; taking care that none shall fall into the bason which Mica is holding underneath.*)

MICA. You spiteful man! you most ungenerous man!

MN. This skin, fair priestess, is your perquisite.

MICA. What is my perquisite? MN. This skin, fair priestess.

(Another woman, Critylla, now enters.)

CRI. O Mica, who has robbed thee of thy flower,
And snatched thy babe, thine only one, away?

MICA. This villain here: but I'm so glad you're come.
You see he doesn't run away, while I
Call the police, with Cleisthenes, to help us.

(Mica goes out.)

MN. *(Soliloquizes.)* O me, what hope of safety still remains?
What plan? what stratagem? My worthy cousin,
Who first involved me in this dreadful scrape,
"He cometh not." Suppose I send him word.
But how to send it? Hah, I know a trick
Out of his Palamede. I'll send a message
Written on oar-blades. Tush! I've got no oar-blades.
What shall I do for oar-blades? Why not send
These votive slabs instead? The very thing.
Oar-blades are wood, and slabs are wood. I'll try.

(Writes, and sings to himself as he writes.)

Now for the trick; fingers be quick;
Do what you can for my notable plan.
Slab, have the grace to permit me to trace
Grooves with my knife on your beautiful face.
The tale of my woe it is yours for to show.
Oh, oh, what a furrow! I never did see
Such an horrible "R" as I've made it to be.
Well, that must do; so fly¹ away you,
Hither and thither, off, off, and away.
Do not delay for a moment, I pray.

¹ He flings the tablets about, in the hope that some or one of them may reach Euripides. It is, of course, a parody on that Poet's "Palamede."

(*Here follows the PARABASIS. As a rule, all the actors leave the stage before the Parabasis begins : but Mnesilochus is unable to leave, and Critylla remains to keep watch.*)

CHOR. Now let us turn to the people, our own panegyric to render.
 Men never speak a good word, never one, for the feminine gender,
 Every one says we're a Plague, the source of all evils to man,
 War, dissension, and strife. Come, answer me this, if you can ;
 Why, if we're *really* a Plague, you're so anxious to have us for wives ;
 And charge us not to be peeping, nor to stir out of doors for our lives.
 Isn't it silly to guard a Plague with such scrupulous care ?
 Zounds ! how you rave, coming home, if your poor little wife isn't there.
 Should you not rather be glad, and rejoice all the days of your life,
 Rid of a *Plague*, you know, the source of dissension and strife ?
 If on a visit we sport, and sleep when the sporting is over,
 O, how you rummage about ; what a fuss, your lost Plague to discover.
 Every one stares at your Plague if she happens to look on the street :
 Stares all the more if your Plague thinks proper to blush and retreat.
 Is it not plain then, I ask, that Women are really the best ?
 What, can you doubt that we are ? I will bring it at once to the test. 800
We say Women are best ; you men (just like you) deny it,
 Nothing on earth is so easy as to come to the test, and to try it.
 I'll take the name of a Man, and the name of a Woman, and show it.
 Did not Charminus give way to Miss-Fortune ? Do you not know it ?
 Is not Cleophon viler than vile Salabaccho by far ?
 Is there a Man who can equal, in matters of glory and war,
 Lady Victoria, Mistress of Marathon, queen of the Sea ?
 Is not Prudence a Woman, and who is so clever as she ?
 Certainly none of your statesmen, who only a twelvemonth ago
 Gave up their place and their duty. Would women demean themselves so ?
 Women don't ride in their coaches, as Men have been doing of late,
 Pockets and purses distended with cash they have filched from the State.
 We, at the very outside, steal a wee little jorum of corn,
 Putting it back in the even, whatever we took in the morn.

(*The Strophe.*)

But this is a true description of you.
 Are ye not gluttonous, vulgar, perverse,
 Kidnappers, housebreakers, footpads, and worse?
 And we in domestic economy too
 Are thriftier, shiftier, wiser than you.
 For the loom which our mothers employed with such skill,
 With its Shaft and its Thongs,—we are working it still.
 And the ancient umbrella by no means is done,
 We are wielding it yet, as our Shield from the Sun.
 But O for the Shafts, and the Thong of the Shield,
 Which your Fathers in fight were accustomed to wield.
 Where are they to-day? Ye have cast them away
 As ye raced, in hot haste, and disgraced, from the fray!

(*The Epirrhema.*)

Many things we have against you, many rules we justly blame;
 But the one we now will mention is the most enormous shame.
 What, my masters! ought a lady, who has borne a noble son,
 One who in your fleets and armies great heroic deeds has done,
 Ought she to remain unhonoured? ought she not, I ask you, I,
 In our Stenia and our Scira still to take precedence high?
 Whoso breeds a cowardly soldier, or a seaman cold and tame,
 Crop her hair, and seat her lowly; brand her with the marks of shame;
 Set the nobler dame above her. Can it, all ye Powers, be right
 That Hyperbolus's mother, flowing-haired, and robed in white,
 Should in public places sit by Lamachus's mother's side,
 Hoarding wealth, and lending monies, gathering profits far and wide?
 Sure 'twere better every debtor, calm resolving not to pay,
 When she comes exacting money, with a mild surprise should say,
 Keeping principal and income, *You to claim percentage due!*
Sure a son so capital is CAPITAL enough for you.

(*The close of the Parabasis finds the position of Mnesilochus unaltered. The dispatch of the tablets has, so far, produced no result.*)

- MN. I've strained my eyes with watching ; but my poet,
 " He cometh not." Why not ? Belike he feels
 Ashamed of his old frigid Palamede.
 Which is the Play to fetch him ? O, I know ;
 Which but his brand-new Helen ? I'll be Helen. 850
 I've got the woman's clothes, at all events.
- CRI. What are you plotting ? What is that you're muttering ?
 I'll Helen you, my master, if you don't
 Keep quiet there till the Policeman comes.

(We have had a short caricature of the "Palamede." We are about to have a more elaborate caricature of the Helen, which is still extant. Almost all the speeches of Euripides and Mnesilochus in the ensuing scene are taken, with occasional comic perversions, from that Play.)

- MN. *(As Helen.)* These are the fair-nymphed waters of the Nile,
 Whose floods bedew, in place of heavenly showers,
 Egypt's white plains and black-dosed citizens.
- CRI. Sweet-shining Hecate, what a rogue it is.
- MN. Ah, not unknown my Spartan fatherland,
 Nor yet my father Tyndareus. CRI. My gracious !
 Was *he* your father ? Sure, Phrynonidas was.
- MN. And I was Helen. CRI. What, again a woman ?
 You've not been punished for your first freak yet.
- MN. Full many a soul, by bright Scamander's stream,
 Died for my sake. CRI. Would yours had died among them !
- MN. And now I linger here ; but Menelaus,
 My dear, dear lord, ah wherefore comes he not ?
 O sluggish crows, to spare my hapless life !
 But soft ! some hope is busy at my heart,
 A laughing hope—O Zeus, deceive me not.

(Euripides enters disguised as Menelaus.)

- EUR. Who is the lord of this stupendous pile ?
 Will he extend his hospitable care
 To some poor storm-tossed, shipwrecked mariners ?
- MN. These are the halls of Proteus. EUR. Proteus, are they ?

- CRI. O, by the Twain, he lies like anything.
I knew old Protteas ; he's been dead these ten years.
- EUR. Then whither, whither have we steered our bark ?
- MN. To Egypt. EUR. O, the weary, weary way !
- CRI. Pray don't believe one single word he says.
This is the holy temple of the Twain.
- EUR. Know you if Proteus be at home or not ?
- CRI. Why, don't I tell you, he's been dead these ten years !
You can't have quite got over your sea-sickness,
Asking if Protteas be at home or not.
- EUR. Woe's me ! is Proteus dead ? and where's he buried ?
- MN. This is his tomb whereon I'm sitting now.
- CRI. O, hang the rascal ; and he *shall* be hanged !
How dare he say this altar is a tomb ?
- EUR. And wherefore sitt'st thou on this monument,
Veiled in thy mantle, lady ? MN. They compel me,
A weeping bride, to marry Proteus' son.
- CRI. Why do you tell the gentleman such fibs ?
Good gentleman, he's a bad man ; he came
Among the women here, to steal their trinkets.
- MN. Aye, aye, rail on : revile me as you list.
- EUR. Who is the old woman who reviles you, lady ?
- MN. Theonoe, Proteus' daughter. CRI. What a story !
Why, I'm Critylla, of Gargettus, sir,
A very honest woman. MN. Aye, speak on.
But never will I wed thy brother, no
I won't be false to absent Menelaus.
- EUR. What, lady, what ? O, raise those orbs to mine.
- MN. O sir, I blush to raise them, with these cheeks.
- EUR. O dear, O dear, I cannot speak for trembling.
Ye Gods, is't possible ? Who art thou, lady ?
- MN. O, who art thou ? I feel the same myself.
- EUR. Art thou Hellenic, or a born Egyptian ?

MN. Hellenic I : O, tell me what art thou.

EUR. O surely, surely, thou art Helen's self.

MN. O, from the greens thou must be Menelaus.

EUR. Yes, yes, you see that miserable man.

MN. O, long in coming to these longing arms,
 O, carry me, carry me, from this place,
 O, wrap me in thy close embrace,

O, carry me, carry me, carry me home, by this fond and loving kiss,

O, take me, take me, take me hence. CRI. I say now, none of this.

Let go there, or I'll strike you with this link !

EUR. Let go my wife, the child of Tyndareus,

Not take her home to Sparta ? O, what mean you ?

CRI. O, that's it, is it ? You're a bad one too !

Both of one gang. That's what your gipsying meant !

But he at any rate shall meet his due.

Here's the Policeman, and the Scythian coming.

EUR. Ah, this won't do : I must slip off awhile.

MN. And what am I to do ? EUR. Keep quiet here,

Be sure I'll never fail you while I live ;

I have ten thousand tricks to save you yet.

MN. Well, you caught nothing by *that* haul, I think.

(The high official, who is here inadequately called a "Policeman," now enters upon the stage, attended by one of the Scythian archers.)

POLICEMAN. O Archer, here's the vagabond, of whom

Cleisthenes told us. *(To Mn.)* Why do you hang your head ?

(To Scyth.) Take him within ; there tie him on the plank ;

Then bring him here and watch him. Let not any

Approach too near him : should they try to, take

The whip, and smite them. CRI. Aye, one came but now

Spinning his yarns, and all but got him off.

MN. O Sir ! policeman ! grant me one request,

O, by that hand I pray you, which you love

To hold out empty, and to draw back full.

POL. What should I grant you? MN. Don't expose me thus ;
 Do tell the Scythian he may strip me first ;
 Don't let a poor old man, in silks and snoods,
 Provoke the laughter of the crows that eat him.

POL. Thus hath the Council ordered it, that so
 The passers-by may see the rogue you are.

MN. Alas ! Alas ! O yellow silk, I hate ye !
 O, I've no hope, no hope of getting free.

(All the actors leave the stage. And the Chorus commence their great ceremonial worship of dance and song.)

CHOR. Now for the revels, my sisters, which we to the great Twain Powers
 Prayerfully, carefully raise, in the holy festival hours.

And Pauson will join in our worship to-day,
 And Pauson will join in the fasting,
 And, keen for the fast, to the Twain he will pray 950
 For the rite to be made everlasting, I ween,
 For the rite to be made everlasting.

Now advance
 In the whirling, twirling dance,
 With hand linked in hand, as we deftly trip along,
 Keeping time to the cadence of the swiftly-flowing song ;
 And be sure as we go
 That we dart careful glances, up and down, and to and fro.

Now 'tis ours
 To entwine our choicest flowers,
 Flowers of song and adoration to the great Olympian Powers.

Nor expect
 That the garland will be flecked
 With abuse of mortal men ; such a thought is incorrect.

For with prayer
 And with sacred loving care,
 A new and holy measure we will heedfully prepare.

To the high and holy Minstrel
Let the dancers onward go,
And to Artemis, the maiden
Of the quiver and the bow ;
O, hear us, Far-controller, and the victory bestow.
And we trust our merry music
Will the matron Hera please,
For she loves the pleasant Chorus
And the dances such as these,
—Wearing at her girdle
The holy nuptial Keys.

To Pan and pastoral Hermes
And the friendly Nymphs we pray,
That they smile with gracious favour
On our festival to-day,
With their laughter-loving glances beaming brightly on our Play,
As we dance the Double chorus
To the old familiar strain,
As we weave our ancient pastime
On our holy day again,
—Keeping fast and vigil
In the Temple of the Twain.

Turn the step, and change the measure,
Raise a loftier music now ;
Come, the Lord of wine and pleasure,
Evoi, Bacchus, lead us thou !

Yea, for Thee we adore !
Child of Semele, thee
With thy glittering ivy-wreaths,
Thee with music and song
Ever and ever we praise.

Thee with thy wood-nymphs delightedly singing,
 Evoi ! Evoi ! Evoi !
 Over the joyous hills the sweet strange melody ringing.
 Hark ! Cithaeron resounds,
 Pleased the notes to prolong ;
 Hark ! the bosky ravines
 And the wild slopes thunder and roar,
 Volleying back the song.
 Round thee the ivy fair
 With delicate tendrils twines.

1000

(The Scythian brings Mnesilochus in, fastened to his plank, and sets it up on the stage.)

SCYTHIAN. Dere now bemoany to de ouden air.

MN. O, I entreat you. SC. Nod endread me zu.

MN. Slack it a little. SC. Dat is vat I does.

MN. O mercy ! mercy ! O, you drive it tighter.

SC. Dighder zu wiss him ? MN. Miserable me !

Out on you, villain. SC. Zilence, bad ole man.

I'se fetch de mad, an' vatch zu comfibly.

MN. These are the joys Euripides has brought me !

(Euripides makes a momentary appearance in the character of Perseus. The third Play to be caricatured is the famous Andromeda.)

O Gods ! O Saviour Zeus ! there's yet a hope.

Then he won't fail me ! Out he flashed as Perseus.

I understand the signals, I'm to act

The fair Andromeda in chains. Ah, well,

Here are the chains, worse luck, wherewith to act her.

He'll come and succour me ; he's in the wings.

(Euripides enters singing airily.)

EUR. Now to peep, now to creep

Soft and slily through.

Maidens, pretty maidens,

Tell me what I am to do.

Tell me how to glide

By the Scythian Argus-eyed,
 And to steal away my bride.
 Tell me, tell me, tell me, tell me, tell me, tell,
 Echo, always lurking in the cavern and the dell.

(Euripides retires, and Mnesilochus commences a Euripidean monody, mostly composed of quotations from the Andromeda, adapted to his own position.)

MN. A cold unpitying heart had he
 Who bound me here in misery.
 Hardly escaped from mouldy dame,
 I'm caught and done for, just the same.
 Lo, the Scythian guard beside me,
 Friendless, helpless, here he tied me ;
 Soon upon these limbs of mine
 Shall the greedy ravens dine.
 Seest thou ? not to me belong
 Youthful pleasures, dance and song,
 Never, never more shall I
 With my friends sweet law-suits try,
 But woven chains with many a link surround me,
 Till Glaucetes, that ravening whale, has found me.
 Home I nevermore shall see ;
 Bridal songs are none for me,
 Nought but potent incantations ;
 Sisters, raise your lamentations,
 Woe, woe, woeful me,
 Sorrow, and trouble, and misery.
 Weeping, weeping, endless weeping,
 Far from home and all I know,
 Praying him who wronged me so.
 O ! O ! Woe ! woe !
 First with razor keen he hacks me,
 Next in yellow silk he packs me,
 Sends me then to dangerous dome,

Where the women prowl and roam.

O heavy Fate ! O fatal blow !

O woeful lot ! and lots of woe !

O, how they will chide me, and gibe, and deride me !

And O that the flashing, and roaring, and dashing, 1050

Red bolt of the thunder might smite me in sunder,

For where is the joy of the sunshine and glow

To one who is lying, distracted and dying,

With throat-cutting agonies riving him, driving him

Down, down to the darkness below.

(A voice is heard from behind the scenes. It is the voice of Echo.)

ECHO. O welcome, daughter ; but the Gods destroy

Thy father Cepheus, who exposed thee thus.

MN. O, who art thou that mournest for my woes ?

ECHO. Echo, the vocal mocking-bird of song,

I who, last year, in these same lists contended,

A faithful friend, beside Euripides.

And now, my child, for thou must play thy part,

Make dolorous wails. MN. And you wail afterwards ?

ECHO. I'll see to that ; only begin at once.

MN. O Night most holy,

O'er dread Olympus, vast and far,

In thy dark car

Thou journeyest slowly

Through Ether ridged with many a star.

ECHO. With many a star.

MN. Why on Andromeda ever must flow

Sorrow and woe ? ECHO. Sorrow and woe ?

MN. Heavy of fate. ECHO. Heavy of fate.

MN. Old woman, you'll kill me, I know, with your prate.

ECHO. Know with your prate.

MN. Why, how tiresome you are : you are going too far.

ECHO. You are going too far.

- MN. Good friend, if you kindly will leave me in peace,
You'll do me a favour, O prithee, cease. ECHO. Cease.
- MN. O, go to the crows! ECHO. O, go to the crows!
- MN. Why can't you be still? ECHO. Why can't you be still?
- MN. (*Spitefully.*) Old gossip! ECHO. (*Spitefully.*) Old gossip!
- MN. Lackaday! ECHO. Lackaday! MN. And alas! ECHO. And alas!

(*The Scythian suddenly awakes to the fact that his prisoner is taking part in a conversation.*)

- SC. O, vat does zu say? ECHO. O, vat does zu say?
- SC. I'se calls de police. ECHO. I'se calls de police.
- SC. Vat nosense is dis? ECHO. Vat nosense is dis?
- SC. Vy, vere is de voice? ECHO. Vy, vere is de voice?
- SC. (*To Mn.*) Vos id zu? ECHO. Vos id zu?
- SC. Zu'll catch id. ECHO. Zu'll catch id.
- SC. Does zu mocksh? ECHO. Does zu mocksh?
- MN. 'Tisn't I, I declare: it is that woman there.
- ECHO. It is that woman there.
- SC. Vy, vere is de wretch? Me mush catch, me mush catch.
Her's a gone, her's a fled. ECHO. Her's a gone, her's a fled.
- SC. Zu'll a suffer for dis. ECHO. Zu'll a suffer for dis.
- SC. Vat again? ECHO. Vat again?
- SC. Zeege ole o' de mix. ECHO. Zeege ole o' de mix.
- SC. Vat a babbled an' talketing ooman.

(*Euripides enters in the guise of Perseus.*)

- EUR. Ah me, what wild and terrible coast is this?
Plying the pathless air with wingèd feet, 1100
Steering for Argos, bearing in my hand
The Gorgon's head— SC. Vat dat zu say o' Gorgo?
Dat zu has gots de writer Gorgo's head?
- EUR. "Gorgon," I say. SC. An' me says "Gorgo" too.
- EUR. Alas, what crag is this, and lashed upon it
What maiden, beautiful as shapes divine,
A lovely craft too rudely moored. MN. O stranger,
Pity the sorrows of a poor young woman,

- And loose my bonds. SC. Vat, vill zu no be quiet ?
 Vat, talkee, talkee, ven zu're goin' to die ?
- EUR. Fair girl, I weep to see thee hanging there.
- SC. Disn't von gal : dis von ole villain man,
 Von vare bad rascal fellow. EUR. Scythian, peace !
 This is Andromeda, King Cepheus' daughter.
- SC. Von dawder ! Dis ? Vare obvious man, metinks.
- EUR. O, reach thy hand, and let me clasp my love ;
 O Scythian, reach. Ah me, what passionate storms
 Toss in men's souls ; and as for mine, O lady,
 Thou art my love ! SC. Me nod admire zure dasde.
 Sdill zu may tiss her, if zu wiss id, dere.
- EUR. Hard-hearted Scythian, give me up my love,
 And I will take her,—take her aye to wife.
- SC. Tiss her, me says ; me nod objex to dat.
- EUR. Ah me, I'll loose her bonds. SC. Zu bedder nod.
- EUR. Ah me, I will. SC. Den, me'se cut off zure head.
 Me draw de cudless, and zu die, zu dead.
- EUR. Ah, what avails me ? Shall I make a speech ?
 His savage nature could not take it in.
 True wit and wisdom were but labour lost
 On such a rude barbarian. I must try
 Some more appropriate, fitter stratagem.
- SC. O, de vile vox ! He jocket me vare near.
- MN. O Perseus, Perseus, will thou leave me so ?
- SC. Vat, does zu askin' for de vip again ?

(He goes out.)

- CHOR. Pallas we call upon,
 Chastest and purest one,
 Maiden and Virgin, our
 Revels to see :
 Guarding our portals
 Alone of Immortals,

Mightily, potently,
 Keeping the Key.
 Hater of Tyranny,
 Come, for we call thee, we
 Women in Chorus.
 Bring Peace again with thee,
 Jocundly, merrily,
 Long to reign o'er us.

Sacred, unearthly ones,
 Awfullest Shades,
 Graciously, peacefully,
 Come to your glades.
 Man must not gaze on the
 Rites at your shrine,
 Torch-glimmer flashing o'er
 Features divine.
 Come, for we're pouring
 Imploring, adoring,
 Intense veneration ;
 Dawn on your worshippers,
 Givers of Home and our
 Civilization.

1150

(Euripides comes in, dressed as an old music-woman.)

EUR. Ladies, I offer terms. If well and truly
 Your honourable sex befriend me now,
 I won't abuse your honourable sex
 From this time forth for ever. This I offer.

CHOR. (*Suspiciously.*) But what's your object in proposing this ?

EUR. That poor old man there, he's my poor old cousin.
 Let him go free, and nevermore will I
 Traduce your worthy sex ; but if you won't,
 I'll meet your husbands coming from the Wars,

And put them up to all your goings-on.

CHOR. We take your terms, so far as we're concerned,
But you yourself must manage with the Scythian.

EUR. I'll manage *him*. Now, Hop-o-my-thumb, come forward,

(*A dancing-girl enters.*)

And mind the things I taught you on the way.

Hold up your frock : skip lightly through the dance.

The Persian air, Teredon, if you please.

Sc. Vy, vat dis buzbuzz ? revels come dis vay ?

EUR. She's going to practise, Scythian, that is all.

She's got to dance in public by-and-by.

Sc. Yesh, practish, yesh. Hoick ! how se bobs about !

Now here, now dere : von vlea upon de planket.

EUR. Just stop a moment ; throw your mantle off ;

Come, sit you down beside the Scythian here,

And I'll unloose your slippers. That will do.

We must be moving homeward. Sc. May I tiss her ?

EUR. Once, only once. Sc. (*Kissing her.*) O, O, vat vare sweet tiss !

Dat's vare moche sweeter dan zure Attish honies.

Dooze let me tiss her tecon time, ole lady.

EUR. No, Scythian, no ; we really can't allow it.

Sc. O doozy, doozy, dear ole lady, doozy.

EUR. Will you give silver for one kiss. Sc. Yesh ! yesh !

EUR. Well, p'raps on that consideration, Scythian,

We won't object ; but give the silver first.

Sc. Silver ? Vy, vere ? I'se got none. Take dis bow-cus.

Zu, vat I call zu ? EUR. Artemisia.

1200

Sc. Yesh. Hartomixer. EUR. Hillo, what's that ? She's off.

Sc. I'se fetch her pack ; zu, look to bad ole man.

(*Hop-o-my-thumb runs out. The Scythian flings his bow-case to Euripides and runs after her.*)

EUR. O tricky Hermes, you befriend me still.

Good-bye, old Scythian ; catch her if you can.

Meanwhile I'll free your prisoner : and do you (*to Mn.*)

THES.

N

Run like a hero, when I've loosed your bonds,
Straight to the bosom of your family.

MN. Trust me for that, so soon as these are off.

EUR. There then, they are off: now run away, before
The Scythian come and catch you. MN. Won't I just!

(Euripides and Mnesilochus leave the stage. They are hardly out of sight, when the Scythian returns.)

SC. Ole lady, here's—vy, vere's ole lady fannish?
Vere's dat ole man? O bah, I smells de trick.
Ole lady, dis vare bad o'zu, ole lady!
Me nod expex dis of zu. Bad ole lady.

Hartomixer!

Bow-cusses? Yesh, zu von big howcus-bowcus.
Vat sall I does? vere can ole lady vas?

Hartomixer!

CHOR. Mean you the ancient dame who bore the lute?

SC. Yesh, does zu saw her? CHOR. Yes, indeed I did.
She went *that* way: there was an old man with her.

SC. Von yellow-shilk ole man? CHOR. Exactly so.
I think you'll catch them if you take *that* road.

SC. Vare bad ole lady, did se vich vay run?

Hartomixer!

CHOR. Straight up the hill; no, no, not that direction.

(They are of course misdirecting him; notwithstanding which, he seems likely, in his flurry, to stumble on the right road.)

You're going wrong: see, that's the way she went.

SC. O dear, O dear, but Hartomixer runnish.

(He runs out the wrong way.)

CHOR. Merrily, merrily, merrily on to your own confusion go.
But we've ended our say, and we're going away,
Like good honest women, straight home from the Play.
And we trust that the twain Home-givers will deign
To bless with success our performance to-day.

APPENDIX

OF VARIOUS READINGS

THERE are only two MSS. now known to exist, which contain the Thesmophoriazusae, viz. :

R. The Ravenna MS.

H. The Monaco (Herculis Portus) MS. (No. 492).

There are two Aristophanic MSS. in the library of Monaco; but as they do not overlap each other, one containing the Clouds, Frogs, Ecclesiazusae, and Plutus, and the other the Lysistrata and Thesmophoriazusae, it seemed unnecessary to discriminate between them as H. and H¹.; and they are both cited as H.

Both R. and H. were fortunately collated by Velsen, the prince of collators.

No part of the Thesmophoriazusae was found in the MS. or MSS. from which the learned Marco Musuro prepared the Aldine edition. Both this play and the Lysistrata were first published in 1515 by Bernard Junta as a supplement to his edition of the nine other plays published earlier in the same year. He describes the manuscript from which he took them as “ex Urbinatæ Bibliothecæ antiquissimum Aristophanis exemplar,” and adds that it was so ancient “ut altera interdum dictionis pars ibi desideretur.” The two plays were omitted by Fracini and Gormont, but reappear in Zanetti and all subsequent editions of Aristophanes.

The editions of the *Thesmophoriazusae* in my possession are as follows :—

- (1) Junta. Florence, 1515.
- (2) Zanetti. Venice, 1538.
- (3) Farreus. Venice, 1542.
- (4) Grynaeus. Frankfort, 1544.
- (5) Gelenius. Basle, 1547 (sometimes called Froben).
- (6) Rapheleng. Leyden, 1600 (sometimes called Plantin).
- (7) Portus. Geneva, 1607.
- (8) Scaliger. Leyden, 1624.
- (9) Faber. Amsterdam, 1670.
- (10) Kuster. Amsterdam, 1710.
- (11) Bergler. Leyden, 1760.
- (12) Brunck. London, 1823 (originally published at Strasburg, 1783).
- (13) Invernizzi and others. Leipsic, 1794–1823. (The notes to this play are by Dindorf.)
- (14) Bekker. London, 1829.
- (15) Bothe's first edition. Leipsic, 1829.
- (16) Thiersch's *Thesmophoriazusae*. Halberstadt, 1832.
- (17) Dindorf. Oxford, 1835.
- (18) Fritzsche's *Thesmophoriazusae*. Leipsic, 1838.
- (19) Weise. Leipsic, 1842.
- (20) Enger's *Thesmophoriazusae*. Bonn, 1844.
- (21) Bothe's second edition. Leipsic, 1845.
- (22) Bergk. Leipsic, 1857. (Reprinted, 1888.)
- (23) Meineke. Leipsic, 1860.
- (24) Holden. London, 1868.
- (25) Blaydes. Halle, 1880.
- (26) Velsen's *Thesmophoriazusae*, 1883.
- (27) Hall and Geldart. Oxford, 1900.

But the second volume of Messrs. Hall and Geldart's work was not

published until 1901, after my edition of the *Frogs* and *Ecclesiazusae* (Vol. V of this series) had been printed, so that I had not the assistance of their excellent revision for these two plays.

To a little dissertation on the *Thesmophoria*, published in 1820, Wellauer appended a few valuable critical notes on the text of this play, which are noticed, in their proper places, in this Appendix.

This Comedy has been fortunate enough to attract two excellent editors, Fritzsche and Enger: the former brimming over with learning, originality, and wit, often making the most untenable suggestions, but supporting them with a wealth of illustration and argument, which extorts our admiration, even though it cannot convince; the latter careful and sagacious, but far too fond (considering that he was the younger man) of ostentatiously pricking the bubbles which his more brilliant predecessor had blown. In his Preface he refers to the edition published "a Francisco Fritschio, magnae viro doctrinae, multaeque lectionis, qui si modestius de se ipse sentiret, neque quidquid in mentem venisset, id omne existimaret effutiendum, majore denique uteretur prudentiâ atque cautione, multum posset ad Aristophanem et emendandum et rectius intelligendum conferre." Fritzsche was not the man to sit still under this rebuke, and in the Preface to his edition of the *Frogs*, published in the following year, he took occasion to refer, apropos of nothing, "nugis Roberti Engeri, qui si, impudentiâ depositâ, doctrinae copiolas auxerit, forsitan aliquando literis nostris poterit prodesse." Peace be to their ashes. We could ill have dispensed with the services of either.

Here, as in the Appendix to the *Ecclesiazusae*, I have endeavoured to give, not only a full synopsis of the reading of the MSS., but also a general idea of the changes which have taken place, from time to time, in the text of the printed editions. No Aristophanic text is so corrupt as that of the *Thesmophorizusae*; and therefore considerable licence of conjecture is not only allowable but necessary. In the present play, as well as in the *Lysistrata*, the Ravenna MS. fails to maintain its usual high standard of accuracy. It is true that we have the

Ravenna MS., says Fritzsche in his Preface, ‘At qui tandem Ravennas? Non is, quem in Nubibus, Ranis, Pluto, Equitibus, Vespis, Pace, Avibus, merito admiramur; ne is quidem, quem in Acharnensibus et Ecclesiastibus, non per se et propter se, sed codicis inopiâ melioris, optimam judicamus.’ And he goes on to declare, with some exaggeration, that in these two plays it is distinguished “non tam lectionum proprietate aut præstantiâ, quam mendorum et ineptiarum varietate.”

More fortunate than in the Ecclesiastus, Brunck in this play had access to H., a manuscript little, if at all, inferior to R.

1. ἀρά ποτε; *Will it never?* Wellauer, Dindorf, recentiores. ἄρα πότε; *When will it?* Kuster, and succeeding editors before Dindorf. ἄρα πότε (contra metrum) R. H. edd. before Kuster.

2. ἀλοῶν R. H. vulgo. Bisetus observes βέλτιον ἴσως ἀλῶν, a conjecture approved by several editors, but introduced into the text by Holden only. The aspirate was added to ἀνθρώπος by Bekker. Before Portus ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ was written as one word ἐξεωθινοῦ.

3. οἶόν τε Zanetti, Farreus, Portus, recentiores. οἶόν τι R. H. and the other editors before Portus. Dindorf's error, in ascribing the rectification of the text to Caninius, has crept into all recent editions.

4. εὐριπίδη R. H. vulgo. Εὐριπίδη Dindorf, Blaydes.

5. ὁσ' H. Brunck, recentiores. ὁς R. edd. before Brunck. For πάνθ' Hamaker suggested, and Meineke and Holden read, ταῦθ'.

7. μέλλης Brunck, Bekker, recentiores. μέλλεις R. H. edd. before Brunck.

8. ἄρ' Kuster, recentiores. ἄρ' R. H. edd. before Kuster.

9. παρανεῖς R. H. vulgo. παρανοῖς Junta, Grynæus, and Gelenius. Reiske suggested 'μπαραινέις.

10. ὁρᾶν. Kuster placed a note of interrogation after this line, which seems wrong; but he is followed by Bergler, Fritzsche, Holden, Blaydes, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart.

11. χωρίς. The editions before Grynæus have χωροῖς, a mere typographical error, since they all have χωρίς; two lines below.

12. MN. τοῦ μήτ' ἀκούειν μήθ' ὁρᾶν; EY. This mode of punctuating and dividing the line is really found in R. H. and all editions before Brunck; but as they omit EY. at the commencement of line 11, they give to Mnesilochus the three lines and a half from πῶς μοι παρανεῖς to μήθ' ὁρᾶν; Bergler pointed out that EY. should be prefixed to line 11; and Brunck, adopting this, gave both 11 and 12 as one speech to Euripides, striking out the note of interrogation and the EY. after ὁρᾶν. And this unfortunate change was followed by Invernizzi, Bekker, Dindorf, Fritzsche, Weise, and Bothe. Meanwhile Tyrwhitt

and Dobree had suggested the true mode of punctuating and dividing the line: and even before their *Adversaria* were published, though long after they were written, it was restored by Thiersch. Since then, it has been adopted by Enger, Bergk, and all subsequent editors.

15. αὐτῷ Brunck, recentiores. αὐτῷ H. editions before Brunck. R. has αὐτῷ, without any breathing.

16. πρῶτ' ἐμχανήσατο Grynaeus, Kuster, recentiores. πρῶτα μηχανήσατο R. H. and the other editions before Kuster.

18. ἀκοῇ δὲ χοάνην Dobree, Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Hall and Geldart. Meineke, however, in his *Vind. Aristoph.*, falls away to a conjecture of Bernays, διττήν δὲ χοάνην. ἀκοὴν δὲ χοάνης R. H. vulgo. Scaliger suggested ἀκοῆς δὲ χοάνην, and so Wellauer and Bothe. But the dative ἀκοῇ is required as a parallel to ϕ μὲν βλέπειν χρή two lines above. It is equivalent, as Meineke said, to ϕ δὲ ἀκούειν χρή. Bisetus thought that the words ἀκοὴν δὲ χοάνης might be used, as a joke, for χοάνην δὲ ἀκοῆς; a curious joke. Both Reiske and Tyrwhitt suggested δίκην δὲ χοάνης. It is not an observation of much importance, but there is no instance of this use of δίκην by Aristophanes. This suggestion is, however, adopted by Enger and Blaydes, though the latter dissents from it in his footnote. Fritzsche reads ἀκοῇ δὲ χοάνης, as if it were a question of Ether's *modus operandi*.

20. ᾗδομαι γε R. H. vulgo; but by a slight typographical error, very slight in those days of contractions, the editions from Gelenius to Bergler (inclusive) have ᾗδομαι γάρ.

21. οἶδόν γε ποῦ 'σιν, after the *lemma scholii*, Porson, Bothe, and Hall and Geldart. For γέ ποῦ 'σιν, τέ ποῦ 'σιν, variously accented, is given by R. H. and vulgo. Brunck read τί ποῦ 'σιν, and is followed by Invernizzi, Dindorf, Thiersch, and Blaydes. Fritzsche has γέ τοῦσιν, and so Enger, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, and Velsen. But cf. *Wasps* 27 and the line of Eupolis cited in the Commentary on the present line.

23. ἐξέροις Reiske, Brunck, Fritzsche, Enger, Bothe, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Velsen. ἐξέροιμ' R. H. vulgo.

24. προσμάθοιμι Wellauer, Dindorf, Enger, Bothe, Bergk, recentiores. προσμάθοι μὴ R. H. Junta, and the editors from Gelenius to Kuster (inclusive). προσμάθοις μὴ Zanetti, Farreus, Grynaeus, Scaliger (in notes), Kuster (in notes), Bergler. προσμάθω μὴ Tyrwhitt, Reiske, Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, Fritzsche. In the editions before Brunck, this line and the following were given to Euripides.

26. Ἡρακλέα R. H. vulgo. Ἡρακλῆ Dindorf, Thiersch, Blaydes.

27. σιώπα Dobree, Meineke. σίγα R. H. vulgo. But Mnesilochus when he says σιωπῶ τὸ θύριον must be adopting the very words of Euripides. In the editions called Scaliger's and Faber's, and in Invernizzi, EY. is substituted for τὸ.

28. ἀκούω Brunck, Elmsley (at Ach. 295), Fritzsche, Meineke, recentiores. ἀκούσω R. H. vulgo.

29. ἐνταῦθ' R. H. vulgo. Invernizzi, whether by misreading R., or out of his own head, substituted ἐνθάδε δ'. Wellauer, supposing this to be R.'s reading, observed "recipi potest, modo legatur ἐνθάδ' Ἀγάθων, deleto illo δέ,

quod et sensus et metri causa molestum est, neque obscurum habet corruptelae fontem." And ἐνθάδ' is accordingly read by Dindorf, Enger, Bergk, Meineke, and Holden. But it is not R.'s reading, and Invernizzi himself was the only *fons corruptelae*.

30. Ἀγάθων. The article or aspirate was added by Scaliger, Bentley, and Kuster in their notes, and has been introduced into the text by Brunck and all subsequent editors.

31. ΕΥ. The mark of a new speaker is prefixed to this line by H. Brunck, and all subsequent editors. It is omitted by R. and all earlier editors, who give to Mnesilochus everything from ποῖος to καρτερός; inclusive: Junta and others reading ποῖος οὗτος Ἀγάθων ἔστιν; τίς Ἀγάθων; whilst Gelenius and others read ποῖος οὗτος Ἀγάθων; ἔστιν τις Ἀγάθων;

32. ἑώρακας. All the editions before Brunck have ἑώρακας contra metrum. Kuster in his note proposed ἑώρακάς ποτε, Dawes proposed ἑώρας, which is approved by Porson and followed by Brunck and Invernizzi. Then Bentley's emendation, ἑώρακας, came to light, which has been adopted by Bekker and every subsequent editor except Weise: and is now rendered certain by the discovery that R., who gives the words to Mnesilochus, reads ἑώρακα. H. has ἑώρακα. Weise says that no alteration is required, since ἑώ- is to be read as one syllable, not observing that this, if true, would not mend matters.

34. οὔτοι γ' R. H. vulgo. οὐπω γ' Meineke.

38. ζοικε. The omission of ὡς has troubled some recent scholars. Meineke

reads οἶμαί γε, and in his Vind. Arist. suggests προθυσομένην δ' ζοικε. Dindorf and Rutherford think the verse spurious, and Velsen encloses it in brackets.

39. λαός. Some MSS. of Suidas, s.v. εὐφήμει, and, apparently, the Scholiast here, Bothe, Meineke, recentiores. λεὼς R. H. vulgo. ὁ λεὼς ἔστω for ἔστω λεὼς Brunck.

40. συγκλείσας R. H. editions before Meineke. συγκλήσας Meineke, recentiores, adopting the common fallacy that the general *Hellenic* form, as opposed to the special *Attic* form, was never used by Athenian writers.

45. σίγα. τί λέγεις; H. vulgo. And so R. originally, but afterwards the final ε was erased, so that the reading became σίγα. τί λέγει; which is read by Fritzsche and Enger. Reiske proposed σίγα. ΘΕ. τίς λέγει; contra metrum. Bothe reads σίγα. MN. τί λέγεις; and Meineke, followed by more recent editors, σίγα. MN. τί λέγει; The common reading seems to me greatly preferable to either of these alterations.

50. πρόμος Grynæus, Scaliger (in notes), Brunck (in notes), Bothe, Weise, Enger, Meineke (in notes), Holden, recentiores. πρόμος R. H. vulgo.

53. ἀψίδας Suidas, s.v.v. δρύοχοι, λαικαστής, and χιανεύει, Bourdin, Biset, Bentley, Portus, recentiores. ἀσπίδας R. H. edd. before Portus.

56. γογγύλλει Porson, Bekker, Fritzsche, recentiores. γογγυλίζει R. H. editions before Brunck, and Invernizzi afterwards: γογγυλέει Brunck: γογγύζει Thiersch. Other conjectures are γογγυλίζει Bentley (at Hor. A. P. 441), γογγυλίζει Reischig, γογγυλίζει Hermann (at Clouds 992).

58. ἀγριώτας Bentley, Brunck, Thiersch, Bekker, recentiores. ἀγριώτας R. H. editions before Brunck, and Invernizzi afterwards.

60. κατὰ R. (as corrected), Invernizzi, recentiores. The preposition is omitted by H. and (originally) by R.: and by all editions before Brunck, who inserted διὰ, which is followed by Weise.

61. συγγογγυλίσας Brunck, and all subsequent editions before Enger. And so Bergk. γογγυλίσας R. H. and all editions before Brunck. συγγογγύλας Enger, Meineke, recentiores.

63. νέος γ' ἂν R. H. Brunck, recentiores. νέο ἄγων Junta, Grynæus, and Gelenius. Bentley by conjecture restored the true reading. νέος ἄγων Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng. νέος ἄγων Portus and subsequent editors before Brunck.

69. θύρασι R. H. vulgo. See Elmsley at Eur. Medea 466. θύραζε Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng, Portus, Scaliger, Faber, Bergler, Invernizzi, Weise, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes.

70. MN. τί οἶν κ.τ.λ. This line is divided as in the text by Junta and all editors before Invernizzi, and by Thiersch, Bekker, Fritzsche, Weise, and Bergk since. Invernizzi gave the first part to Euripides, and the second to Agathon's servant, and so Bothe, Enger, Meineke, Holden, and Hall and Geldart. Blaydes leaves the first part to Mnesilochus, but transfers the second to Agathon's servant.

74. ἐμόν R. H. vulgo. ἐμέ is suggested by Brunck, referring to Lys. 714, and Soph. Electra 957 (but cf. 1165 infra), and is read by Blaydes and Velsen.

77. ξῶν R. H. vulgo. Meineke and Holden absurdly read ζῶς.

80. ἐπεὶ τρίτη ὅτι. Not understanding the line Nauck proposes, and Meineke (Vind. Aristoph.) approves, ἐπεὶ περ ἔστι.

83. περὶ μου Brunck, Bekker, recentiores. περὶ ἐμοῦ R. H. editions before Portus. περὶ 'μοῦ Portus, subsequent editions before Brunck, and Invernizzi.

86. δίκαιά γ' ἂν Grynæus, Scaliger (in notes), Kuster, Bekker, Bothe, Fritzsche, recentiores. The reading is commonly attributed to Scaliger, but was adopted, a century before, by Grynæus. δίκαι' ἂν R. all editions, except Grynæus, before Kuster. Διὰ δίκαι' ἂν H. Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, Thiersch, Dindorf.

87. ἐκ ταύτης R. H. vulgo. Bergler proposed ἐκ τούτων, which is adopted by most subsequent editors. But Reiske proposed ἐπὶ ταύταις. Wellauer would change ἀτὰρ at the commencement of the line into ἄτης. Fritzsche reads ἐξ αὐτῆς in the sense of *forthwith*, and so Enger in the form of ἐκ γ' αὐτῆς. Bergk and one or two more retain ἐκ ταύτης.

90. ἐκκλησιάζουσιν' R. vulgo. ἐκκλησιάζουσιν' H.; see the Appendix on Eccl. 161.—κἂν R. H. all editions before Brunck, and Fritzsche and Hall and Geldart afterwards. But Markland (at Eur. Suppl. 364 ἀ'ν τοκεῦσι δῶ) suggested χ' ἀ'ν, and that (as χᾶν) has been adopted by Brunck, and, save as aforesaid, all subsequent editors. It is also approved by Porson. But I agree with Fritzsche that κἂν δέη, *if need be, if the occasion should arise*, is more probable here than χᾶν δέη, *what shall be required*: though, no doubt, later on, Euripides assumes

that his advocate will have to deliver a speech.

91. *φανερὸν* R. H. vulgo. *φανερῶς* Cobet, Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Hall and Geldart.

95. *Ἀγάθων*. The aspirate or article was added by Bentley, Brunck, recentiores.

96. *ποιός ἐστιν*; EY. *οὔτος* Tyrwhitt, Bothe, Fritzsche, Weise, Enger, Bergk, and Hall and Geldart. *ποιός ἐστιν οὔτος* EY. R. H. all other editions before Fritzsche. But Dobree proposed *ποῦ ἔστιν*; EY. *οὔτος αὐτός*, and so Holden; and so Bergk again suggested, merely retransferring the *οὔτος* to Mnesilochus: Meineke reads *ποῦ ἔσθ'*; EY. *ἔπου ἔστιν*; *οὔτος*, and Blaydes and Velsen *ποῦ ποτ' ἐστίν*; EY. *οὔτος*.

99. *νῦν*. So, I think, we should probably read. *ἄν* R. H. editions before Bergler. *αὖ* Scaliger in notes, Bergler, recentiores, except as hereafter mentioned. This is supposed to be supported by the very similar line in Birds 226 *οὐπονψ μελωδεῖν αὖ παρασκευάζεται*, but there the Hoopoe had, while here Agathon has not, already sung. Thiersch reads *ἄ ν*. Bergk γάρ, which is adopted by Velsen and Hall and Geldart. Meineke for *μελωδεῖν ἄν* writes *μελωδίαν*. It seems to me that *νῦν* is nearer the MS. reading, and also more probable in itself than γάρ.

100. *διαμνύρεται* Dawes, Brunck, recentiores, except Thiersch and Meineke. *διαμνυρίζεται* R. H. editions before Brunck, and Thiersch. *δὴ μνυρίζεται* Meineke.

101. *Χθονίαις*. Meineke proposes, and Holden reads, *τοῖν Χθονίαιν*.

103. *πατρίδι* R. H. vulgo. *πατρίᾳ* Kuster

(in notes), Dobree. *πάτρια* Meineke, Holden. *πατρίδι* is of course, here as elsewhere, used as an adjective. Mr. Richards (Classical Review, xvii. 10) suggests *πραπίδι*.—*χορεύσασθε* Bentley, Kuster (in notes), Dobree, Fritzsche, recentiores. *χορεύσασθαι* R. H. editions before Fritzsche. *χορεύσατε* Scaliger (in notes).—*βοᾷ* Kuster (in notes), Dobree, Meineke, Holden. *βοάν* R. H. vulgo. Kuster was really the first editor who understood the passage.

104. *τίνι δὲ* Reisig, Dindorf (in notes), Bergk, Blaydes, Velsen. *τίνι* (without δὲ) R. H. vulgo. But this and the following line seem to be in the same metre, and the δὲ might easily drop out before *δαιμόνων*.

105. *νῦν* (or *νῦν*) R. H. vulgo. Meineke proposed, and Blaydes reads, *νῦν*. And for *εὐπίστως* (R. H. vulgo) Reiske suggested and Blaydes and Velsen read *εὐπίστως*.

106. *ἔχει* Suidas (s. v. *σεβίσαι*), Grynaeus, Reiske, Brunck, recentiores. *ἔχεις* R. H. and all editions, except Grynaeus, before Brunck.

107. *ἔλπιζε* Bentley, Dindorf (in notes), Enger, Holden, Blaydes, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart. *ἐπλιζε* R. H. vulgo. *ὦ κληῖζε* Meineke; who in his Vind. Aristoph. remarks "*Bentleius ἐλπιζε conjecit, quae etsi ingeniosa conjectura est, fortasse tamen rectius scripsi ὦ κληῖζε, mutatione fere nulla.*" He does not seem to observe that his conjecture, besides being supremely ridiculous in itself, goes much further from the original than Bentley's, which is undoubtedly right. See the Commentary. Bergk suggests, but does not read, *ἔπαζε μοίσα*.

111. *καλλίσταις δαιδαῖς* R. H. vulgo. *καλλίστας δαιδῆς* Dobree, with great

doubt; but his suggestion is followed by Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart.

115. *ἀείσατ'* Zanetti, and all editors except Junta, Gelenius, and Enger. *ἀείσαντ'* R. Junta, Gelenius. *ᾄεισαν τ' H.* ᾄεισον Enger. I do not understand why recent editors call *ἀείσατ'* Kuster's conjecture. He merely followed his predecessors without remark. It seems probable that some word has been omitted at the commencement of this line, which would make it conform with the preceding, and *παρθένον* has been suggested.

117. *ἔπομαι* R. H. vulgo. Bergk suggests, but does not read, *σέβομαι*.

120. *κρούματά τ'* R. H. vulgo. *κρούμά τ'* Enger.

121. *ποδὶ παρ' εὐρυθμα Φρυγίῳ διενέματα Χαρίτων* Bergk (in notes) and (with *ἔρρυθμα* for *εὐρυθμα*) Enger, Meineke, Holden, and (with *Φρυγίων* for *Φρυγίῳ*) Dindorf. *ποδὶ παράρρυθμ' εὐρυθμα Φρυγίων διανέματα Χαρίτων* R. H. vulgo. *διενέματα* was Bentley's correction, which was adopted by (besides the editors above-mentioned), Brunck, Thiersch, Bothe in his second edition, and all editors since Enger, except Hall and Geldart. Fritzsche has *διὰ νέματα*. For *Χαρίτων* Bentley (reading *Φρυγίων*) suggested *Κουρήτων*.

125. *δοκίμῳ* R. H. vulgo. Dindorf suggested *δόκιμον* which Meineke, Blaydes, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart accept. Meineke, however, preferred *δοκίμων* which Holden accepts.

126. *φῶς...δαιμονίοις ὄμμασι* R. H. vulgo. Many recent editors seek to make this a dactylic line. Enger changed *φῶς* into *φάος*, and so Meineke, Holden, Vel-

sen, and Hall and Geldart. He also inserted *τέ σου* for which the other four have *θεοῦ*. But Bothe's suggestion *δαίμονος ὄμμασιν* is far simpler and better. Meineke, always very inaccurate in his references to the MSS., ascribes Bothe's suggestion to *them*. For *ὄμμασι* Hermann proposed *στόμασι*, and Bergk *ὄμμασι*. The latter is brought into the text by Meineke and Holden. Fritzsche, as a corollary to his alteration in the next line, read *tās* for *τᾷ* in this.

127. *δι' αἰφνιδίου* H. Junta, vulgo. *διαφνιδίου* R. Gelenius, Portus, Scaliger, Faber. *διαμφιδίου* Fritzsche, referring to Aesch. Prom. 565. Meineke suggests *δι' αἰδίου* which Holden adopts. Some recent editors change *ἡμετέρας* into *ἀμετέρας*.

128. *ὦν χάριν*. H. has a line, which signifies a new speaker, before these words; and Dr. Blaydes suggests that this verse should be assigned to the actor, and that the following verse is the response of the Chorus. "Nam in praecedentibus prima persona loquitur Chorus, *ἔπομαι κλήζουσα* v. 116, *σέβομαι* v. 123. Agatho contra secunda *ἄλβιζε* v. 107, *ἀείσατ'* v. 115." This suggestion, though Dr. Blaydes does not himself introduce it into the text, is adopted by Velsen, and seems to me extremely probable.—*ἀγαλλε* R. H. Scaliger, Kuster, and Bergler (in their respective notes), Brunck, recentiores. *ἄλλε* all editions before Brunck except Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng, and Bergler who have *ἀλλά*. —*τιμᾷ* is ejected or bracketed by Dindorf and several recent editors. For *ἀνακτ'* *ἀγαλλε* *Φοῖβον* Meineke and Holden read *Φοῖβον ἀνακτ' ἀγαλλε*.

After 129. *ὀλολύξει ὁ γέρων*. This stage

direction is rightly given by Suidas, s. v. In R. H. the article δ is changed into s , $\delta\lambda\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\upsilon$, so that it naturally became a part of the preceding speech; and it so continued till the time of Brunck, though Zanetti and Farreus write it $\delta\lambda\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\eta\varsigma$ | $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\upsilon$. Bentley, however, enclosed it in brackets, as in my text, for the purpose, not of deleting it as his editors in the Classical Journal suppose, but of showing that it was merely a stage-direction: a fact which was also recognized by Kuster in his notes. Brunck and subsequent editors (except Fritzsche) omit it altogether, though many of them retain the corresponding *παρεπιγραφή* after 276 infra. Fritzsche retains the first word $\delta\lambda\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\epsilon\iota$, and asks, very sensibly, who would venture to sweep away the stage-directions from modern plays, and so increase the difficulty of understanding them? To which Enger solemnly replies that modern editors "*non docent fabulas, sed scribunt*;" as if Aristophanes did not also write his plays, and as if the additional fact that they were placed on the stage under his superintendence did not constitute an additional reason for his giving stage-directions. There seems every reason to believe that these *παρεπιγραφαί* must have been introduced, if not by the hand, at least under the direction, of Aristophanes himself.

130. $\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\iota\alpha\iota$ all the printed editions except Junta, which, with R. H., has $\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\iota\alpha$.

134. $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi'$ $\delta\omicron\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ vulgo. $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi'$ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\iota\varsigma$ R. Junta. $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa'$ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\iota\varsigma$ H. Grynaeus, Bothe, Thiersch. $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi'$ $\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$ Gelenius to Kuster both inclusive. Porson sug-

gested $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\iota\varsigma$ $\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$ which is read by Fritzsche, Enger, Bergk, Meineke, and Holden.

135. $\Lambda\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ R. H. vulgo. Dobree wrote " $\Lambda\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\varsigma$ ut ' Ὀρεστέας Ran." This is one of the hasty suggestions of that brilliant scholar, which a little further consideration would have led him to retract. Ὀρέστεια is properly formed from Ὀρέστης , as $\alpha\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$ from $\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\eta\varsigma$, $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ from $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ from $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, $\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ from $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, and the like. But $\Lambda\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ is properly formed from $\Lambda\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, as $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ from $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ from $\pi\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, and the like. Yet Dobree's mistake, in defiance of all the authorities, has been introduced into the text by Bothe, Thiersch, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores. And in a moment of weakness I allowed my $\Lambda\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ in the note on Frogs 1124 to be corrected into $\Lambda\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha$. For $\epsilon\tilde{\rho}\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (the present, rarely if ever used) Dindorf substituted the aorist $\epsilon\tilde{\rho}\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. And this is generally followed.

138. $\lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ R. H. vulgo. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ Valckenaer, Brunck.

141. $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ δ' R. H. vulgo. $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ τ' Scholiast, Enger, Meineke, Holden, Velsen. $\sigma\acute{\alpha}$ δ' Thiersch, Blaydes.

145. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\eta}$ γ' R. H. vulgo. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ γ' Fritzsche.

146. $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\phi\theta\acute{o}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\psi\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ R. H. vulgo. Reiske proposed either to change $\psi\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ into $\psi\acute{o}\phi\omicron\upsilon$, or to read $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\phi\theta\acute{o}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\psi\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\upsilon$. In the next line for $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\chi\acute{o}\mu\eta\eta$ (R. H. vulgo), Bergk suggested $\pi\alpha\rho\eta\sigma\theta\acute{o}\mu\eta\eta$, Meineke $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\epsilon\tau\omicron$, and Velsen $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota$. But in neither line has the text been altered: so again, in the line which follows, Meineke for $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$ $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\eta$ suggests $\acute{o}\mu\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$, but does

not introduce that astonishing conjecture into the text.

149. *χρὴ γὰρ* R. (as corrected) H. Bentley, Porson, Invernizzi, recentiores. All editions before Scaliger read *χρὴ* alone (without *γὰρ*) contra metrum. Scaliger in his note proposed either *χρὴ γὰρ* or *χρὴ τὸν*, and *χρὴ τὸν* was read from Scaliger to Brunck inclusive. But as Porson observed "vox ἀνὴρ, quando juncta est alii substantivo, articulum, quod sciam, non asciscit."

150. ἀ δεῖ ποιεῖν R. H. vulgo. ἀεὶ (for ἀ δεῖ) ποιεῖ Meineke, Velsen.

154. ἦν Dindorf, Thiersch, Bergk, recentiores. ἀν R. H. vulgo. αἶ Fritzsch, Enger, Holden.

158. ἐστνκῶς R. H. vulgo. ἐστηκῶς Gelenius to Le Fevre (inclusive), Invernizzi, Bothe, Meineke. This innovation destroys the whole point of the interruption. Agathon had said that a poet should adapt himself to the characters he is describing. Whereupon Mnesilochus remarks (either to Agathon or to Euripides) "When you described Phaedra, did you act like a harlot?" And again, "When you describe Satyrs, let me come and describe them with you, adopting the manner in which Satyrs are represented on the stage." In Bentley's time ἐστηκῶς had possession of the text, and that great critic observed "Lege, ut in Grynaeo, ἐστνκῶς. Galenus, Σατυρισμός, αἱ τῶν αἰδοίων ἐκτάσεις." And the author of the Etymol. Magn. derives the word Σάτυρος from σάθη, τὸ αἰδοῖον, though others derive it otherwise.

159. ἄλλως Gelenius, Portus, recentiores. ἀλλ' ὥς editions, other than Gelenius, before Portus. ἀλλ' ὥς R. H.

162. κ' Ἀλκαῖος R. H. vulgo. See the Commentary. καχαιὸς Meineke, Holden. χῶ Κεῖος (meaning Simonides) Fritzsch, Blaydes. ἀρχαῖος was suggested by Hermann and thought probable by Enger. Velsen omits the word, marks a lacuna, and suggests καὶ πάντες.—οἵπερ . . . ἐχύμισαν. So Bentley from Suidas, s.v.v. ἐμπτρώσατο and ἐχύμισαν, and Bisetus makes the same suggestion. οἵπερ is read by Portus and all subsequent editors excepting Hall and Geldart; ἐχύμισαν by Kuster and all subsequent editors. οἱ περὶ . . . ἐχύμισαν R. H. and all editors before Portus and Kuster respectively. οἱ περὶ . . . ἐχύμισαν Hall and Geldart, possibly because they object to the use of οἵπερ for the simple definite οἱ. But this is the constant usage in Aristophanes: see for example in this very play lines 480 and 1060.

163. διεκινούνθ' ᾧδὲ πῶς. See the Commentary. διεκίνων Ἰωνικῶς R. H. Junta, Grynaeus, Gelenius, Rapheleng. διεκίνουν Ἰωνικῶς Harpocration (s. v. Ἰωνικός), Suidas (s. v. ἐμπτρώσατο), Zanetti, and except as aforesaid all editors down to and including Bergler. Vales, on Harpocration ubi supra, suggested διεκινούντ' which both Kuster and Bergler approved, though retaining διεκίνων in their text: Kuster, too, to assist the metre proposed to omit τε. But even so, the line remained unmetrical. "Recte quidem, si sensum loci spectes, Valesius, quo nemo fere elegantiori ingenio has literas tractavit, legebat διεκινούντο, se movebant. Quod vero dicit Kusterus, particulam τε redundare, in hoc judicium ejus desidero. Sed ne sic quidem versus sanus erit; imo, quod nec Valesius nec Kusterus viderat, misere

oneri succumbit. Verbum enim *κινεῖν* primam semper producit. Quo pacto quartam sedem degravat spondeus. Vide igitur an nos rem acu tetigerimus; ἐμτροφόρου τε καὶ διεκλῶντ' Ἰωνικῶς. Hesych. *διακλῶν, θρύπτων.*" Toup, *Emendationes* in Suidam, i. 166. And in the same work ii. 6 he cites from Dionys. Halicar. *περὶ τῆς τοῦ Δημοσθένους δεινότητος* p. 310 ed. Hudson, *τῶν ῥυθμῶν τοὺς ὑπορχηματικούς τε καὶ Ἰωνικοὺς καὶ διακλωμένους.* His conjecture is adopted by Brunck and, except as hereinafter mentioned, all subsequent editors. Invernizzi writes the line *ἐμτροφόρου τε, κἀδεικανόωντ' Ἰωνικῶς.* Thiersch, omitting *τε*, reads *διεκναίοντ'.* Fritzsche, retaining *διεκλῶντ'* in his text, yet disapproves of it in his note, and propounds two other conjectures, (1) *διεχλίδων Ἰωνικῶς*, omitting the *τε*; and (2) *κἀχλίδων Ἰωνικῶς*, retaining the *τε*. He himself preferred the first form. The second is introduced into the text by Meineke and Holden: Bergk reads *διέκλων.* St. Chrysostom says *τὸ μαλακὸν ἱμάτιον καὶ τὴν αὐστηρὰν ἐκλύει ψυχὴν, διακλᾷ καὶ διαχεῖ* Hom. xxix. in Hebr. (275 B) and frequently uses *διάκλασις* and *διακλωμένους* in a similar sense. Blaydes makes eight conjectures, but does not mean any of them to be adopted.

165. *ἡμπίσχετο* Elmsley (at Med. 1128), Dindorf, Bothe, Enger, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. *ἡμπέσχετο* R. H. vulgo.

166. *κάλ' (or καλὰ) ἦν τὰ δράματα* R. H. vulgo. Dindorf, apparently by an oversight, wrote *τὰ δράματ' ἦν καλά*, and this has been followed by several subsequent editors.

168. *Φιλοκλέης* and (in the following

line) *Ξενοκλέης* Bentley, Brunck, Dindorf, and subsequent editors; unanimously, as regards the latter name; but a few of the less recent editors wrote *ἄρ' ὁ Φιλοκλῆς* in the former line. *Φιλοκλῆς* and *Ξενοκλῆς* R. H. and all editors before Brunck. In 168 R. has *ᾧ* for the article *ὁ*. Line 169 was originally omitted in R., but was inserted by a second corrector after line 170. *ὁ δ' αὖ* R. and all editors before Brunck. *δ' αὖ* (without the article) H. Brunck changed this to *ὁ δὲ Ξενοκλέης*, and he has been followed by subsequent editors except Hall and Geldart.

171. *γάρ τοι* R. H. vulgo. *τοίνυν* Blaydes and Velsen, which is certainly what we should have expected.

173. *βαῦζων*] R. H. vulgo. "Ineptissime, ut mihi quidem videtur, poeta Euripidem ad simplicissimam Mnesilochi interrogationem *πῶς πρὸς τῶν θεῶν*; respondentem fecit *παῦσαι βαῦζων.* Scribendum suspicor *παῦσαι βασανίζων.*" Meineke. So that Meineke actually supposed the interruption of Euripides to have special reference to the latest question of Mnesilochus: and did not perceive that the poet, to whom the matter is one of life and death, is tired out with the unending garrulity of Mnesilochus, and breaks in with the interruption *Do stop that yapping*, without the slightest reference to the words just uttered.

178. *οἶός τε* Zanetti and all editions except Junta. *οἶόν τε* R. H. Junta.

179. *καινῇ* Bisetus, Bentley, Portus, recentiores, except Invernizzi, who with R. H. and the editions before Portus reads *κοινη*.

185. *δοκῶν* R. H. vulgo. *δοκεῖν* Gele-

nus, and Portus to Bothe's second edition, inclusive.

186. *σαφῶς* (connected with *σώσεις*) R. H. vulgo, *you will save me beyond a doubt*. *σοφῶς* (connected with *ἵπερ-αποκρίνη*) Bentley, Dobree, Fritzsche.

189. *γινώσκειμαι* Brunck, Bekker, recentiores. *γνώσκειμαι* R. H. editions before Brunck.

196. *καὶ γὰρ ἂν μαινοίμεθ' ἄν* Suidas (s.v. *ὑφέξειν*), Brunck, Porson, recentiores. *καὶ γὰρ μαινοίμεθ' ἂν* R. and all editions before Brunck, though Scaliger suggested *καὶ γὰρ αὖ*, Reisig *κάρα γὰρ*, Hermann *καὶ γὰρ οὖν*, and Kuster *καὶ γὰρ ὅν*, rightly, but omitting the final *ἄν*, which is also omitted by Fritzsche and Blaydes. H. has *καὶ γὰρ μαινοίμεθ' ἄν*, with an erasure of two letters between *γὰρ* and *μαινοίμεθ'*.

198. *τεχνάσασιν* R. and (except that it omits the first *σ*) H. Suidas s.v., Kuster, Brunck, recentiores. *στενάσασιν* Junta, Gelenius, Rapheleng. *στενάγασιν* all the other editions before Brunck.

204. *νυκτερίσια* R. H. vulgo. Passow thought that Aristophanes is alluding to the word *ἐρείδω*, and so Fritzsche. *νυκτερήσια* (from a hesitating suggestion of Dobree) Bothe, Enger, Meineke.

206. *νῆ Δία* R. H. vulgo. *μὰ Δία* Fritzsche.—*βινεῖσθαι* R. H. Gelenius, recentiores. *κινεῖσθαι* editions before Gelenius.

208. *γε σύ* R. H. vulgo. *σύ γε* Hermann, Meineke, Holden.

209. *τρискаκοδαῖμων* H. Brunck, recentiores, except Fritzsche. *τρискаκοδαῖμον* R. and the earliest editions, and so (or *τρискаκόδαιμον*) all editions before Brunck, and Fritzsche afterwards.—*ἀπόλωλ'* [for *ἀπόλωλε*] *Εὐριπίδης* R. H.

vulgo; giving this line to Euripides, and the next to Mnesilochus. *ἀπόλωλ'* [for *ἀπόλωλα*] MN. *Εὐριπίδη* Elmsley (at Ach. 475), Thiersch, Dindorf, and Bergk to Velsen inclusive.

216. *εἴ σοι* all printed editions except Blaydes. *εἴσω* R. H. *ὅ,τι σοι* Elmsley (at Ach. 338). *ἄ-σοι* Dobree (but he preferred *ἄν σοι δοκῇ*), Blaydes.

217. *διδόναι γ' ἑμavτὸν* Bentley and (in their notes) Scaliger, Kuster, and Bergler. So Brunck originally, though he afterwards went over to Dawes's correction; and so Invernizzi, Bekker, Thiersch, and Weise. And this comes nearest to the unmetrical reading of R. H., *διδόναι γ' αὐτὸν*, which was read in all editions before Brunck, except that Zanetti and Farreus make matters worse by omitting *αὐτὸν* altogether. Dindorf, indeed, says that *ἑμavτὸν* was the original reading of H., but Velsen does not confirm this. Dawes proposed *ἑμavτὸν*, and this was, on second thoughts, accepted by Brunck, and is read by Meineke, Holden, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart. *ἑμavτὸν γ' αὐτὸν* Toup, Enger. *μηδὲ δίδόναι γ' αὐτὸν* Bothe. *ἑμavτὸν* Dindorf, Bergk, Blaydes. *διδόναι σοί γ' αὐτὸν* Fritzsche. The choice seems to lie between the emendations of Bentley and Dawes: and that of Dawes is furthest from the MS. reading, nor does the use of the compound *ἐμavτὸν* by Euripides in vv. 213 and 249 necessitate its use by Mnesilochus in the present passage. At the commencement of the line, Mr. Richards (Classical Review, xvii. 10) would change *ἦ* into *ἦ*.

218. *μέντοι* R. vulgo. *μὲν δὲ* H.

219. *ἡμῶν ξυρόν* R. H. vulgo. *ξυρόν ἡμῶν* Bothe, Fritzsche.

220. *ξυροδόκης* all printed editions. *ξυροδίκης* R. H.

222. *ἄμιοι* (or *ῥῆμοι*) R. H. vulgo. *οἷμοι* Dindorf, who is followed by Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Velsen.

223. *ἄτταταί* *ἱατταταί* Scaliger, Faber, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores. *ἄττατα* *ἄτταταί* R. H. and so (or *ἄτταται* *ἄτταται*) the other editions before Brunck. *ἄτταται* *ἀτατταταί* Brunck and Bekker. *ἄττατα* *ἱατταταί* Invernizzi.

225. *Δήμητρά γ'* R. H. Kuster, Bergler, Brunck, Bekker, Weise, and Hall and Geldart. This, of course, is against Porson's rule, "Post iusjurandum, qualia sunt νῆ Δία, νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, et cetera hujusmodi, nunquam sequitur particula ΓΕ nisi alio vocabulo interposito," and he therefore in the present line would read *Δήμητρ' ἔρ'*, comparing Wasps 1442, Clouds 814, Plutus 64. He thought that the γε in this line arose "ex Kusteri interpolatione," and was not aware that it is given in both the MSS., but I do not suppose that, had he been so aware, he would have dealt with it differently. See the first of the "Observationes variae" in his *Adversaria*, and his note on the present line. But Porson's rule, though undoubtedly embodying the general usage, is certainly not without exceptions (see Neil's note on Knights 698 and his Appendix I to that play); and I think that the present line is an exception, and that Mnesilochus uses the particle to emphasize the fact that he is swearing by the Thesmophorian deity. Porson's emendation is, however, accepted by Dindorf, Enger, and all subsequent editors down to and including Velsen. All editors before Kuster, and Invernizzi afterwards, have

Δήμητρα without the γε. Scaliger suggests, and Fritzsche reads, *Δημήτερ'*. Bothe has *Δήμητραν*.—*ἐνταυθοί* R. H. vulgo. *ἐνταυθι* Dindorf, Enger, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Velsen. For *Δήμητρά γ' ἐνταυθοί* Thiersch reads *Δήμητρ' ἐγώνταυθι*.

230. *ἀτρέμα* *σαντόν* R. H. vulgo. "*Qu. ἀτρέμας αὐτοῦ?*" Dobree; and this suggestion is followed by Meineke and Holden.

231. *μῦ μῦ* R. H. vulgo. *μυμῦ* is introduced by Bothe and Dindorf, and followed by several subsequent editors. In the MSS. and in the editions of Junta, Gelenius, Portus, and Kuster, the last three words of this line form the commencement of the speech of Mnesilochus, but they obviously belong to Euripides, to whom they are continued by Zanetti and all other editors.

232. *αἶ* R. H. vulgo. *ἄν* Bothe. *οὖν* Velsen. Herwerden suggests *εἰ* and Blaydes *ὄν*.

233. *φαίνει* R. H. vulgo. *φαίνει* Dobree, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Velsen. But the future is clearly right, following *στρατεύσομαι* in the previous line.

234. *θεᾶσθαι* *σαντόν*; Porson, Bothe, Thiersch, Dindorf, Enger, recentiores. *θεάσασθαι* *σαντόν*; R. H. editions before Bergler, and Invernizzi afterwards. *θεάσασθαι* *σαντόν*; Bergler, Brunck, Bekker, and Weise. *θεάσασθ'* *αὐτόν*; Fritzsche.

235. *Κλεισθένην* R. H. vulgo. *Κλεισθένη* Dindorf, Thiersch, Meineke, recentiores. But here the form *Κλεισθένην* seems purposely employed, as leaving the sex uncertain.

242. *τόν γε πρῶκτόν τῆς φλογός* Scaliger (in notes), Kuster, recentiores, except as

presently mentioned. The words *τόν γε* are not found in R. H. or in any edition before Kuster. Bentley wrote "*lege πρωκτόν αὐτόν* ; at in margine Scal. *τόν γε πρωκτόν*." Enger suggested, prosaically, *πρὶν πρωκτόν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς φλογός* ; whilst Dindorf conjectured *τοῦ γε πρωκτοῦ τὴν φλόγα*, which Blaydes adopts. Thiersch, strangely enough, reads *τὴν φλόγα μου τῆς οἰκίας*. Bergk marks a lacuna for *τόν γε* : Enger, Meineke, Blaydes, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart either bracket, omit, or obelize the line.

245. *φῦ* Dindorf, Meineke, Blaydes, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart ; referring to Lys. 295, 305. *φεῦ* R. H. vulgo.

246. *γεγέννημαι* Eustathius on Iliad xxiii. 525, Suidas, s.v. *τράμυς*, Farreus, and some of the older editions, Kuster, recentiores. *γεγέννημαι* R. H. and the other editions before Kuster.—*πάντα τὰ* R. vulgo. *πάντα* (without *τὰ*) H.

247. *σπογγεῖ* R. H. vulgo. But here, as in Wasps 600 and Frogs 482, recent editors prefer to write it *σφογγεῖ*.

248. *οἰμώξετ' ἄρ'* Dindorf, Thiersch, Fritzsche, Bergk, Velsen, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart. *οἰμώξετ' ἄρ'* R. H. Junta, Grynaeus, Invernizzi. *οἰμώξετ' ἄρ'* Zanetti, Farreus, Gelenius, and all subsequent editors before Brunck, and Bothe afterwards. *οἰμώξετ' ἄρ'* Brunck, Bekker, Weise. *οἰμώξεται τ' ἄρ'* Reisig, Hermann, Enger, Meineke. Kuster suggested either *οἰμώξετ' ἄρα τις* or *οἰμώξεταί γ' ἄρ'*.—*εἰ τις τὸν* Brunck, Porson, recentiores, except as hereafter mentioned. *εἰ τὸν* all the editions before Brunck, unmetrically, and (the metre having been rectified in the first part of the line) Enger and Meineke afterwards.

THES.

Scaliger observed "*τόν γ' ἐμὸν*, alii: quidam *πρωκτόν τις πλυνεῖ*." *τόν γ' ἐμὸν* was also suggested by Reiske and Bentley, and is adopted by Bothe and Thiersch.

250. *τουτῷ* R. and all editions before Portus ; and Bekker and all subsequent editions, except Fritzsche who reads *τουτοῦ*. *τουτοῖ* H. Portus, and all editions between Portus and Bekker, though Bergler intended to read *τουτῷ*.

258. *κεφαλὴ περίθετος* H. Portus, recentiores, except Holden and Velsen. *κεφαλὴ περίθετος* R. *κεφαλῇ περίθετος* all editions before Portus. Meineke suggests, and Holden and Velsen read, *κεφαλῇ περίθετον*.

260. *ἄρ' ἀρμόσει* Kuster, recentiores. And so all MSS. and edd. read three lines below. *ἡραρμόσει* R. *ἦρ' ἀρμόση* H. *ἦρ' ἀρμόσει* Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng, Fritzsche. *ἦρ'* (or *ἦρ')* *ἀρμόση* the other editions before Kuster.

261. *ἐγκυκλον*. ΑΓ. *τουτὶ λάβ'* Bentley, Kuster (in notes), Brunck, recentiores, except as after mentioned. *ἐγκυκλον*. *τουτὶ λάμβαν'* R. H. editions before Brunck. *ἐγκυκλὸν τι*. *λάμβαν'* Reisig; Fritzsche, Enger, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Velsen. But Bentley's way of getting rid of the superfluous syllable seems far better. Bergk reads *ἐγκυκλον ποῦ* ; *λάμβαν'*.

263. *γοῦν* (or *γ' οἶν*) H. and (as corrected) R. Brunck, recentiores, except Invernizzi. *γ' οὐ* R. (originally) and all editions before Brunck ; and Invernizzi afterwards.

264. *γίνωσκ'* Brunck, recentiores, except Invernizzi. *γίνωσκ'* R. H. all editions before Brunck ; and Invernizzi afterwards.

266. ἀνῆρ. The aspirate was added by Fritzsche.

267. τό γ' εἶδος Kuster, recentiores. τὸ δ' εἶδος H. τόδ' εἶδος R, edd, before Kuster.

270. συσώσσειν R. vulgo, συσώ-
ζω H.

273. Ἰπποκράτους. All the printed editions, except Junta, Grynaeus, and Fritzsche. Ἰπποκράτους R. H. Junta, Grynaeus. Ἰπποκράτους Fritzsche. Fritzsche's conjecture is probable enough; and Bergk would obtain the same jest by changing ξυνοικίαν into σοικίαν. For τὴν Enger reads τῶν.

After 276. ὀλολύζουσι' τὸ ἱερὸν ὠθεῖται Fritzsche. ὀλολύζουσι' τε' ἱερὸν ὠθεῖται R. H. Junta, Grynaeus, Gelenius, Invernizzi. And so, with γε for τε, Zanetti, Farreus, Raphaeleng. γυναῖκες is substituted for γε by Portus to Weise inclusive, except as herein appears. Bothe reads ὀλολύζουσι' γυναῖκες' τὸ ἱερὸν ὠθεῖται. The stage-direction is altogether omitted by Thiersch, Dindorf, Enger, recentiores, See "after 129" supra.

277. ἔκσπευδε R, H. vulgo. καὶ σπεῦδε Meineke, after a conjecture of Bergk, who supposed that a preceding line had dropped out. σὺ σπεῦδε Velsen.

278. Θεσμοφορίῳ R. H. vulgo. Scaliger suggested Θεσμοφορίῳ, which is read by Meineke, recentiores. But the form which is found in the MSS., both here and in 880 infra, and in the Scholium, seems sufficiently authenticated by inscriptions 103 and 3562 in the Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.

281. ἀνέρχῃσ' ὑπὸ R. H. vulgo. Velsen reads ἀνέρχεται after a conjecture of Reiske, who wished to find a genitive

for τὸ χρῆμα. But, as Enger remarks (and the remark applies to many passages besides the present), "locus non emendari sed intelligi debet."

283. δεῦρο καὶ πάλιν Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. δεῦρο πάλιν R. H. edd. before Brunck. δεῦρο τὸ πάλιν Porson; Bp. Monk at Eur. Hipp. 182.

284. κάθελε R. H. vulgo. κατὰθου Herwerden, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Velsen. But the jingle is quite in the manner of Aristophanes, and is very suitable to the assumed character of Mnesilochus. If, indeed, Thratta were herself carrying the πόπανα, we should expect the middle; and Bergk therefore suggests καθελοῦ; but here everything is unreal: and we do not know from what imaginary place the imaginary Thratta is to take down the imaginary cist.

285. τὸ πόπανον ὥς Bentley, Hermann. τὸ πόπανον ὅπως R. H. vulgo. ὅπως may well have been a corruption of -ον ὥς. "Versus multo facilius restitui potest, si τὸ ante πόπανον omittitur," says Wellauer, De Thesm. Diss. p. 37, note. And this is done by Bothe, Weise, and Enger. Porson in his Adversaria (on Eur. Suppl. 901) suggested τὰ πόπαν' ὅπως; but afterwards in his Aristophanica he is said by Dobree to have preferred τὸ πόπανον ἵνα. The former suggestion is adopted by Fritzsche, Bergk, Meineke, and Holden; the latter by Blaydes and Velsen. For ταῖν θεαῖν, both here and in 948, 1151 infra, and Wasps 378, Cobet would write τοῖν θεοῖν, and Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart so write it. It is true that the Twain Goddesses are in adjurations uniformly styled τὰ θεῶ, but in other cases the usage was

by no means uniform. The Scholiast on 566 *infra* says, τὸ θεῶ· οὐκέτι δὲ τοῖν θεοῖν ἀλλὰ ταῖν θεαῖν.

289. τὴν θυγατέρα H. and (as corrected) R. vulgo. τὴν θυγατέραν R. originally. τὸν θυγατέρος is proposed by Scaliger, Kuster, and Bergler in their notes, and adopted by Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, and Weise. Meineke's wanton alteration of the words into τοῦ θυγατρίου is followed by Velsen and by Hall and Geldart.—Χοῖριον Fritzsche, Enger, and the Scholiast obviously so read. χοῖρον R. H. vulgo.

290. ἄλλως τ' R. H. vulgo. ἄλλως δ' Hermann, and this is adopted by Bothe and several recent editors. Junta and Grynaeus present the latter part of the line in a very peculiar way, viz. ἄλλως τῇ λίθι οὐκ ἀβελτέρου.

291. Ποσθάληκον Fritzsche. πρὸς θάληκον R. H. vulgo. Bisetus, Scaliger, Kuster, and Bergler in their notes propose, and Brunck, Bekker, and Weise read πρὸς φάλητα. πρὸς φαλλικὸν Zanetti, Farreus, Invernizzi: the last-named considering it, wrongly, the reading of R. Kuster suggested πρὸς θύλακόν τε. Thiersch reads πρὸς τὸ πρόσθε and suggests πρὸς Θαλῆν τὸν, while Bothe reads πρὸς τὸ ληκᾶν. Notwithstanding the explanation of the Scholiast, τὸν παιδαρίσκον ἴσως δὲ παρὰ τὴν πόσθην αὐτὸ συνέθηκεν, it does not seem to have occurred to any editor before Dindorf that this line is a prayer for the welfare of an imaginary boy. He read ποσθαλίσκον, not as a proper name but as a comic equivalent to παιδαρίσκον, and is followed by Enger, Meineke, recentiores. But this would require the article, as θυγατέρα above: and Ποσθάληκον, as a proper

name, both accounts for the reading of the MSS. and answers rightly to the daughter's name Χοῖριον.

294. δούλοισ γάρ. Meineke would omit this line, and it is bracketed by Velsen and Hall and Geldart.

297. ταῖν Θεσμοφόρου R. H. vulgo. τοῖν Θεσμοφόρου Meineke, recentiores. See on 285 *supra*.

299. Πλούτῳ R. H. vulgo. Πλούτωνι Velsen.

300. τῇ Γῇ R. H. vulgo. The words are omitted by Dobree, Bothe, Enger, Holden, and Velsen, and bracketed by Fritzsche, Bergk, and Blaydes. Reiske omits the τῇ.

301. Χάρισιν R. H. vulgo. ταῖς Χάρισιν Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Velsen.

304. πόλει τῇ R. H. vulgo. τῇ πόλει τῇ Meineke, Holden.

306. τὴν δρῶσαν καὶ τὴν Grynaeus, Dindorf, Bergk. And according to Bekker, R., as corrected, so reads. The καὶ is omitted in the original R. and in H., and in all editions except Grynaeus before Dindorf. But at Reiske's suggestion, Brunck added the enclitic τ' to the second τὴν, and this is followed by most of the subsequent editors except as herein mentioned. Helwig for δρῶσαν proposed ὀρῶσαν, and this strange conjecture is approved by Meineke (Vind. Ar.) and introduced into the text by Holden and Velsen. Bothe and Velsen omit the words καὶ τὴν ἀγορεύουσιν.

307. τῶν Ἀθηναίων R. H. vulgo. τὸν Ἀθηναίων Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores. Bothe, Blaydes, and Velsen omit or bracket the words τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ.

310. εὔχεσθε R. vulgo. εὔχεσθαι H.—ὑμῖν R. vulgo. ἡμῖν H. Bothe, Thiersch.—τάγαθά R. H. vulgo. Dindorf sug-

gested *πολλὰ καγάθι*, which Velsen adopts. Meineke and Holden read *πάντ' ἀγαθά*, a probable alteration.

311. *ἰὴ παιῶν* (twice) R. Dindorf, Bergk, and subsequent editors down to, and including, Velsen; (thrice) H. vulgo.

312. *δεχόμεθα* and (in the following verse) *λιτόμεθα* Hermann, Dindorf, Enger, Meineke, recentiores. *δεχόμεσθα* and *λιτόμεσθα* R. H. vulgo. But in the present line *εὐχόμεσθα* is read for *δεχόμεσθα* by Zanetti, Farreus, Bergler, Brunck, and Weise.

313. *ταῖσδ' ἐπ' εὐχαῖς* H. vulgo. *ταῖσδ' ἐπευχαῖς* R. and so infra 327.

316. *ὅς* H. and (as corrected) R. vulgo. *ὡς* R. originally, and so Junta.

317. *παγκρατὲς* Scaliger (in notes), Kuster, recentiores, except as below. And so all MSS. and editions infra 368. *παμκρατες* R., *πάνκρατες* H., both of course mere errors for *παγκρατὲς*. *πάγκριτε* all editions before Portus. *παγκρατὴς* Portus, and all subsequent editors before Kuster; and Invernizzi, Weise, Bergk, Meineke, and Holden afterwards.

318. *ἔχουσα* Dobree "ut 1140 (*unde Πολιοῦχος*)," Fritzsche. *οἰκοῦσα* R. H. vulgo. *ἔχουσα*, besides being more rhythmical, seems more natural after the *Δῆλον ὅς ἔχεις* two lines above.

320. *θηροφόνῃ* Hermann, Bothe, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores. *θηροφόνε* R. H. vulgo. Meineke, Holden, and Velsen omit *παί*.

325. *ἐναλίου* Bothe, Dindorf, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart. *ἐναλίου* R. H. all editions before Gelenius, and Enger afterwards. *ἐνάλιοι* Gelenius and all subsequent editions (except Brunck) before Enger. *ἐινάλιοι* Brunck, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Velsen.

328. *ἰαχῆσειεν* R. Grynæus, Thiersch, Dindorf, Fritzsche, Enger, Meineke, Holden, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart. *ισχύσειεν* H. Zanetti, Farreus. *ισχῆσειεν* Junta. *ἡχῆσειεν* Gelenius and subsequent editions before Thiersch. *ἀχῆσειεν* Bergk, Blaydes.

329. *Ἀθηνῶν* Reisig, Dindorf, Enger, Blaydes, Velsen. *Ἀθηναίων* R. H. vulgo. *Ἀθηνέων* Bergk.

331. The words *τοῖς θεοῖσι* are omitted by Zanetti, whilst Grynæus for *θεοῖσι τοῖς* has simply *θεοῖς*.

332. *Ὀλυμπιασι* and (in the next line) *Πυθιασι* R. vulgo. *Ὀλυμπίασι* and *Πυθίασι* H. Meineke (Vind. Aristoph.) proposes, and Holden adopts, *Ὀλυμπίησι*, *Πυθίησι*, and (in 334) *Δηλίησι*. And Herwerden would in each case change the preceding *ταῖς* or *ταῖσι* into *τῇσιν* or *τῇσι*.

334. *τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις* Grynæus, Brunck, recentiores, except Invernizzi. The reading is sometimes attributed to Scaliger, but wrongly. *καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις* R. H. and the other editions.

337. *Μῆδοις τ'* Scaliger (in notes), Kuster, recentiores, except Invernizzi. *Μῆδοις* (without any copula) R. H. editions before Kuster, and Invernizzi. Blaydes, with some probability, suggests but does not read *ἢ Μῆδοις*.

340. *κατέειπεν* Bentley, Elmsley (at Ach. 178), Bothe, Enger, Meineke, recentiores. *κατέειπέν τις* R. H. editions (except Grynæus) before Brunck. *κατέειπέ τις* Grynæus, Scaliger (in notes), Brunck, and subsequent editors, except those mentioned above.

341. *ἐνετρύλλισεν* R. H. vulgo. *ἐνεθρύλλησεν* Zanetti, Farreus, Raphaeleng. *ἐνεθρύλλισεν* Portus to Invernizzi inclu-

sive, and Bothe and Weise. ἐνετρώλισεν Dindorf, Enger, Bergk, Meineke, Velsen. ἐνεθρώλισεν Blaydes.

342. πεμπομένη τις R. H. vulgo. πεμπομένη τὰς Meineke, Holden.

344. ποτε R. H. vulgo. τότε Hamaker, Meineke.

346. εταῖρα R. H. vulgo. The Scholiast mentions another reading εταῖρα, which he explains as meaning "receives gifts from a courtesan for handing over a lover to her," and Fritzsche adopts this reading. John Seager would read εταῖρας, *And treacherously entertains a friend's lover.*

347. κεί τις R. H. vulgo. Meineke suggests, and Blaydes reads, ἡ εἷ τις.

350. ὑμῖν R. vulgo. ἡμῖν H. Zanetti, Blaydes.

351. κάγαθά R. H. vulgo. τὰγαθά Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng, Kuster, Bergler. But see the terms of the pseudism of Demophantus set out in the Commentary on 331.

352-4. ξυνευχόμεσθα . . . γενέσθαι. The first three lines of this Chorus are supposed to be antistrophical to the first three lines of the preceding Chorus, the remainders of the two Choruses diverging into very different metrical systems. This does not seem sufficiently probable to justify any serious alteration of the language of either, though where, as in the first word of the present line, a very slight and immaterial change will suffice to bring the two into harmony, it seems right to adopt it. ξυνευχόμεσθα Bothe, Thiersch, Dindorf, recentiores. ξυνευχόμεθα R. H. vulgo. In the third line (τάδ' εὔγματα γενέσθαι R. H. vulgo) it is thought that the fourth syllable should be long, or doubled into

two short syllables, to make the systems correspond, but no probable alteration has been suggested. Dindorf reads εὔγματ' ἐκγενέσθαι and is followed by Bergk and Blaydes: Fritzsche reads εὔγματ' αὖ γενέσθαι. Meineke (V. A.) proposes τάδε γ' εὔγματα, which does not meet the difficulty, but is adopted by Holden. Velsen reads πάντα τάδε γενέσθαι.

353. τέλεά τε δήμῳ R. all editions before Brunck, and Invernizzi and Fritzsche afterwards. For τε H. has δέ, and so Brunck and the other subsequent editions. But it is the δέ in the fourth line which answers to the μὲν in the first. Fritzsche refers to Peace 162, 163; Lys. 262, 263.

355. ὄσαις R. vulgo. ὄσαι H. Junta, Rapheleng. ὄσα Scaliger (in notes), ὄσ' ἂν προσήκη Meineke (in V. A.), Holden. But Meineke's conjecture is founded on the erroneous notion that ὄσαις is merely the "conjectura nescio cuius," and that both MSS. read ὄσαι.

356. λεγούσαις R. H. vulgo. λεγούσας Dindorf, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Velsen.

357. ἐξαπατῶσιν Hermann, Dindorf, recentiores. ἐξαπατῶσι editions before Dindorf.

360. οὔνεκ' Bentley, Dindorf, and most recent editors. R. H. and the editions before Dindorf had εἵνεκ'. Bentley said "Lege εἵνεκ' vel οὔνεκ', ut 366," and οὔνεκ' has been read since Dindorf's time, except by a few editors who prefer everywhere to read εἵνεκ'.

364. τοῖς ἡμετέροις R. H. vulgo. The τοῖς is omitted from Gelenius to Brunck inclusive.—λέγουσ' Suidas (s.v. ἀπόρρητα), Bentley, Bothe, and all recent editors.

λέγουσιν R. H. and all editions before Bothe's first edition.

365, 366. γῆ κερδῶν Velsen, Hall and Geldart. τῆς χώρας MSS. vulgo. This made no sense. Brunck omitted οὐνεκα, and so made the lines intelligible, but at the expense of the metre. Weise follows Brunck. Bothe went further, and omitted the three words οὐνεκ' ἐπὶ βλάβῃ. Fritzsche for χώρας read ὥρας. Meanwhile Reiske proposed to read κερδῶν, as six lines above. It seems to me very probable that the words κερδῶν οὐνεκα ἐπὶ βλάβῃ are a formula used in the Ἄρὰ, and are repeated here, and I have therefore, with Velsen and Hall and Geldart, adopted Reiske's suggestion as to line 366. Reiske, however, threw back χώρας into line 365, so making that line unmetrical; and I have therefore, again with Hall and Geldart, adopted, though with some hesitation, Velsen's conjecture γῆ. Meineke's lamentable suggestion ἡ μοιχοὺς ἀπάγουσι γῆς only shows, as indeed many of his conjectures show, how incapable a really eminent scholar may be of entering into the true spirit of Aristophanic humour.

367. ἀσεβοῦσί τε τοὺς θεοὺς. See the Commentary. Hitherto this and the following line have been read (in a mutilated form) as one line only: ἀσεβοῦσιν ἀδικοῦσιν τε τὴν (πόλιν commencing the next line) R. H. all editions before Thiersch; and Weise, Meineke, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart afterwards. ἀσεβοῦσ' ἀδικοῦσί τε τὴν πόλιν Hermann, Thiersch, Dindorf, Enger, Bergk, and Velsen. ἀσεβοῦσιν ἀδικοῦσί τε τὴν πόλιν Holden. ἀσεβοῦσί τε τὴν πόλιν Bothe. ἀσεβοῦσ' ἀδικοῦσί τε τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' (an

anapaestic dimeter) Fritzsche. Reisig saw what was required, and wrote, "Intercedit θεοὺς post ἀσεβοῦσι," but he did not attempt to amend the line. Blaydes suggests ἀσεβεῖς ἀδικοῦσι τὴν πόλιν.

368. ἀλλ' ὃ παγκρατὲς [εὐμενὲς]. I have added εὐμενὲς in brackets. See the Commentary. It does not seem to have been observed that this is part of a glyconic line, the remainder of which, probably another epithet of Zeus, has dropped out.

373. ἄκουε πᾶς R. H. vulgo. Fritzsche, in the Addenda to his edition (p. 635), suggests ἄκουε πᾶς, which is adopted by Enger, Holden, Blaydes, and Velsen.—τάδε R. H. vulgo. ταδὶ Meineke, Holden, and Blaydes.

374. ἐγραμμάτευεν R. vulgo. ἐγραμμάτευσεν H.

376. ἡ μάλισθ' ἡμῖν σχολή R. H. Brunck, recentiores. ἦν ἀλίσθ' ἡμῖν σχολή (variously accented) edd. before Portus. ἡ ἀλὺς ἐσθ' ἡμῖν σχολῇ Portus. And so (with σχολῆς for σχολῇ) Scaliger and Faber; and (with σχολῇ) Kuster and Bergler. Bentley proposed ἦν ἀλίσθωμεν σχολῇ: and Dawes (on Frogs 3) εἴ γ' ἀλὺς ἐσθ' ἡμῖν σχολῇ.

383. ΓΥΝΗ. A. vulgo. καλλιλεξία γυνή H. and (by a second correction) R. And so the Scholiast.

386. ὑμᾶς R. H. vulgo. ἡμᾶς Grynaeus, Meineke, recentiores. See the Commentary.

389. ἡμᾶς R. H. vulgo. Brunck suggests, and Blaydes reads, ἡμῖν.

390. ποῦ R. H. vulgo. πόσα Meineke, Holden. τί Velsen.—ἐμβραχὺ (or ξμβραχὺ) Suidas (s.v. οἰνοπίπας), Scholiast on Plato (Theages, chap. 9), Bentley,

Kuster, recentiores. *ἐνβραχὺν* R. *ἐν βραχὺν* H. Junta, Gelenius, and the subsequent editions before Kuster. *ἐν βραχεῖ* Zanetti, Farreus, Grynaeus.

391. *τραγωδοὶ καὶ* R. H. vulgo. *τραγωδικοὶ* Schöliast on Plato (ubi sup.), Bp. Blomf. (Preface to Persae xvii), Bothe, Enger, Meineke, Velsen.

392. *μυχοτρόπους* R. H. and all editions before Enger, except as herein-after mentioned. *μοιχοτρόπους* Suidas (s.v. *οἰνοπίπας*), Zanetti, Farreus, Brunck, Bothe, Fritzsche, Enger, recentiores. The MS. reading is far preferable. We are supposed to be listening to the language of Euripides, to whom such a word as *μοιχοτρόπους* would have been abhorrent; and besides it would have practically the same meaning as *ἀνδρραστρίας*, which immediately follows it.

393. *οἰνοπότιδας* R. H. vulgo. *οἰνοπίπας* Suidas (s.v.), Brunck, Bothe, Thiersch, Fritzsche, Enger. *οἰνοπίπους* Bergk.

394. *ἀνδράσιν*. The final *ν* was added by Kuster. It is omitted in the MSS. and earlier editions.

398. *ῶσπερ καὶ* R. H. vulgo. Cf. Eccl. 221-228. *ὠνπερ* is suggested for *ῶσπερ* by Kuster, and is read by Fritzsche, Meineke, and Velsen; the last-named changing also *καὶ* into *ἦν*.

400. *ἐάν τις νῦν πλέκη*. I have added the *νῦν*. *ἐάν τις πλέκη* (a syllable short) R. H. and all editions before Brunck. Kuster suggested *ἐάν γέ τις πλέκη*, which is read by Brunck and all subsequent editors before Meineke, except Thiersch (who has *ἐάν τινί τις*), Fritzsche (who has *ἐάν τέ τις*), and Enger (who marks a lacuna). Other modes of supplying the missing syllable have been: *ἐάνπερ τις* Meineke, Hall and Geldart; *ἐάν τις*

καὶ Dobree, Holden; *ἐάν τις τῷ* Blaydes, after another suggestion of Dobree; *ἐάν ἕνα τις* Schneider, Velsen; while Bentley proposed *ἐάν τις που*, and Bergk *ἐάν πλέκη νέα*.

403. *ἀνῆρ*. Here the aspirate, or article, was added by Brunck; in *ἀδελφός* two lines below by Scaliger and Bentley; and in *ἀνδρες* (infra 409) by Dindorf.

411. *γέρων* and (in the following line) *θέλει* R. H. vulgo. *ἔτι* and *εἰθέλει* Bachmann. Both alterations are adopted by Velsen; and the last by Hall and Geldart also.

414. *τοῦτον* R. H. Tyrwhitt, Brunck, recentiores. *τοῦτο* editions before Brunck.

415. *ἐπιβάλλουσιν* R. H. vulgo. *ἐμβάλλουσιν* Brunck, Bothe.

417. *μοιχοῖς* H. Zanetti, Farreus, Gelenius, recentiores. *μυχοῖς* R. Junta, Grynaeus.

419. *ταμείνσαι καὶ* Reiske, Fritzsche, Enger, Meineke, Holden, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart. *ταμείνσθαι* R. H. vulgo. Kuster suggested *αὐταῖσι ταμείν*, and Brunck so reads; whilst Blaydes adopts Dobree's suggestion, *ταμεινούσαις*, and reads *αὐταῖς ταμεινούσαις προαιρούσαις λαθεῖν*, a line which could not have proceeded from Aristophanes. — *λαβεῖν* R. H. vulgo. *λαθεῖν* Scaliger (in notes), Dobree, Bothe, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart. But the question here is not one of secrecy or detection: it is a question of their ability or inability to take the things. Their grievance is not that they cannot take them without detection, but that they cannot take them at all.

420. ἀλφειτον ἔλαιον R. H. vulgo; and so the Scholiast, who notes ἐνικῶς τὸ ἀλφειτον. Nevertheless Meineke suggests, and Blaydes reads, ἔλαιον, ἀλφειτ'.

424. οὐκ ἦν. So I think we should read. οὖν ἦν R. H. vulgo. Bentley said, "Lege ἀνθυποῖξαι vel Προτοῦ μὲν οὐκ ἀλλ' ἦν." But the change which I have made is certainly simpler, and (I think) more satisfactory.

428. τοῦτο R. H. Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. τοῦτο all editions before Kuster. τοῦτό γε Kuster, Bergler. τουτὶ Scaliger (in notes).

430. τῷ τέχνῃ R. H. Bergler, recentiores. τῇ τέχνῃ editions before Bergler. τοι τέχνῃ Scaliger (in notes).

431. ἐγὼ φανερώς λέγω R. H. vulgo, ἔχω φανερώς λέγειν Velsen.

433. οὔποτε Thiersch. οὐπῶ τε R. (originally). οὐπώποτε H. and (as corrected) R. vulgo. οὐπῶ Hermann, Dindorf, Weise, Enger, Meineke, recentiores.

435. δεινότερον R. H. vulgo. δεινότερα Hermann, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Velsen.

436. ιδέας Suidas (s.v. ἐβάστασεν), Zanetti, Farreus, Grynæus, Fritzsche, Enger, recentiores, except Holden, who follows Hermann in reading πᾶσαν ιδέαν, εἰδέας R. H. ceteri.

437. ἐξετάζει Fritzsche, which restores the metre, and harmonizes well with λέγει in the preceding line. ἐξήτασεν R. H. vulgo. — πάντα δ' R. H. vulgo. Enger suggests πᾶν τ', and Holden reads πᾶντ', — ἐβάστασεν Thiersch, which Enger approves. ἐβάστασεν φρένι R. H. vulgo. φρένι is destructive of the metre, and unnecessary to the sense, and is probably a mere explanatory gloss which has crept into the text. Velsen transposes

and rewrites the passage out of all recognition.

440. παρ' αὐτὴν Zanetti, Farreus, Bergler, recentiores, except Fritzsche and Velsen. And so Scaliger and Kuster in their notes. And so Elmsley (at Medea 262), who was the first to arrange rightly the concluding lines of this Chorus. παρ' αὐτῆς R. H. all other editions before Bergler; and Fritzsche afterwards. μετ' αὐτὴν Bachmann, Velsen. — Ξενοκλῆς Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. Ξενοκλῆς R. H. editions before Brunck.

442. πᾶσιν R. H. vulgo. πάσαις Bothe.

443. ὀλίγων μὲν ἔνεκ' αὐτῇ. See the Commentary. ὀλίγον ἔνεκ' αὐτῇ R. H. Zanetti, Farreus. And so (with ὀλίγων for ὀλίγον) all other editions before Brunck. This made the line a syllable too short, and many attempts have been made to restore the missing syllable. Bentley proposed αὐτῇ or αὐτῇ τῇδε: Kuster ἔνεκ' γ': Bergler ἔνεκά γ', which is adopted by Brunck and Invernizzi. Bothe reads ἔνεκεν. Porson proposed καὶ τῇ, which is followed by Bekker and all subsequent editors except Bothe.

446. ἀνῆρ. The aspirate was first added by Brunck, who also first restored the final ν to ταῖσιν in 450. The final ν in ἀπάσαισιν 453 was added by Kuster.

452. οὐδ' εἰς ἡμῖν R. H. vulgo. οὐδὲ θῆμῖν Hamaker, Meineke, Holden, and Blaydes.

456. τοῖς λαχάνοις Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. The article is omitted in R. H. and all editions before Brunck, but is retained, as Brunck observed, in Plutarch's "Comparison of Aristophanes and Menander," and Aulus Gellius xv. 20.

460. ἡ τὸ πρότερον R. H. vulgo. Bothe

omits these words, which is certainly an improvement to the rhythm.

461. *κατεστωμύλατο* R. H. vulgo. *καστωμύλατο* Dobree, Dindorf, Fritzsche, Enger to Velsen inclusive. But Aristophanes seems to have commenced this line with a dactyl, corresponding to the πάντα δ' ἐβάστασεν in 437 supra. The compound *καταστωμύλλομαι* is found also in Frogs 1160.

462. *ἄκαιρα* Zanetti, Farreus, Portus, recentiores. *ἄκερα* R. H. Junta, Grynaeus, Gelenius, and Rapheleng.

463. *πολύπλοκον αὐ νόμῳ*. I have added the αὐ to save the metre. *πολύπλοκον νόμῳ* (or *νόμα*) R. H. vulgo. *πολύστροφον νόμῳ* Hermann, Enger. *τι πολύπλοκον νόμῳ* Dobree, Fritzsche, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Velsen.—*ἀσύνετ' ἀλλὰ* R. H. vulgo. *ἀσύνετα* (omitting *ἀλλὰ*) Enger, Velsen. The words *φρένας ἔχουσα καὶ πολύπλοκον αὐ νόμῳ* are parenthetical.

465. *ὑβρεως* R. H. vulgo. *ὑβρεος* Invernizzi, Thiersch, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes.

467. *ἀκουούσας* Zanetti, Gelenius, recentiores. *ἀκούσας* Farreus. *ἀκουούσαις* R. H. Junta, Grynaeus.

469. *ὀναίμην* Brunck, recentiores. *ὀνοίμην* R. editions before Brunck. *ὠνοίμην* H.

471. *ἀλλήλαισι* Brunck, recentiores. *ἀλλήλοισιν* H. editions before Portus. *ἀλλήλοισι* Portus and subsequent editions before Brunck. *ἀλλήλοισι* R.

472. *ἔκφορος* R. H. vulgo. *ἐκφορά* Valckenaer (at Eur. Hipp. 294), Brunck, and subsequent editions before Fritzsche; and Weise and Blaydes afterwards.

474. *εἰ* Grynaeus, Portus, recentiores. *ἦ* R. H. Junta, Gelenius, Rapheleng. *ἦν* Zanetti, Farreus.

475. *δρώσας* R. H. Zanetti, Farreus, Scaliger (in notes), Kuster (in notes), Bergler, recentiores. *δράσας* the other editors before Bergler.

477. *πολλὰ δειν'* Dawes, Brunck, recentiores, except Bothe who prefers his own ridiculous *πολλὰ πόλλ'*. The MSS. and all the editions before Scaliger's omit *δειν'*, and so leave the line a syllable too short. And so Kuster and Bergler. Bisetus proposed *ἐκείνο δ' οὖν ὅτι*, which is read in the editions called "Scaliger's" and "Faber's." Bentley proposed *δεῖνα πόλλ'*, Dawes *πολλὰ δειν'* or *πολλὰ δρῶσ'*.

478. *καθεῦδεν* (or *καθεῦδεν* or *καθηῦδεν*) Zanetti, Farreus, Grynaeus, Bergler, recentiores. *καθεύδειν* R. H. Junta, Gelenius to Kuster inclusive. But Scaliger, Bentley, and Kuster, had all corrected it in their notes.

480. *διεκόρευσε* R. H. vulgo. *διεκόρησεν* Pollux, iii. segm. 42, Fritzsche, Meineke, Blaydes, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart. Both forms, as Brunck observes, are found in Lucian and elsewhere.—*οὔσαν ἐπτέτω* Pollux, ubi supra, Scaliger, recentiores. The words are transposed in R. H. and the editions before Scaliger.

482. *κατ'* R. H. vulgo. Meineke suggests, and Velsen reads, *καγὰ*.

486. *ἄνηθον* Thiersch, Dindorf, Fritzsche, Enger, recentiores. *ἀνηθον* R. H. and the other editions. Dobree suggested *ἀνηττον*.

488. *ἡριδόμην* Kuster, recentiores, except Bergk and Meineke. *ἐριδόμην* R. H. editions before Kuster. Fritzsche suggested, and Bergk and Meineke read, *ἐριδομαι*.

489. *κύβδ'* H. Brunck, recentiores.

κύνδ' R. editions before Brunck, though Bergler suggested the true reading.

490. εἶφ', ὀρᾶτ' R. H. Grynæus, Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. ἐφ' ὀρᾶτ' Junta. ἐφωρᾶτ' Zanetti, Farreus, Gelenius, and all subsequent editions before Brunck. Dawes suggested εἶφ', ὀρᾶς.

493. ληκώμεθα Suidas, s. v., Bentley, Pierson (on Moeris, s. v. Ἀγνιά), Brunck, Bekker, recentiores. κινώμεθα R. H. editions before Gelenius. βινώμεθα Gelenius and all subsequent editions (except Brunck) before Bekker. All three verbs have the same meaning. For ὑπό του (R. H. vulgo) Velsen reads ὅλην. Meineke (V. A.) proposes μάλιστα ληκισώμεθα.

494. σκόροδα διαμασώμεθα Bentley, Dawes, Brunck, recentiores, except as after mentioned. σκορόδια μασώμεθα R. H. all editions before Brunck, and Bekker afterward. σκορόδια μασώμεσθ' ἵνα Thiersch, Dindorf.

495. ἵν' ὀσφράινόμενος ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ τείχους εἰσιῶν. So Bentley ordered the line (except that the aspirate was added to ἀνὴρ by Dawes, and Elmsley at Ach. 179). But Dawes went astray in the latter part of the line. "Maluit Dawesius," says Elmsley, "ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἰών; sed articulus recte abest, ut in Av. 497, ἔξω τείχους." He might have added that εἰσιῶν, when he comes in, is necessary to the sense of the passage. The line is read as in the text by Bothe, Fritzsche, Enger, recentiores. ἵν' ὀσφραυνόμενος ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους εἰσιῶν R. H. editions before Brunck; and Weise afterwards. Brunck substituted εἰθὺς for ὀσφραυνόμενος, and was followed by Invernizzi and Bekker. Thiersch and Dindorf, having pushed ἵνα into the preceding

line, retain ὀσφραυνόμενος and finish the line as in the text.

500. οἶδν γ' ὑπ' αὐγὰς Bachmann, Velsen. ὑπ' αὐγὰς οἶδν R. H. vulgo, contra metrum. Bentley suggested, and Bothe reads, ὑπανγὲς, which is probably right. ὁποῖον ὑπ' αὐγὰς Fritzsche. Dindorf suggested, and Blaydes reads, ὑπ' ὀρθρόν, which does not give the right sense for the present passage.

501. μοιχὸν Grynæus, recentiores. μυχὸν R. H. Junta, Zanetti, Farreus.

504. περιήρχετ' R. H. vulgo. Elmsley (at Heracleidae 210) observes that ἡρχόμεν is seldom used, and though he gives several unquestionable examples of its use, yet suggests that here we should substitute either περιῆεν or περιῆρren. Holden reads περιῆεν. Bergk conjectured περιέτρεχ', which is read by Meineke, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart.—ἠκντόκι Pollux, ii. 7, Schäfer (at Bos. Ellips. p. 512), Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores, except Weise. ἠκντόκεια R. H. editions before Bothe; and Weise afterwards.

506. βοῶν R. H. Grynæus, Portus, recentiores. βοῶν the other editions before Portus.

509. τέξειν R. H. vulgo. τίκτειν Hirschig, Meineke, Holden.

511. τοῦ παιδίου R. H. vulgo. τὸ κηρίον Hirschig, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Velsen.

512. ἡ' φερεν. The final ν was added by Brunck. The MSS. and earlier editions have ἡ' ἔφερε.

514. αὐτέκμαγμα Reiske, Bekker, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. αἰτ' εἶγμα all editions before Scaliger. Scaliger in his notes suggested αἰτ' εἶγμα, but the edition which bears his name (with R. H. Pollux, Eustathius,

and Suidas) has αὐτ' ἔκμαγμα, and so all subsequent editions before Bekker; and Hall and Geldart.

522. ἐξέθρεψε R. vulgo. ἐξέτρεψε H.

527. ἀλλ' ἄπαν R. H. vulgo. ἀλλὰ πᾶν Cobet, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Velsen.

532. πλὴν ἄρ' εἰ R. Fritzsche, Enger, Meineke, recentiores. Fritzsche refers to Birds 601, Xen. Hell. iv. 2. 21, and Euripides Danae (Stob. x. 18), but there Porson and Gaisford read εἰς. Fritzsche himself, however, changes γυναῖκες into γυνή τις. πλὴν ἄρ' ἡ H. vulgo.

533. Ἀγραυλὸν R. H. all editions before Brunck, and Bergk afterwards. Ἀγλαυρον Brunck and all subsequent editions except Bergk. Brunck based his change on the theory (first, I believe, propounded by Musgrave on Eur. Ion 23) that the wife of Ceerops was named Agraulus, and their daughter Aglaurus. But doubtless the mother and daughter bore the same name; Agraulus and Aglaurus are merely different forms of the same word; and I suspect that the true form in each case is Agraulus. If the daughter is called Aglaurus by Hdt. (viii. 53), Pausanias (i. 18), Hesychius (s. v. Ἀγραυλος), and Ovid (Met. ii. 777), she is called Agraulus by Aristophanes here, Plutarch (Alcibiades, chap. 15), Apollodorus (iii. 14. 2), Ulpian on Demosthenes De F. L. 346 (p. 348), and Philochorus there mentioned. In the text of Demosthenes, ubi supra, several MSS. have Ἀγραυλος, and several Ἀγλαυρος. Dr. Blaydes, though he follows Brunck, yet says very sensibly, "Scripturae Ἀγραυλος certe favet analogia nominum Πάνδροσος et Ἐρση. Euphoniae autem gratiā nonnunquam Ἀγλαυρος

scriptum esse satis credibile est: nam per se nomen Ἀγλαυρος non habere videtur unde derivari potuerit." There seems no sense in altering the MS. reading for the purpose of making the names of the mother and daughter disagree: a disagreement which Apollodorus denies, and no ancient author affirms. And see the Annotations of Maussacus on Harpocration, s. v. Περίπολος, and the note of Vales on those Annotations; and Hemsterhuys on Pollux, viii. segm. 105.

536. τίς ἐστίν R. H. vulgo. Bergk suggests ἐστί τις, and Velsen reads τίς τις ἐστ' ἐν ἡμῖν.

537. αὐταὶ all printed editions. αὐτοὶ R. H.—γε R. H. vulgo. τε Reiske, Fritzsche, Weise, Bergk, Meineke, Blaydes, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart.

541. ἀσταὶ R. H. Brunck, recentiores. αὐταὶ all editions before Brunck. For ὅσαι πάρεσμεν (R. H. vulgo) Fritzsche and Blaydes read ὅσαιπερ ἔσμεν.

545. ὁς Grynaeus, Faber, Kuster, recentiores. ὧς R. H. Junta, Gelenius, Portus, Scaliger. ὁ Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng.—δέδρακεν R. Zanetti, vulgo. δέδρακας H. Junta.

546. ἐπίτηδες Bentley, Kuster (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. ἐξεπίτηδες R. H. editions before Brunck.

548. ἐποίησ' Scaliger (in notes), Bentley, Bothe, Thiersch, recentiores. ἐποίησεν R. H. editions before Bothe's first edition.

550. Φαίδρας δ' Portus, recentiores, except Velsen. Φαίδρας (without δ') R. H. editions before Portus, and Velsen afterwards. In the MSS. and all editions before Portus, the line ended with Φαίδρας, and ἀπαξάπασας formed

a line by itself, and this probably caused the omission of the δ'.

553. *πλείον'* Bentley, Weise, Enger, recentiores. *πλείον* R. H. editions before Weise.

554. *οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' ἔχοις* R. H. vulgo. *οὐκέτ' ἂν ἔχοις* Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe, Weise.—*ἥδεις* R. H. vulgo. Brunck says "E puriori Atticismo excudi debuit ἥδης"; and Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart read *ἥδησθα*. Of these forms one is as "pure Attic" as the other; the "purer Attic" merely means the form which none but Attics used.

555. *μὰ Δί' οὐδέπω τὴν* Dobree, Dindorf, Fritzsche, Enger, recentiores. For *οὐδέπω* the MSS. and editions before Brunck had *οὐδέ*, leaving the line a syllable short. Various modes of supplying the missing syllable have been suggested. *μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ τὴν* Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker. *μὰ Δί' οὐδὲ τὴν γε* Bentley, Bothe, Weise, though in his second edition Bothe changed to *μὰ Δί'*, *οὐδὲ δὴ τὴν*. Thiersch reads *μὰ Δί' οὐδ' ἐγὼ τὴν*.

556. *ἐπεὶ τάδ'* Thiersch, Fritzsche, Enger, Meineke, recentiores. *ἐπειτά γ'* R. H. editions before Brunck. *ἐπεὶ τόδ'* Kuster (in notes), Brunck, Bekker, Bothe, Bergk. *ἐπεὶ τὰ γ'* Invernizzi.—*ὥς στλεγγίδας* H. Zanetti, Farreus, Gelenius, Portus, recentiores. *ὥς τλεγγίδας* R. Junta, Grynaeus. *ὥς στρεγγίδας* Rappheling.

557. *σίτον* R. H. all editions before Brunck. *οἶνον* Kuster (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. Velsen says that Pollux reads *οἶνον*, but this is an entire mistake. Pollux has a chapter (Book vi, chap. 2) on the vessels appertaining to wine,

and amongst other things he mentions the siphon, used for tasting wine. He then adds as an independent sentence, "Aristophanes uses the verb *σιφωνίζειν*." It is impossible to say whether he is alluding to the present, or to some lost, passage of Aristophanes; but assuming him to refer to the present passage, he is perfectly right. Aristophanes does here use the verb *σιφωνίζειν*, and not only so, but he of course means it to be understood in the sense of drawing out wine, though *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, he substitutes *σίτον* for *οἶνον*. With the use to which Aristophanes puts the verb Pollux, whose work is a mere register of words, has nothing to do; and there is not even a presumption that he read *οἶνον* here. The Scholiast and Suidas both read *σίτον*. Nor is there a discordant note in any grammarian.

558. *τ' αὖ τὰ* Zanetti, Farreus, Grynaeus, Bentley, Kuster (in notes), Bergler, recentiores. *τ' αὐτὰ* R. Junta, Gelenius to Kuster inclusive. *ταῦτα* H.

560. *τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ πελέκει γυνή* R. H. vulgo. This gives an anapaest in the fourth foot of an iambic tetrameter catalectic, contrary to the rule laid down by Porson in the supplement to his preface to the Hecuba. But that rule has been strenuously, and I think successfully, disputed. Porson himself, referring to Suidas, who under the word *κατεσπόδησε*, says *κατέκοψε* 'Ετέρα τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ πελέκει κατεσπόδησε, adopts that reading here, and omits *γυνή*. He is followed by Meineke but by nobody else. And Suidas is obviously quoting carelessly, and has transferred *έτέρα* from the next line, where it is right, to the present, where it is wrong.

Enger says that if any change were necessary it would be easy to transpose γυνή to the second place, and this is done by Holden and Velsen. Blaydes for τῷ πελέκει γυνή reads γ' ἡ γυνὴ πελέκει. But all other editors retain the MS. reading.

563. Ἀχαρνική Dobree, Weise, Bergk, recentiores. Ἀχαρνική R. H. vulgo.

564. ἄρρεν R. H. vulgo. ἄρρεν Scaliger and subsequent editions before Fritzsche.

565. δὲ θυγάτριον κ.τ.λ. R. H. vulgo. Fritzsche reads δ' ἐκείνη θυγάτριον, omitting the final αὐτῇ.

567. οὐ δὲ Bothe, Dindorf, Fritzsche, recentiores, except Blaydes. οὐ δὲ R. Junta. οὐδὲ H. Zanetti; and one or other of these MS. readings, it is not always easy to say which, is found in all the editions before Brunck. οὐποτε Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker. οὐδὲ followed by μὰ Δι' οὐ Thiersch. οὐ τοι Blaydes.

568. Φιλίστη H. and (as corrected) R. Scaliger, Faber, Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. Φιλίστη R. (originally) and all other editions before Brunck.

569. πρόσθε R. H. vulgo. πρόσθι Cobet, Meineke, Holden. Not a change for the better.

570. τοῦτον χεσεῖν R. H. vulgo. Brunck interposed a σέ between these two words, not observing that the pronoun is already given in the preceding line; and he is followed by Invernizzi.

571. παύσασθε H. vulgo. παύσασθαι R. Junta, Gelenius.—ἡμῖν R. H. Invernizzi, recentiores. ἡμᾶς editions before Brunck. ἡμῖν Bentley, Brunck.

580. σκοπῆτε καὶ τηρῆτε Portus, recentiores. σκοπεῖτε καὶ τηρεῖτε R. H. editions before Portus.—καὶ μὴ R. H. editions

before Brunck. It is one of the reasons for Cleisthenes coming. He came ἵνα τηρῆτε καὶ ἵνα μὴ προσπέσῃ. But Kuster, supposing the words to be governed by τηρῆτε, proposed μὴ τι, which is read by Brunck, Invernizzi, and Bekker. Far better than this is Porson's μὴ καὶ, which is adopted by Bothe, Thiersch, Dindorf, and subsequent editors.

581. ἡμῖν H. Zanetti, Farreus, Scaliger, Faber, Brunck, recentiores, except Velsen. ἡμῖν R. Junta and the other editions before Brunck, and Velsen afterwards.

584. φάσ' Zanetti, Farreus, Grynaeus, Scaliger (in notes), Kuster, recentiores, except Invernizzi. ἔφασ' R. H. Junta and (except as aforesaid) all editions before Kuster; and Invernizzi afterwards.

590. καπέτιλ' Bekker, recentiores, except Bothe and Weise, who, with R. H. and the editions before Bekker, read καπέτιλλ'.

593. ἡνείχετ' ἂν (*what man would do it?*) Brunck, recentiores, except Fritzsche, Bergk, and Hall and Geldart. ἡνείχετο (*who was the man that did it?*) R. H. editions before Brunck; and Fritzsche, Bergk, and Hall and Geldart afterwards.

594. οὐκ οἶμαι ἔγωγ' Bentley, Porson, Brunck, recentiores. οὐκ οἶμ' ἔγωγ' R. H. editions before Brunck.

596. πεπύσμην ταῦτα Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. πεπύσμην τανὺν R. H. editions before Brunck; except that Bergler had already suggested πεπύσμην, and that (after Brunck) Dindorf and Enger write πεπύσμην.

600. ἡμᾶς H. Bentley, Brunck, recentiores, except Velsen. ἡμᾶς R. editions before Brunck, and Velsen.

601. *ξυνέξευρ'* Suidas (s.v. *πρόξενος*), Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *συνέξευρ'* R. H. editions before Brunck.

603. *τίς εἰ* R. all editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi, Bekker, Thiersch, Dindorf, Weise, and Blaydes afterwards. *τίς ἡ* H. ceteri.

605. *ἔμ' ἦτις* Zanetti, Farreus, Kuster, recentiores. *ἔμ' εἴτις* R. and the other editions before Kuster. *ἐμεί τις* H.—*εἴμ' ἦρον*; R. H. and all the editions before Brunck simply omit *εἴμ'*, so leaving the line a syllable short. Brunck read *ἦρον*; K.A. *ναί*. And this is followed by Invernizzi, Bekker, and Bothe. Bentley proposed either *εἴμ' ἦρον*; or *ἦρον*; τοῦ. The former conjecture was made independently by Tyrwhitt and Porson, and is adopted by Dindorf, Thiersch, Weise, Enger, and all subsequent editors; the latter is adopted by Fritzsche.

606. *ἦτις ἔσθ'* R. H. vulgo. *εἴτις ἔσθ'* Zanetti, Farreus.—*ἦδ' ἡ*. The reading of R. and all editions except Grynaeus before Portus was *ἦδε* contra metrum. Bentley proposed *ἦδ' ἡ* or *ἡδὶ*. The former is found to be the reading of H. and is adopted by Portus and all subsequent editors to and including Bekker; and by Thiersch, Dindorf, Weise, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. The latter is apparently read by Grynaeus (though the accent is on the *ἡ*), and is followed by the other editors subsequent to Bekker.

609. *τίτθῃ νῇ Δί'* H. Portus, recentiores. *τίτθῃν ἡ δὲ* R. and so, or *τίτθῃ ἡδὶ* or *ἦδ'*, the editors before Portus.

611. *ἀναισχυντός τις* Kuster (referring to 752 infra), recentiores. *ἀναισχυντος μὲν* Grynaeus, Bentley. *ἀναισχυντος*

(alone) R. H. and the other editions before Kuster.

612. *ἀναμεινῶ* Grynaeus, Scaliger, Faber, Kuster, Meineke, recentiores. *ἀναμείνω* R. H. vulgo.

615. *πολὺν* Gelenius, recentiores. *πολύ* R. H. editions before Gelenius.

624. *ὅσ' ἔτη* R. H. vulgo. *ὀσέτη* Schäfer, Dindorf, Thiersch, recentiores, except Weise and Bergk. There seems no reason for any change. The form *ὅσα ἔτη*, *every year*, is found three times in Xen. De Rep. Ath. iii. 4, whilst *ὀσέτη*, though doubtless an unexceptionable form, does not seem to occur elsewhere.

625. *ὄμοι τάλας*. These two words in the MSS., and generally, are the commencement of Cleisthenes's speech; but are transferred to Mnesilochus by Schäfer, Bekker, Fritzsche, Enger, Bergk, and others; and this seems a much better arrangement. Mnesilochus feels that he has come to the end of his tether, and that instant detection is impending.

630. *τί μέντοι πρῶτον* Suidas (s.v. *προπίνει*), Porson, Dindorf, Fritzsche, recentiores. *τί πρῶτον* R. H. (but *μέντοι* is written in the margin of R.), and all editions before Brunck. *τί πρῶτον ἦν*; *τί πρῶτον*; Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, Thiersch. *τί ἦν*; *τί πρῶτον ἦν*; Bentley. *τί ἦν*; MN. *ὃ, τι πρῶτον ἦν*; Bothe, making the words *φέρ'* ἴδω, *τί ἦν* a continuation of the woman's speech.

631. *τί δαί* Bentley; for his editors are mistaken in referring this to the following line; *there* he proposes *τί δ'* αὖ. *τί δὲ* R. H. vulgo. — *μετὰ τοῦτο* Suidas (s.v. *προπίνει*), Zanetti, recentiores. *με τοῦτο* R. H. Junta.

632 *τί δ' αὖ* Bentley. *τί δὲ* R. H. editions before Brunck. *τί δὲ τὸ* Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker. *τί δὲ δὴ* Bothe. *τί δ' ἦν* Fritzsche, Bergk. *τί δαί* Elmsley (at Ach. 105), Thiersch, Dindorf, Weise, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart. σὺ. MN, *τί δὲ* Enger, Meineke, Holden, Velsen.

633. *Ξένυλλ'* R. H. Brunck, recentiores. *ξένη μ'* all editions before Brunck. But both Bisetus and Bentley called attention to the fact that Pollux, x. chap. 9, cited, as from the Polyeidus of Aristophanes, the line *σκάφιον Ξένυλλ' ἦτησεν, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄμῃς*; and Bisetus suggested that we should so read the present line, and with this Kuster and Bergler agreed. Finally Brunck, from H., restored the true reading.

634. *δεῦρ' ὦ* R. (as corrected) and all printed editions. *δεῦρο* R. (originally) and H.—*Κλείσθηνες* all printed editions. *Κλεισόσθηνες* R. H.

635. *άνηρ*. The article, or aspirate, was first added by Bentley, and has been adopted by Brunck and all subsequent editors.

638. *χάλα* Grynaeus, recentiores. *χάλαι* R. *χάλα* H. Junta, Zanetti, Farreus.

642. *δὲ μήτηρ* H. Brunck, recentiores. *δημήτηρ* R. *δὴ μήτηρ* edd. before Brunck.

644. *τοδὶ δῖέκυψε* Dobree, Dindorf, Thiersch, Fritzsche, recentiores. *τοδὶ δὴ ἔκυψε* R. H. editions before Brunck. *τοδ', ἰδοῦ, ἔκυψε* Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker. *τοδὶ δ' ἔκυψε* Bentley, Bothe.

646. *μᾶλλὰ* (or *μὴ ἀλλὰ*) Bentley, Dindorf, Thiersch, Fritzsche, recentiores. *ἀλλὰ* R. H. and all other editions before Fritzsche.

647. *ισθμόν κ.τ.λ.* This line was omitted in R. and H., but is written by a corrector in the margin of each. In

R. it is written in the right place; in H. three lines too high. Nor is it found in any edition before Portus. Bisetus, however, pointed out that this and the following line are quoted as one speech by Suidas, s.v. *ισθμός*, and that the text here should be reformed accordingly. And the line has been replaced by Portus and all subsequent editors.

651. *εἰσεκύλισα* Bentley, Scaliger, recentiores. *εἰσεκύλησα* R. H. editions before Scaliger, except that Gelenius and Portus have *εἰσεκύλυσα*.

653. *οἰχίσεται* Bentley, Dawes, Brunck, recentiores. *οἴχεται* R. H. editions before Brunck. *οἴχοιτο* πῇ Scaliger and Kuster in their notes.

654. *πρυτάνεσιν* H. Grynaeus, Brunck, recentiores. *πρυτάνεσσιν* R. editions (except Grynaeus) before Brunck.

656. *ἀποδύσας* R. H. Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng, Kuster, recentiores. *ἀποδούσας* the other editions before Kuster.

657. *ἐσελήλυθε* Bentley, Kuster, recentiores, except as hereinafter mentioned. *ἐσελήλυθεν* R. H. *εἰσελήλυθεν* all editions before Kuster except Grynaeus, who has *εἰσελήλυθε*. Bentley also suggested, as an alternative, *εἰσῆλυθε*; and Elmsley (at Ach. 42) *εἰσῆλθεν*. Fritzsche reads *ἀνελήλυθε*, referring to the passages cited in the Commentary on 585 supra. This is a very infelicitous alteration, since the question is not who has "ascended" the hill on which the Temple stood, which anybody might do; but who has "entered into the Temple" itself, from which men were excluded. Yet, after having been justly rejected by Enger, Bergk, Meineke, and others, it has been adopted by Blaydes, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart.

658. διαθρῆσαι Kuster in his notes, Brunck, recentiores. ἀθρῆσαι R. H. and all editions before Brunck. ἀθρῆσαι formed a separate line in R. and in all editions before Portus, who was the first to elevate it into its proper place.— πύκνα R. H. vulgo; but Brunck, Bothe, and Weise prefer to write it πνύκα.

660. πανταχῇ· μόνον δὲ χρῆ Kuster, recentiores. μόνον δὲ χρῆ πανταχῇ R. H. editions before Kuster.

662. χρῆν Bentley, Bothe, Weise, Enger, recentiores, except Bergk and Velsen. χρῆ R. H. vulgo. χρῆ σ' Porson, Fritzsche, Bergk, Velsen.

663. πάντ' [ἐρρωμένως]. See the Commentary. ταχὺ πάντ' R. H. vulgo. πάντα πανταχῇ Dobree. πανταχοῦ ταχὺ Holden. Velsen omits καὶ μάτενε.

664. ἐν τόποις H. and (as corrected) R. vulgo. ἐν τούτοις R. originally. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις Blaydes.

665. δὲ ῥίψον Hermann, Enger, recentiores, except Bergk who has δὴ ῥίψον. διάρριψον R. H. and all editions before Brunck, and Fritzsche afterwards. διάρριψον Brunck and subsequent editions, except Fritzsche, before Enger.

667. με λάθῃ Fritzsche, Enger, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart. See the Commentary. μὴ λάθῃ R. H. vulgo. ληφθῇ Reisig, Blaydes. The discovery that lines 667–686 are antistrophical to lines 707–725 has naturally called forth a variety of attempts to bring the two systems into exact metrical uniformity. That they were originally uniform cannot be doubted, but each system has fallen into disrepair, and if we correct one by the other, we may be altering a genuine text to make it correspond with a cor-

rupt one. Occasionally they can be brought into conformity by an alteration which commends itself on other grounds; and occasionally the metre shows which system is necessarily right. But several scholars have gone beyond these isolated points, and have elaborated complete systems, involving great and (except for this purpose) unnecessary alterations. These have met with no acceptance, and are too lengthy to be cited here.

669. τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνδράσιν ἔσται. ἀνδράσιν is Bergk's suggestion, which he did not introduce into the text, but which is adopted by Meineke, Holden, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart. τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἔσται R. H. vulgo. τοῖς ἄλλοισιν γ' ἔσται πᾶσιν Brunck. τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσται ἀπασιν Hermann, Fritzsche, Enger, Bergk, Blaydes.

671. ἀθέων τε τρόπων. After these words an anapaestic dipody seems to have fallen out. Fritzsche adds a second παράδειγμα.

674. δαίμονας. After this word an iambic dipody has dropped out. Velsen completes the line by reading δαιμόνων δίκην αἰεῖ.

679. οὐχ ὀσιόν τι δρῶν. So I venture to read, to bring the strophe more into accord with the antistrophe. ἀνόσιόν τι δρῶν Hermann, Enger, Blaydes, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart. ὀσια δρῶν R. H. Junta, Grynæus, Gelenius, and (as a counsel of despair) Thiersch, Dindorf, Fritzsche, Bergk. ἀνόσια δρῶν Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng, recentiores, except as herein mentioned. οὐκ' ὀσια δρῶν Meineke, Holden. It seems clear that these lines αὐτῶν...παράκοπος should be brought, as far as possible, into con-

formity with the three iambic dimeters of 718-20 ἀλλ' οὐ . . . ἀνοσίους, and that the endeavour of some recent editors to bring those iambic dimeters into conformity with the present lines is an endeavour to spoil what is obviously right by bringing it into conformity with what is obviously wrong.

682. ἐμφανῆς R. H. vulgo. ἐμφανὲς Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker.

683. ἔσται Dobree, Reisig, Bothe, Fritzsche, Enger, Meineke, recentiores. ἔστω R. H. vulgo.—βροτοῖσιν Enger, Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Hall and Geldart. βροτοῖς R. H. vulgo.

684-6. The MS. reading of these lines is ὅτι τὰ παράνομα τὰ τ' ἀνόσια θεὸς | ἀπο-
τίνεται | παραχρῆμά τε τίνεται. The ἀπο-
τίνεται, which always occupies a line by itself, was doubtless originally a correction of the -ά τε τίνεται which immediately follows, and has been prefixed to, instead of being substituted for, the erroneous reading. See on 693 *infra*. All that I have done is to carry into effect this intended correction, and otherwise leave the MS. reading untouched. The MS. reading as it stands, is adopted by Zanetti, Farreus, Brunck, recentiores, except as hereafter mentioned, and with the substitution of γίνεται for τίνεται by Junta and all other editors before Brunck. In the words παραχρῆμά τε γίνεται Bothe and Fritzsche think that they detect a stage-direction referring to the movement of the Chorus, Bothe reading (παραχώρημά τι γίνεται), and Fritzsche (παραχωρήματα γίνεται). With γίνεται, the accepted reading in his time, Bentley suggested παράδειγμα for παραχρῆμα. Hermann proposed ὅτι τὰ τε παράνομα τὰ τ' ἀνόσια παντὰ τίνεται

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θεός, which is adopted by Enger, Holden, and Velsen, save that for τε παράνομα, Enger and Holden read παράνομά τε. Meineke has ὅτι τὰ τε παράνομα τὰ τ' ἀνόσια θεὸς παρὼν τίνεται. Hall and Geldart, ὅτι τὰ τε παράνομα τὰ τ' ἀνόσι· παρὼν θεὸς ἀποτίνεται.

689. ᾤ ᾤ. ποῖ ποῖ Bisetus, Bentley, Kuster (in notes), Brunck, and subsequent editors to, and including, Fritzsche. ᾤ ᾤ (*extra metrum*) ποῖ R. H. and (save as hereafter mentioned) all editions before Brunck. ᾤα (*extra metrum*) ποῖ Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng. The question is, as Bergler observed, whether a second ποῖ should be added or one ᾤ omitted and so a single senarius formed. The latter alternative is adopted by Weise and subsequent editors: but both MSS. give the ᾤ ᾤ as *extra metrum*, and it is obvious that the doubled ποῖ is more in character with the Woman's speech, οὔτος, οὔτος, τάλανα τάλανα.

691. μοι R. H. vulgo. μου Hamaker, Meineke, Holden, Velsen.

693. ἀφῆτ' R. (as corrected) Bentley, Kuster (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. ἀφείτε H. and (originally) R. ἀφείητε editions before Brunck; a reading which doubtless arose from -ει- intended as a correction of -ε- having slipped in beside it. See on 684-6 *supra*.

697. καὶ τροπαῖον Scholiast on Plutus 453, Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng, Kuster, recentiores. The καὶ is omitted by R. H., and, save as aforesaid, by all editions before Kuster. Scaliger proposed to supply νῦν.

700. τόδε Dobree (comparing 1105 *infra* and many other passages), Fritzsche, Enger, and all subsequent editors ex-

cept Meineke. δὲ R. H. vulgo. δὴ Bothe, Dindorf, Meineke.

701. αὖ τέρας all printed editions. αὐτέρας R. H.

702. ἅπαντ' ἄρ' Bentley, Bergler (in notes), Bothe, Thiersch, Fritzsche, recentiores. ἅπαν γὰρ editions before Gelenius; and Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, and Dindorf. ἅπαντ' Gelenius to Bergler inclusive. Kuster in his notes suggested ἅπαντά γ'.—ἔργα R. H. vulgo. Suidas (s. v. ἅπαντα) gives, as a proverb, ἅπαντα τόλμης πλέα κἀναίσχυντίας, a proverb doubtless derived from the present line, as indeed very many of the proverbs preserved by the paroemiographers are derived from Aristophanes. Porson wrote in the margin of his copy of Portus, "Forte ἅπαντα μεστά. Vide Pac. 554," and this suggestion is carried out by Meineke, Blaydes, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart; Blaydes writing ὥς ἅπαντα μεστά τόλμης ἐστὶ, and the others ὥς ἅπαντ' ἄρ' ἐστὶ τόλμης μεστά. This is rather an attractive alteration, but perhaps ἔργα is more in keeping with the ideas of the Chorus of Women.

704. ἐξαράξει Bentley, Enger, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Velsen. See the Commentary. The Editors, in the Classical Journal, of Bentley's notes, ascribe the same conjecture to Tyrwhitt, but it is not given in Elmsley's edition of Tyrwhitt's notes to this play. ἐξάρξω R. H. editions before Brunck, Bentley's alternative suggestion, ἐξαράξω, which is also the conjecture of Toup and Reiske, is followed by Brunck, and save as aforesaid subsequent editors, Dawes suggested ἐξερῶ γῶ, "Quali modo vestram ego effraenatam insolentiam de-

clarabo!" His wonted sagacity, as Brunck observes, had failed him here.

706. ὅστις Porson, Dindorf, recentiores. ὅτι R. H. editions before Brunck, and Bekker afterwards. ὁρίη Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe. ὁδί Thiersch.

710. ἦκεις (without θ' or γ') Bekker, Dindorf, and others. ἦκεις τ' R. ἦκεις θ' editions before Gelenius. ἦκεις γ' Suidas (s. v. ἦκεις), Gelenius, and all subsequent editors to Brunck, and several afterwards. Kuster translated it *sed non redibis* (salvus) *eo, unde venisti*, and observed "verti ac si legeretur ἀλλ' οὐχ ἦξεις &c.," and this reading was adopted by Brunck and Bothe. ἦκιστ' H. ἦκισθ' Thiersch.—ὄθεν οὐ φεύξει see the Commentary. ὄθεν ἦκεις R. H. vulgo. ὄθεν οὐχ ἦξεις Fritzsche. ὄθεν οὐκ ἔξει Cobet, and Bergk seems to have intended to adopt this, but he left the MS. reading in his text. Reisig proposed to omit ἦκεις altogether, and to read ὄθεν οὐ φαύλως γ' | ἀποδρὰς λέξεις, and this reading is adopted by Enger and subsequent editors (except that some omit the γ' after φαύλως). φαύλως τ' R. H. vulgo.

711. οὔποτε. I have added the -ποτε. οὐ R. H. vulgo.

715. τίς οὖν σοι R. H. vulgo. τίς ἄν σοι Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Velsen. Meineke ascribes the alteration to Brunck, but this seems a mistake.

719. ἐνυβρίεις Reisig, Dindorf, Bothe, Thiersch, recentiores. ἐνυβρίσεις R. H. and all the earlier editions. To complete the metre I have inserted ἔμ' which might easily have dropped out before the ἐν-, as indeed might ἔτ', which Dobree proposed and Blaydes reads.

720. *τε λέξεις* R. H. vulgo. *λέξεις* τ' Fritzsche, which is followed by several editors, who do not see that we have here three iambic dimeters. The two trochaic dimeters, just below, have been more carefully preserved, both in the strophe and in the anti-strophe.

721. *ἔργοις* Hermann added *ἐπ'* before and *καὶ* after *ἔργοις*. And so (or with *ἐπ'* inserted before *ἀθέοις*) Enger, Meineke, Holden, and Velsen. I have preserved the text of the MSS. which seems perfectly right.

723. *τάχα κ.τ.λ.* These lines are written in the MSS. and vulgo *τάχα δέ σε μεταβαλοῦσ' | ἐπὶ κακὸν ἑτερότροπον | ἐπέχει τις τύχη*. Editors write them in various ways. The only alterations in the text are the transposition of *σε* and the omission of *τις*. Both of these alterations have already been made by several editors, but accompanied by more radical, and less desirable, changes.

726. *χρῆν σ'* R. Junta, Gelenius, recentiores, except as mentioned below. *χρή μ'* H. *χρή σ'* Zanetti, Farreus, Grynaeus. *χρῆν* Enger, Meineke, Holden, Velsen.

730. *δὲ τὸ* Grynaeus, Kuster (in notes), Brunck, recentiores, and so Suidas, s. v. *Κρητικόν*. *τόδε τὸ* R. H. editions (except Grynaeus) before Brunck.

733. *ἐγένεθ' ἡ* Grynaeus, Gelenius, Portus, recentiores. *ἐγένηθ' ἡ* R. and the other editions before Portus. *ἐγένηθη* H.

736. *ὑμεῖς* R. H. vulgo. Gelenius introduced *ὑμῶν* which was continued by subsequent editors, till Invernizzi restored *ὑμεῖς* from R., since which *ὑμῶν*

has been read by Weise, Bothe, and Bergk only.

740. *ἀποκρίναί* H. Zanetti, Farreus, Portus, recentiores. *ἀποκρινέ* R. and the other editions before Portus. For *τοδί* (R. H. vulgo) at the end of the line Fritzsche reads *τὸ τί*; giving the words to the Woman.

741. *καὶ δέκα* Portus, recentiores. *δέκα* (without *καὶ*) R. H. editions before Portus. Scaliger proposed *δέκα γε*. Fritzsche, accepting *καὶ*, suggests the insertion of *γε* after *μῆνας*, and Blaydes inserts it accordingly.

745. *τυννοῦτον . . . τυννοῦτο* Brunck, recentiores. *τυνοῦτον . . . τυνοῖτο* R. *τηννοῦτον . . . τηννοῦτο* H. *τυννοῦτο . . . τυνοῦτο* editions before Brunck.

746. *γέγονεν* R. H. all editions before Brunck, and Thiersch afterwards. *γέγονε* Brunck and (save as aforesaid) recentiores.

747. *ῥῶσον* Bentley, Porson, Bothe, Thiersch, recentiores. *καὶ ὄσον* R. H. editions before Bothe, except that one or two have *κ' ὄσον*.

748. *τοῦτογί* see the Commentary. *τοῦτονί* R. H. vulgo.

749. *ἐμπίμπρατε* Bentley, Brunck, recentiores, except Fritzsche. *ἐμπιμπράτε* H. *ἐμπίμπρατε* Grynaeus, Bergler, Fritzsche. *ἐμπιμπράται* R. *ἐμπιμπράται* Junta. *ἐμπιμπράτε* the other editions before Portus. *ἐμπιμπράετε* Portus, Scaliger, Faber, Kuster.

754. *δός μοι τὸ σφάγιον* R. (originally) Bentley, Bekker. *δός μοι τὸ σφαγεῖον* H. and (as corrected) R. all editions before Bekker. Tyrwhitt is said to have suggested the omission of *τὸ*, and Porson did the same, and this suggestion is followed by all editions after Bekker

excepting Blaydes, who omits the *μοι* instead. Fritzsche reads *δός μοι σφάγιον*, *ᾶ*. It seems to me that both *μοι* and *τὸ* are necessary, and as it seems clear that the bowl for catching the victim's blood was called either *σφαγείον* or *σφάγιον*, I have followed Bentley, Bekker, and Fritzsche in adopting the latter form. See the Commentary.

760. *Μίκα* R. H. vulgo. *Μίκα* Lobeck, Fritzsche, Meineke, Velsen, Hall and Geldart.

761. *σοῦξήρησατο* R. H. vulgo. *σου ἑρήσατο* Fritzsche. *σου διεχρήσατο* Meineke, Holden.

768. *φαίνετ' οὐπω* R. H. vulgo. "For-
san *φαίνεται πω*" Dobree. And so
Meineke, recentiores.—*τίν' οὖν ἄν* Porson,
Thiersch, Dindorf, recentiores, save that
Bothe, who in his first edition accepted
Porson's reading, in his second goes
over to Brunck's. *τίν' οὖν* (without *ἄν*)
R. H. editions before Kuster, and Bekker
afterwards. *δὴ, τίν' οὖν* Kuster, Bergler.
τίν' ἄν, τίν' Brunck, Invernizzi, and Bothe
in his second edition.

769. *πόρον* R. vulgo. *πρὸς ὃν* H.

771. *πάρεισιν αἱ* R. H. vulgo. *πάρεισί μοι*
Brunck, Invernizzi, Dindorf, Fritzsche.
γὰρ εἰσί μοι Dobree, Meineke.

772. *γένονται* Grynaeus, recentiores,
except as after mentioned. *γένονται* R. H.
Junta, Zanetti, Farreus.—*πόθεν*; *πόθεν*;
the final *πόθεν* was added by Scaliger
(in his notes) and Bentley; and is read
by Thiersch, Weise, Holden, Velsen,
and Hall and Geldart. In R. H. and
all editions before Brunck, and Bekker
afterwards, the line is a foot short.
There have been other suggestions for
completing the line. Bisetius proposed
πόθεν πλάται; (which Fritzsche accepts)

or *πόθεν ξύλον*. Bothe reads *πόθεν ποτε*;
Brunck substitutes *ἀθλίῳ* for *μοι*, and is
followed by Dindorf and Bergk. Din-
dorf proposed, however, to change
πλάται into *πλάτας λαβεῖν*, retaining
γένονται, and this is followed by Meineke
and Blaydes; whilst Enger reads *πόθεν*
ἂν γένονται ἄν οὖν ἐμοί.

773. *εἰ ταδὶ* Suidas (s.v. *Παλαμήδης*),
Scaliger (in notes), Kuster, recentiores.
εἰ τάδε Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng.
εἶτα διὰ R. H. and the other editions
before Kuster.

776. *ὃ χεῖρες ἐμαὶ*. Before these words
H. has *Εὐριπ.* And it may be that they
are an actual quotation from Euripides,
whether from his *Palamede* or from
some other play: and if so, it may be
possible in this way to explain the
hiatus *ἐμαὶ ἐγχειρεῖν*. Porson, however,
in his copy of Portus, marked a lacuna
after *ἐμαὶ*, thinking that an anapaestic
dipody has dropped out; which Her-
mann would supply by reading *μὴ ἄλλ'*
ἐγχειρεῖν | *ἰμάς ἔργῳ πορίμῳ χρή*. This is
adopted by Meineke except that he
changes *μὴ ἄλλ'* into *νῦν δὴ*. Fritzsche
avoids the hiatus by reading *χρῆν ἐγχει-*
ρεῖν, and Velsen by reading *χρή μ' ἐγ-*
χειρεῖν, but all other editors leave it
untouched. The hiatus in the next line
χρή ἔργῳ (R. H. vulgo) admits of no
defence; Bentley changed *χρή* into *χρῆν*,
and so Brunck, Bothe, Thiersch, Din-
dorf, and recent editors generally.

782. *χῶρει, χῶρει* R. H. vulgo. *χωρεῖ*
χωρεῖ Brunck to Dindorf inclusive, and
Weise and Blaydes afterwards.—*ποίαν*
R. H. vulgo. *ὅποιαν* Portus and sub-
sequent editors before Brunck.

783. *καθ' ὁδούς* Portus, recentiores.
καθόδους R. H. editions before Portus.

784. *κείνα, ταῦτα* Grynaeus, Scaliger, Faber, Bekker, Fritzsche, Enger, Bergk, recentiores, except Blaydes. *κείνα, ταῦτα* R. and all editions before Brunck. *κείνα ταῦτα* H. *κείνη ταύτη* Brunck and all subsequent editions (except as aforesaid) before Bergk, and Blaydes.

788. *στάσις* Scaliger (in notes), Kuster, recentiores. *στάσεις* R. H. edd. before Kuster.

789. *εἰ κακόν* all printed editions except Junta. *εἰ καὶ κακόν* R. H. *εἰς κακόν* Junta.—*ἡμᾶς* R. H. vulgo. In his note on Porson's *Plutus* 586 Dobree suggested *ὑμεῖς* for *ἡμᾶς*. This was such an obvious mistake that he did not repeat it in his notes on this play, but it is brought into the text by Meineke and Holden.

790. *ἐκκύψασαν* Reiske, Dobree, Bothe, Fritzsche, Enger, recentiores. *ἐγκύψασαν* R. H. and the other editions before Enger.

792. *ἐξέλθῃ* R. (as corrected) vulgo. *ἐξέλθοι* H. and (originally) R. Brunck.—*εὔρηγ'* Porson, Bekker, recentiores. *εὔροιτ'* R. H. editions before Bekker.

793. *μαίνεσθ'* H. Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng, Kuster, recentiores. *μαίνεθ'* R. and (save as aforesaid) all editions before Kuster.—*χρῆν* Brunck, recentiores. *χρή* R. H. editions before Brunck.

794. *κατελαμβάνετ'* Brunck, recentiores, except Thiersch. *καταλαμβάνετ'* R. H. editions before Brunck; and Thiersch afterwards.

795. *παίζουσαι* R. H. vulgo. *παίσασαι* Brunck. Hamaker would change *ἄλλοτριάν* into *Ἀγροτέρας*, and *κλίνας* in the next line into *σκηνάς*.

797. *τὸ κακὸν ζητεῖτε θεᾶσθαι* Bp. Kaye, Dobree, Fritzsche, Enger, Bergk, recen-

tiores. *ζητεῖ τὸ κακὸν τεθεᾶσθαι* R. H. vulgo.

799. *παρακύψαν* Grynaeus, Portus, recentiores. *παρακύψασαν* R. H. the other editions before Portus. But in the MSS. and vulgo *παρακύψασαν* or *παρακύψαν* was followed by *ιδεῖν τὸ κακόν*. To turn the concluding tribrach into a dactyl, Fritzsche reads *χοῦτως* for *οὕτως*; and Porson proposed to transpose the words. In his *Aristophanica* his transposition appears as *παρακύψαν τὸ κακὸν ἰδεῖν*. But this would violate the rule on which he always insisted; and doubtless, as Enger says, he intended to write, what Dindorf afterwards wrote, *τὸ κακὸν παρακύψαν ἰδεῖν*. In this form the transposition is accepted by Enger, Bergk, recentiores.

802. *ἡμᾶς* H. vulgo. *ὑμᾶς* R.—*σκεψώμεθα* H. Grynaeus, Kuster, recentiores. *σκεψώμεσθα* R. and the other editions before Kuster.

803. *ἐκάστου* Grynaeus, Fritzsche, Enger, Bergk, recentiores. *ἕκαστος* R. H. Junta, Gelenius, Rapheleng. *ἕκαστον* ceteri.

804. *μὲν γ'* Dobree (referring to *Lys.* 589, 720, 1236), Dindorf, Thiersch, recentiores. *μὲν* (without *γ'*) R. H. editions before Brunck. *μὴν* Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, Bothe. But Elmsley, at *Ach.* 109, pointed out that *Aristophanes* uses *μὴν* only after *ἀλλὰ, γε, ἦ, καὶ, οὐ, or οὐδέ*. Bentley proposed to amend the metre by changing *ἦτων* into *χείρων*, but *ἦτων* contains an allusion to the defeat, *ἦττα*, of Charminus.—*ἐστὶν*. The final *ν*, which is omitted in R. H. and the earlier editions, was first added by Kuster.—*δῆλα δὲ τάργα* Portus, recentiores. *δηλαδὴ τάργα*, or *δῆλα δὴ*

τάργα, or δῆλα δῆτ' ἄργα R. H. editions before Portus.

805. χείρων Zanetti, Farreus, Portus, recentiores. χείρον R. H. and the other editions before Portus.

807. Στρατονίκην Grynaeus, recentiores. Στρατωνίκην R. H. edd. before Grynaeus.

809. φήσεις R. H. vulgo. Kuster proposed φήσει, which is adopted by Brunck, Bothe, Weise, Meineke, Holden, and Elaydes.

810. εὐχόμεθ' H. Grynaeus, Scaliger, recentiores. εὐχόμεσθα R. and the other editions before Scaliger.

811. ζεύγει R. H. vulgo. φεύγει Zanetti, Farreus.

812. ὑφέληται R. H. vulgo. ἀφέληται Portus to Bergler inclusive.

813. αὐτ' ἀπέδωκεν (variously accented) R. and (as corrected) H. vulgo. ἀντατίδωκεν Bentley, Holden. And this was the original reading of H.

815. ἀποδείξαιμεν Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. ἀποδείξομεν R. H. editions before Brunck. — ποιούντας Zanetti, Farreus, Portus, recentiores, except Invernizzi and Thiersch. ποθούντας R. H. the other editions before Portus; and Invernizzi and Thiersch.

819. καὶ μὲν R. H. vulgo. Bekker suggested καὶ μὴν, and so Thiersch, Dindorf, Enger, Bergk, Meineke, and Holden.

824. ἀνδράσι and the next word but one, ἀπόλωλεν. All editions before Brunck had read ἀνδράσιν and ἀπόλωλε, to the destruction of the metre in each line.

832. χρῆν Brunck, recentiores, except Thiersch. χρῆ R. H. editions before Brunck, and Thiersch.

834. Στηνίοισι Bentley, Kuster, recentiores. Τηνίοισι R. H. editions before Portus. Θησειοισι Portus, Scaliger, Faber.

836. εἰ Brunck, Porson, recentiores, except Bergk. ἦν R. H. editions before Brunck, and Bergk.

838. ὑστέραν R. H. vulgo. ὑσάτην Fritzsche.

839. πόλις Gelenius, recentiores. πόλεις R. H. editions before Gelenius.

842. χρήμαθ' ἢ Scaliger (in notes), Bentley, Kuster, recentiores. χρήματ' ἦν H. Grynaeus, Portus, Scaliger, Faber. χρήματατ' ἦν R. Junta, Gelenius, Rapheleng. χρήματα τῇ Zanetti, Farreus. — εἰ Brunck, recentiores, except Bergk. ἦν R. H. editions before Brunck, and Bergk.

844. ἀφαιρεῖσθαι H. Farreus, Grynaeus, Rapheleng, recentiores. ἀφαιρεῖσθαι R. Junta, Zanetti, Gelenius. κείρεσθαι Meineke, who also in the following line changes τόκον into πόκον. — χρήματ' Grynaeus, Rapheleng, recentiores. χρήματατ' R. H. and the other editions before Rapheleng.

846. ἰλλός R. H. vulgo. ἄλλος Gelenius, Rapheleng, Scaliger (in notes). Kuster suggests αὔος.

851. πάντως R. H. vulgo. πάντως δ' Bentley, Fritzsche, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Velsen.

852. κυρκανᾶς; τί Bentley, Reiske, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart. κυρκανᾶς, ἢ τί R. H. and all editions before Brunck, except Grynaeus, who omits the τί. Kuster in his notes proposed κυκανᾶς; ἢ τί, referring to the Etymol. Magn. κυρκάνη· ἢ παραχῇ καὶ ὁ θόρυβος. Εἴρηται παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς παρὰ τὸ κυκῶ, τὸ τάρσσω, κυκάνη· καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ P.

And Kuster's suggestion is adopted by Brunck, and subsequent editors before Blaydes.

853. Ἐλένην all printed editions. ἑλένη R. H.

856. ψακάδος R. H. vulgo. In Euripides it is written ψεκάδος, and that form is adopted by Brunck, Invernizzi, and Weise.

860. σοί γ' Gelenius, recentiores. σοί τ' Zanetti, Farreus. σί τ' R. originally. σύ τ' H. and (as corrected) R. Junta, Grynæus.

862. γίγναι Brunck, recentiores. γίγνη R. H. editions before Brunck.

865. ὠφέλες R. H. vulgo. ὠφέλε Junta, Gelenius, Rapheleng.

867. Μενέλαος R. H. vulgo. Μενέλεως Brunck to Blaydes inclusive. But, as Velsen observes, the forms Μενέλαος and Μενέλεως are used indiscriminately by Euripides in the Helen (1196 and 1215, 1003 and 1031); and there is not the slightest reason for altering the MS. reading here.

868. τῶν κοράκων πονηρία. These words are continued to Mnesilochus by R. H. and all editions (except Bothe) before Fritzsche. Bentley suggested that they should be transferred to the Woman, and this must have been the reading of the Scholiast, who says, ὅτι πονηροὶ οἱ κόρακες, καὶ ὅτι μέχρι νῦν οὐκ ἐσπάραξαν σε. And so Bothe, Fritzsche, recentiores. But this would be making Critylla enter into the jest, which she is noway inclined to do.

872. ξένους Zanetti, Farreus, Grynæus, Portus, recentiores. ξένος R. H. Junta, Gelenius, Rapheleng.

873. κάμνοντας R. H. vulgo. καμόντας Lenting, Blaydes, Velsen.

874. ποίου Πρωτέως; the MSS. indicate that these words belong to a new speaker, but do not say to whom. All the editions, except as hereinafter mentioned, give them to Euripides, and I think rightly. However, Bentley, Tyrwhitt, Elmsley, and Dobree, four of the greatest names in Aristophanic literature, all proposed to transfer them to the Woman. And at first sight, this is a very attractive suggestion; giving ποίου the meaning of scornful repudiation which it so often bears in Aristophanes *Proteus indeed!* Nevertheless it cannot, I think, be right. Critylla, as the next line shows, supposes Mnesilochus to be referring to Πρωτέας (genitive Πρωτεύου), and she would be giving herself away, if she began by repeating Πρωτέως, which could only be the genitive of Πρωτεύς. "Neque enim," says Enger, "hoc dicere potest 'quem Proteum tu narras? imo Proteam, sed hic jamdudum est mortuus.'" Accordingly the alteration is rejected by all editors except Bothe, Fritzsche, Blaydes, and Velsen. ποίου is a simple interrogative, as it is three lines below.

875. ὃ τρισκακόδαιμον R. H. vulgo. Bentley suggested ὃ τρισκακοδαίμων.

878. πεπλώκαμεν R. H. vulgo. Dindorf suggested πεπλεύκαμεν which is read by Meineke, Holden, and Blaydes.

879. τούτῳ τῷ Grynæus, Dindorf, Fritzsche, Enger, recentiores. τῷ (without τούτῳ) R. H. and the editions other than herein mentioned. Bentley proposed to supply the missing foot by τῷδε, which Weise adopts; Scaliger by inserting κατῷ after τῷ, which Thiersch adopts: and Brunck and Invernizzi insert ὃ μέλε before τῷ. For κακῶς

Dobree would write *κάκιστ'* as in Peace 2.

880. *Θεσμοφόριον* R. H. vulgo. *Θεσμοφορείον* Meineke, recentiores. See on 278 supra.—*τουτογί* R. all editions before Gelenius, and all after Bergler. *τουτονί* H. Gelenius, Rapheleng, Portus. *τοι:τοι* Bentley, Scaliger, Faber, Kuster, Bergler.

883. *δοτις γ'* Scaliger (in notes), Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *δοτις* R. H. editions before Brunck.

885. *τέθνηκε* Brunck, recentiores, except Bekker. *τίθνηκεν* R. H. editions before Brunck, and Bekker afterwards.

887. *κακῶς ἄρ'* all editions before Invernizzi, and Bekker, Fritzsche to Bergk inclusive, and Blaydes afterwards. *κακῶς τ' ἄρ'* R. H. Invernizzi, Bothe, Thiersch, Dindorf (but in his notes Dindorf returns to *κακῶς ἄρ'*), and Hall and Geldart,—*γέ τοι* all editions before Bergk, and Hall and Geldart afterwards. *γ' ἔτι* Bergk, Blaydes. Meineke rewrites the verse *κακῇ κακῶς τᾶρ' ἐξόλοιο, κάξολει*, and this, with the astonishing *κακῇ*, is accepted by Holden, and, with *κακῇ* changed into *κακός*, by Velsen.

889. *τί δαι* Scaliger (in notes), Bentley, D'Orville, Invernizzi, Thiersch, and Dindorf, *τί δέ* R. H. vulgo. Scaliger suggested *τί δ' αἶ* or *τί δαι*, and Bentley *τί δαι* or *τί δή*. The latter is the reading of the editions which go by the names of Scaliger and Faber, and so Fritzsche, Enger, Bergk, recentiores. *τί δέ* δὴ Brunck, Bekker, Bothe, and Weise.

892. *αὖ τὸν* R. (as corrected), Kuster, recentiores. *αὐτὸν* H. and (originally) R. editions before Kuster.

895. *βάϋζε* Zanetti, Farreus, Gelenius, recentiores. *βάϋζα* R. H. Junta, Grynaeus.

Reiske suggested *παῦσαι σὺν*. And Kuster proposed to change *σῶμα* into *ὄνομα*. But Bergler rightly says that *τοῦμόν σῶμα* is a Euripidean periphrasis for 'me.'

898. *εἰ μὴ* R. Junta, Gelenius, Rapheleng, Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores, except as hereafter mentioned. *εἰ μὴ* H. the other editions before Dindorf, and Weise afterwards. Elmsley (at Ach. 47) and Reisig suggested *ἀλλ' εἰμὶ*, and so Thiersch: but Elmsley in his supplementary notes came round to *εἰ μὴ*. Bothe reads *εἰμὶ δέ*.

901. *Μενέλαον ἐμόν* H. We should certainly have expected *τὸν ἐμόν*, but Aristophanes is borrowing from Eur. Helen 54 *προδοῦσ' ἐμόν πόσιν*. The *τὸν* is supplied in R. and in all editions before Brunck to the destruction of the metre. *Μενέλαον τὸν* (omitting *ἐμόν*) Hermann, Velsen. *Μενέλεων τὸν ἐμόν* Scaliger (in notes), Bentley, Kuster (in notes), Brunck, recentiores, except Velsen.

909. *εἶδον* (as Eur. Hel. 564) Brunck, recentiores. *ἴδον* R. H. editions before Brunck.

910. *Μενελάω σ' ὅσα γ' ἐκ τῶν ἰφύων*. This line stands in the text as in R. H., except that for *Μενελάω σ'* they have *Μενέλαον*, and for *ἰφύων*, *ἀφύων*. *Μενελάω σ'* has been restored from Eur. Hel. 565, and *ἰφύων* from Suidas, s. v. *ἰφύη*. The MS. reading is retained by all editions before Kuster, who, leaving the first three words as they stood, continued (from the Helen) *γέ σ' οὐδ' ἔχω τί φῶ*, but seems from his note to have intended the further change of *Μενέλαον* into *Μενελάω*. And, with this further change, he is followed by Bergler and

Blaydes. Meanwhile Pierson (on Moeris, s. v. Ἀγυῖα) pointed out that Suidas (s. v. ἰφύη) had retained the true reading ἰφύων, and Brunck accordingly settled the line as in the present text. He is followed by all subsequent editors except Blaydes: and except that Thiersch, Dindorf, and Enger (contrary to all the MSS. both of Euripides and Aristophanes) change Μενελάω into Μενελέω, and that Bergk, Meineke, and Holden follow Porson in reading σέ γ' for σ' ὅσα γ'. Before the reading ἰφύων had become known, Bourdin suggested ὀφρύων for ἀφύων.

911. ἔγνωσ ἄρ' R. H. vulgo. ἔγνωσ γάρ (from Eur. Hel. 566) Blaydes.

912. ἐς χέρας Zanetti, Farreus, Grynæus, Kuster, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. ἐς χάρας Junta, Gelenius to Faber, but Scaliger in a note had restored χέρας. ἐσχάρας R. H. Hall and Geldart; an impossible reading.

914. περίβαλε Bisetius, Bothe, Thiersch, Fritzsche, Enger, recentiores, περίβαλλε R. H. the other editions before Enger.

918. κωλύεις R. H. vulgo. κωλύσεις Cobet, Meineke, Velsen. But Critylla is hindering him, not merely going to hinder him. Had Euripides addressed Cobet's question to her, she might have replied with Dionysus in Frogs 527 οὐ τάχ' ἀλλ' ἤδη ποιῶ.

926. σ' οὐδέποτε R. H. vulgo. Elmsley (at Ach. 127) proposed οὐδέποτε σ' which is followed by Dindorf, Enger, Meineke, Blaydes, and Velsen.—ἐμπνέω Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng, recentiores. ἐνπνέω R. H. Junta, Grynæus, Gelenius.

927. προλίπωσ' Scaliger (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. προλείπωσ' R. H.

editions before Brunck. 'πυλίπωσ' Blaydes.

929. ἔλεγ' H. Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. ἔλεγεν R. editions before Brunck.

934. νῦν δὴ γ' Dobree, Fritzsche, Bergk, recentiores. νῦν δὴτ' R. H. vulgo.

935. ὀλίγου R. H. Dawes, Bergler (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. ὀλίγον editions before Brunck.

939. χάρισσμαι Porson, Bekker, recentiores, χάρισσομαι R. H. editions before Brunck, and Invernizzi afterwards. χαρισσομαι Bentley, Brunck.

941. μὴ 'ν Kuster (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. μὴν R. H. μὴ editions before Brunck.

943. ἔδοξε Scaliger (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. ἔδοξεν R. H. editions before Brunck.

944. παριοῦσι Brunck, recentiores, except as hereafter mentioned. παροῦσι R. H. editions before Brunck, and Bekker, Bothe, and Fritzsche afterwards.

945. λατταταιάξ Bentley, Bothe, Dindorf, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, λαππαταιάξ R. H. vulgo.

946. ἔστ' Bentley, Weise, Enger, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes. ἔστιν R. H. vulgo.

947. παίσωμεν Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng, Scaliger, recentiores. πέσωμεν R. H. Junta, Grynæus, Gelenius, Portus.—ταισι Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. ταῖς R. H. editions before Brunck. Some editors change θεαῖν and αὐταῖν in the following lines to θεοῖν and αὐτοῖν. See on 285 supra.

952. μέλειν Zanetti, Farreus, Grynæus, Brunck, recentiores. μέλλειν R. H. Junta, and from Gelenius to Bergler inclusive, but Bentley had suggested μέλειν,

954. *ποσὶν* R. H. vulgo. Bergk suggested, and Holden reads, *ποσσὶν*.

955. *χερὶ* R. H. vulgo. *χερὶ* Dobree, Meineke, Velsen.

966. *χρῆν* Bothe, Fritzsche, Meineke, Velsen, Hall and Geldart. *χρῆ* R. H. vulgo. Meineke suggested, and Holden reads, *χρή μ'*.

967. *ὥς ἐπ' ἔργον* *ῥῥῑκὸν* see the Commentary. *ὥσπερ ἔργον αὐτὶ καινὸν* R. H. vulgo. Bothe changed *καινὸν* into *καινῶν*. Fritzsche inserted *ἐπ'* between *ὥσπερ* and *ἔργον*, whilst Enger changed *ὥσπερ* into *ὥς ἐπ'*, in which he is followed by Meineke and Velsen. Reiske proposed *ὥσπερ ἔργων αὐτίκα καινῶν*, Hermann *οἷσπερ ἔργον, αὐτίκα*, and Dindorf *ὥσπερ ἔργον αὐτίκα*, which is read by Weise and Blaydes.

968. *εὐφῡᾶ* Bothe, Thiersch, Dindorf, recentiores. *εὐφυῆ* R. H. editions before Bothe. But Brunck had suggested *εὐφῡᾶ*.

969. *ποσὶ* Reisig, Bothe, Thiersch, recentiores. *ποσὶν* R. H. editions before Bothe.—*Εὐλύραν* Zanetti, Farreus, Raphaeleng, recentiores. *ἐλύραν* R. H. Junta, Grynaeus, Gelenius.

975. *χοροῖσιν ἐμπαίζει* R. H. vulgo. *χοροῖσι συμπαίζει* Meineke, Holden.

980. *ἡμετέραισι* Hermann, Thiersch, Dindorf, Enger, Bergk, recentiores. *ἡμετέrais* R. vulgo.—*χαρέντα* R. vulgo. *χαρέντας* Zanetti, Farreus, Scaliger, Faber, Kuster (in notes). This and the following line are omitted in H.

982. *διπλὴν χάριν χορείας* Bisetus, Scaliger (in notes), Kuster (in notes), Invernizzi, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores. *διπλὴν χαίρειν χορείας* R. (and with *δὲ πλὴν* for *διπλὴν* H.) Junta, Grynaeus, and the subsequent editions before Bergler. *δι-*

πλὴν χεροῖν χορείαν Zanetti, Farreus, Bergler, Brunck, Bekker, Thiersch.

984. *πάντως δὲ νηστεύομεν* see the Commentary. *νηστεύομεν δὲ πάντως* R. H. editions before Bothe, and Hall and Geldart. *νηστεύομεν δὲ πάντως* Bentley, Bothe, Thiersch, recentiores.

985. *ἀλλ' εἴ' ἐπ' ἀλλ'* all printed editions except Hall and Geldart. *ἀλλ' εἰσπάλλ'* R. *ἀλλεῖ' ἀπ' ἀλλ'* H. Blaydes suggests eleven ways of altering the line, the seventh of which *ἀλλ' εἰα πάλλ'* is adopted by Hall and Geldart. I do not know what meaning they attach to it.

986. *τόρνευε* R. H. vulgo. In his note on Horace A. P. 441 (see the Commentary on line 53) Bentley proposed *τόρνευε*, but in his Aristophanic jottings he left the MS. reading unaltered.

987. *δέ γ' ῥῥῑς αὐτὸς*. I have substituted *ῥῥῑς* for the MS. *ῥῥ'* which is unmetrical and unmeaning. The Chorus are calling upon Dionysus to lead the song and dance. *δέ γ' ῥῥ' αὐτὸς* R. vulgo. *δ' ἐγὼ δ' αὐτὸς* H. *δέ γ' αὐτὸς ῥῥε* Hermann, Fritzsche, Enger, Meineke, and Holden. Hermann also suggests *δέ γ' ῥῥ' αὐτὸς* which Weise adopts.

988. *κισσοφόρε Βάκχει δέσποτ'* R. H. vulgo. *κισσοφόρ' ὄναξ Βάκχει'* Hermann, Weise, Velsen.

989. *φιλοχόροισι* Scaliger (in notes), Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *φιλοχόροισιν* R. H. editions before Brunck.

990. *Εὔιον δὲ Διὸς τε* Fritzsche. *Εὔιον δὲ Διόνυσσε* R. H. vulgo. *Εὔιε δὲ Διὸς σὺ* Enger, Meineke, Holden, and Velsen. Other alterations have been suggested, but none worth mentioning.

993. *ἐρατοῖς* R. H. vulgo. In the MS. reading this should answer to *πετρώδεις*

in the antistrophe; and therefore Wellauer proposes *ἐραστοίς*, and Hall and Geldart *ἐρανοίς*. But it is impossible to part with *ἐρατοίς*, and Enger's emendation in the antistrophe, which I have adopted, seems far simpler and better.

994. *ᾧ Εὔι' Εὔι' εὐοί ᾧ Εὔι'* Hermann, Fritzsche, Enger, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and (except that for the second *ᾧ Εὔι'* he marks a lacuna) Velsen. *Εὔιον, εὔιον, εὐοί* R. H. vulgo.

995. *σοί* Zanetti, and all printed editions except those mentioned below. *σὺ* R. H. Junta, Gelenius, Portus, Scaliger, Faber; but Scaliger in his notes reads *σοί*.

996. *Κιθαρόνιος* Zanetti, Farreus, Bothe, Thiersch, recentiores. *Κιθαρώνιος* R. H. and the other editions before Bothe.

998. *πετρώδεις τε νάπαι* Enger, Holden, Velsen. *καὶ νάπαι πετρώδεις* R. H. vulgo.

1001. *ἐνταῦτα* R. H. Brunck, recentiores. *ἐνταῖθα* editions before Brunck; but the Scythian, as Brunck observed, is without aspirates.—*οἰμῶξι* Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *οἰμῶξει* R. H. editions before Brunck.

1002. *ικετεῖσι* Brunck (in notes), Thiersch, Fritzsche, recentiores. *ικετεύση* editions before Brunck. *ικέτενε* Brunck (in text) and, with the exception of Thiersch, the subsequent editions before Fritzsche.

1004. *ἐπικρούεις* H. Wellauer, Thiersch, Fritzsche, recentiores. *ἐπικρούσεις* R. and all editions (except Thiersch) before Fritzsche.

1005. *μᾶλλο* Bentley, Bothe, Thiersch, recentiores. *μᾶλλον* R. H. editions before Bothe. But Brunck, Invernizzi, and Bekker inserted *ἂν* after *μᾶλλον* —

ιατταταί Bentley, Porson, Dindorf, Enger, recentiores. *τατταταί* R. H. editions before Brunck. *τί τατταταί*; Thiersch, giving the two words to the Scythian; cf. Frogs 649. *ἀτατταταί* Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, Fritzsche. *ἀττατατταταί* Grynæus.

1007. *ῥενίγκι* Bentley, Scaliger (in notes), Invernizzi, recentiores, except that Enger and some recent editors prefer to write it *ῥίνιγκι*. *ξείνιγκι* R. vulgo. *ξύνιγκι* H. Brunck.

1010. *ἀνήρ*. The aspirate was added by Bothe.

1011. *ὑπεδύλωσε* Scaliger (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. *ὑπεδύλωσεν* R. H. editions before Brunck.

1013. *οὖν ἔτ' ἔσθ'* Porson, Dindorf, Weise. *οὖν ἔσθ'* (omitting *ἔτ'*) R. H. editions before Brunck, and Bekker afterwards. *οὖν ἐστὶν γ'* Kuster (in notes), Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe. *οὖν οὐτός γ'* Fritzsche. *οὖν τι ἔσθ'* Thiersch. *οὖν τοῦτ' ἔσθ'* Dobree, Enger, Bergk, recentiores.

1014. *παρέπτατο* R. H. vulgo. *παρέπτετο* Invernizzi, Bothe, Meineke, recentiores.

1015–21. The name of Euripides is not given here, nor the name of Mnesilochus infra 1022, by R. They are both so given by H., by the second corrector of R., and by all editors except Bergk. R.'s arrangement, as in the text, is restored by Tyrwhitt, Elmsley, and Bergk. See the Commentary.

1016. *ἀπέλθοιμι* R. H. all editors before Brunck, and Bergk afterwards. *ἵπελθοιμι* Bentley, Bothe, Fritzsche. *ἐπέλθοιμι* Brunck, and subsequent editors except as herein appears. "*Δεδί πελάθοιμι*" Blaydes. Of course the emendations of Bentley and Brunck are made

on the supposition that Euripides is the speaker.

1017. *λάθοιμι* Bentley, Tyrwhitt, Brunck, recentiores, except Bekker. *λάβοιμι* R. H. editions before Brunck, and Bekker afterwards.

1019. *προσάδουσα* Elmsley (in his note on Tyrwhitt) and Dobree. *προσαιοῦσαι* R. H. *προσεδοῦσαι* Junta, Gelenius, Rapheleng. *προσειδοῦσα* Zanetti, Farreus. *προσειδοῦσαι* Grynaeus. *προσ-ιδούσα* Portus to Bergler, Weise. *προσ-αυδῶσα* Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker. *προσανδῶ* σε Hermann, Bothe, Blaydes. *προσανδῶσαν* Thiersch. *πρὸς Αἰδοῦς* σε Seidler, Dindorf, Fritzsche, Enger, Bergk, recentiores, except Blaydes and Velsen. *πρὸς Αἰδοῦς* σὺ Velsen. *πρὸς Ἄιδου* σὲ (*in Deaths name*) Rutherford. Scaliger proposed *πρὸς σὲ Διὸς ἄγτας ἔναντρος*.—*ταῖς*. This seems a corollary of Elmsley's emendation. *τὰς* R. H. vulgo. *τὰς* Fritzsche. *τὰν* Seidler, Dindorf, Enger, Bergk, recentiores. *τοῖσδ'* (or *τοισίδ'* *ἄστροις* for *τὰν ἐν ἄντροις*) Tyrwhitt. At the commencement of the line *κλύεις* (R. H. vulgo) is changed into *κλύεις* by Bisetus, Scaliger (in notes), Kuster to Bekker, and Dindorf.

1023. *πολυπρότατον* R. H. vulgo. *πολυστονώτατον* Burges, Enger, Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Hall and Geldart.

1026. *φύλαξ πάλαι* R. H. vulgo. *πάλαι μοι φύλαξ* Enger, Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Hall and Geldart.

1027. *ἐφέστηκ'* R. H. vulgo. *ἐφεστὼς* Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Velsen, Hall and Geldart. After *ἐφέστηκ'* Fritzsche inserts *ὅς ἐμ'*, and Bergk inserts the same words after *ἄφιλ'* as he writes it. Bothe inserts *δ'* after *ἄφιλον*.

1028. *ἐκρέμασεν* Bothe, Fritzsche, Mei-

neke, recentiores. *ἐκρέμασε* R. H. vulgo. *κρεμάσας* Brunck, Bekker. After *ἐκρέμασέν* Blaydes inserts *με τοῖς*.

1030. *ἰφ'* *ήλικων* R. H. vulgo. *ήλικων* ὑπὸ Hermann, Meineke, Holden, Velsen. *ήλικων* μετὰ Blaydes.

1031. *κηφὶ 'φέστηκ'* *ἔχουσα ψήφον* see the Commentary. *ψήφον κημὸν ἔστηκ'* *ἔχουσ'* R. H. Junta, Grynaeus, Gelenius. *ψήφον κημὸν* Zanetti, Farreus, Portus, recentiores, except as hereinafter mentioned. Meineke and Holden put *ψήφον* in brackets. Velsen, and Hall and Geldart omit it.

1032. *ἐμπειλεγμένη* H. Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng, recentiores. *ἐντεπλεγμένη* R. Junta, Grynaeus, Gelenius.

1034. *ξὺν παιῶνι* Zanetti, Farreus, Grynaeus, Scaliger (in notes), Kuster, recentiores. *ξυμπαιῶνι* R. H. the other editions before Kuster.

1039. *ἄλλ' ἄνομα* Scaliger (in notes), Bothe, Bergk. *ἀλλὰν ἄνομα* R. H. *ἀλλ' ἂν ἄνομα* Zanetti, vulgo. *ἀλλ' ἄνομα* Thiersch and (omitting *ἀλλ'*) Blaydes. *τάλαν' ἄνομα* Hermann, Enger, Meineke, Holden, Hall and Geldart.

1040. *φῶτα* R. H. vulgo. *φῶτά τε* Hermann, Fritzsche, Enger, Holden, Hall and Geldart.—*λιτομέναν* R. H. vulgo, but Enger and a few others prefer the nominative *λιτομένα*. *ἀντομέναν* Thiersch. *ἀλιτήμενα* Bothe.

1041. *φεύζουσιν* see the Commentary. *φεύγουσαν* R. H. vulgo. *φλέγουσαν* Musgrave (at Eur. Or. 1394), Brunck, recentiores, except Thiersch, and Hall and Geldart, and except that Enger and others write it *φλέγουσα*.

1042. *ἐ, ε* R. H. Invernizzi to Fritzsche inclusive, and Hall and Geldart; all other editors omit the *ἐ, ε*,

I do not know why. They seem to me the Comic adjunct to the Tragic *αἰ*.

1044. *κροκόεν* *εἶτ'* so, I think, we should read, with *ἐνδυμα* understood. *κροκόεντ'* R. H. vulgo, with *χιτῶνα* understood. *κροκόεν* τόδ' Bergk, Blaydes, Velsen.—*ἐνέδυσεν* R. H. vulgo. *ἀμφέδυσεν* Hermann, Enger, Bothe. As to the *ὅς ἐμὲ* at the commencement of the line, Blaydes writes "Displicet *ὅς ἐμὲ* repetitum. Dedi *εἶτα*." De gustibus non disputandum. Mihi valde placet *ὅς ἐμὲ* repetitum.

1045. *τοῖσδ' ἐς τόδ'* Hermann, Thiersch, Bergk, recentiores. *τοῖσδε τόδ'* R. H. vulgo.

1047. *ὧ μοι* R. H. vulgo: but several editors follow Hermann in omitting the *μοι*.—*ἀτεγκτε* Portus, recentiores, except Blaydes. *ἀνέτικτε* R. H. Junta, Grynaeus, Gelenius, Rapheleng. *ἀνάτεγκτε* Zanetti, Farreus. *ἀν ἔτεκε* Blaydes.

1048. *τίς ἐμὸν* R. vulgo. *τί σεμνὸν* H.—*οὐκ ἐπόψεται* R. H. vulgo. *οὐκ ἐποικτερεῖ* Brunck, Invernizzi. *οὐν ἐπόψεται* Bothe.

1050. *εἶθε με* R. H. vulgo. Reiske and Kuster suggest *εἶθε μοι*.

1051. *τὸν βάρβαρον* R. H. vulgo. *τὸν δύσμορον* Brunck, Weise, Blaydes, Velsen. καὶ *βάρβαρον* Invernizzi. καὶ *τὸν βάρβαρον* Bisetus, Bothe. Fritzsche thinks that the word used by Euripides may have been *πάμμορον*, but has no doubt that *βάρβαρον* is right here.

1052. *λεύσσειν* Portus, recentiores. *λεύσειν* R. H. editions before Portus.

1054. *λαιμότμητ'* R. H. vulgo. *λαιμοτόμητ'* is suggested by Dindorf, "initium versus si fuit dochmiacum," and adopted by Enger, Meineke, Holden, and Velsen.—*δαιμόνων* R. H. vulgo. *δαιμονῶν* Brunck (citing Aesch. Septem 995 *δαιμονῶντες*

ἄτα, Choeph. 557 *δαιμονῆ δόμος κακοῖς*, Eur. Phoen. 888 *ὡς δαιμονῶντας, κἄνα-τρέφοντας πόλιν*), Invernizzi, Bekker, Bothe, Dindorf, and Bergk; but in his notes Dindorf reverts to *δαιμόνων*. A friend of Fritzsche suggested *δαιμόνι'* which Fritzsche (while citing *δαιμόνι' ἄχη* from Aesch. Pers. 583) rightly rejects, but it is adopted by Meineke, Holden, and Velsen. Reiske suggested *δαιμαίνων*.—*αἰόλαν* . . . *πορείαν* R. H. vulgo. *αἰόλα* . . . *πορεία* Reiske, Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe. The conjectures *δαιμονῶν*, *αἰόλα*, and *πορεία* are by Invernizzi carelessly attributed to R.

1055. *ἔπι* Scaliger, Faber, Fritzsche, Velsen. *ἐπὶ* R. H. vulgo. *ἐπιπορείαν* (in one word) Thiersch.

1056. HXΩ. see the Commentary. R. originally prefixed no name to any of the speeches of Echo, giving merely a line (as its manner was) to denote a new speaker: but the second corrector inserted *Εὐριπ.* *ἡχῶ* here and *ἡχῶ* alone in 1069 and 1082. H. has *Εὐριπ.* *ἡχῶ* here and in 1069, and *ἡχῶ* alone in 1082 and 1085, elsewhere prefixing a line only. The Editio Princeps gave *Εὐ.* here, and *ἡχῶ* to all the other speeches, and so all the other editions before Brunck, excepting that Portus prefixed *Εὐριπίδης* *ὡς ἡχῶ* to the present line. Brunck, whilst retaining the same prefix as Portus here, made the deplorable mistake of changing *ἡχῶ* into *Εὐρ.* everywhere else; and this error is followed by all subsequent editors.

1058. *ἦτις* (R. H. vulgo) is omitted by Junta, Zanetti, and Farreus.

1059. *ἐπικοκκάστρια* R. all editions before Portus, and Thiersch and all subsequent editions, except Bothe and

Weise. ἐπικοκκάστρεια H. ἐπικοκκύστρια the other editions.

1062. τὸ σαυτῆς. All editions before Fritzsche read τοσαῦτα, on which Bentley conjectured τὸ σαυτοῦ in accordance with τέκνον. But it having been ascertained that R. H. have τοσαύτης, it was seen that the true reading was τὸ σαυτῆς in accordance with Ἀνδρομέδα, and so Dindorf suggested, and Fritzsche and all subsequent editors read, except Bothe who retains τοσαῦτα.

1063. ἐλεινῶς R. Bekker, recentiores, except Bergk. ἐλεινῶς H. editions before Bekker, and Bergk afterwards.

1064. λόγων R. H. vulgo. Bentley suggested γόων, and so Meineke reads.

1066. ὥς R. H. vulgo. πῶς Meineke, Velsen. Bergk suggested μακρὸν ὥς.

1067. διφρεύουσ' H. and (as corrected) R. Gelenius, Portus, Scaliger, Kuster, recentiores. διφρέουσ' R. (originally) and the other editions before Kuster.

1070. περίαλλα Portus, recentiores. περὶ ἄλλα R. H. editions before Portus, except Zanetti, Farreus, and Rapheleng, who have περὶ ἄλλων.

1073. γραῦ Porson, Brunck, recentiores. γραῦς R. H. editions before Brunck.—στωμυλλομένη Grynaeus, Bentley, Bergler (in notes), Porson, Brunck, recentiores. στωμυλωμένη R. editions (other than Grynaeus) before Portus. στωμυλομένη H. στωμυλλωμένη Portus and subsequent editions before Brunck.

1077. ᾄγάθ' R. H. vulgo. ᾄ γραῦ Blaydes.

1080. τί κακόν (in each speech) Bentley, Bothe, Thiersch, recentiores. τί τὸ κακόν (in each speech) R. H. editions before Bothe.

1082. ΣΚ. R. H. editions before Brunck.

Here again, as in the case of ἡχῶ (see on 1056 supra), Brunck altered the nomenclature for the worse, by substituting TOX.—σί (as is read two lines below) Brunck, recentiores, except Fritzsche and Enger. τί R. H. editions before Brunck, and Fritzsche and Enger afterwards.—λαλῖς R. (as corrected) and so the Scholiast, Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Enger, recentiores (except Bothe). λαλεῖς H. and (originally) R. editions before Weise, and Bothe afterwards.

1087. σὺ R. H. vulgo. σὶ Portus to Bergler inclusive, and Bothe afterwards.—λαλῖς the same editors as in 1082. λαλεῖς R. H. and the other editors.—κλαύσαι. The MSS. and editors before Brunck have κλαύσαιμι, which Brunck altered into κλαύσει, and he is followed by all subsequent editors. But the Scythian is not at all likely to have spoken such good Greek as κλαύσει, nor is κλαύσει likely to have been corrupted into κλαύσαιμι. I imagine that the Scythian said κλαύσαι (for κλαύσει) to which some copyist would naturally add the orthodox -μι. Bentley conjectured κλαύσεμι.

1089. κακκάσκι Junta, vulgo. κάκκασκι or κάκασκι R. κακκάκισ or κακκάσκι H. κακκάσκη Bentley, Brunck to Dindorf, and Fritzsche. Fritzsche, however, conjectured κακκάσκis which is read by Blaydes and Velsen. κακκάσκει Enger, Bergk.

1092. ποῦ 'στ' Brunck and many recent editors. ποῦ 'σθ' R. H. vulgo.

1093. πεύγεις; Enger and many recent editors. φεύγεις R. H. vulgo. To the Scythian's exclamations ποῖ ποῖ πεύγεις; and οὐ καιρήσεις there is no corresponding echo in the MSS. or any of the

editions before Brunck. Brunck added it in each case, and is followed generally by subsequent editors. I have, with Fritzsche, inserted it only after οὐ καιρήσεις, since the Scythian's ἔτι γὰρ γρύζει, whilst it implies an echo immediately preceding, seems also to imply a previous silence.

1094. οὐ καιρήσεις (from the gloss ἀντὶ τοῦ, οὐ χαίρήσεις) Dindorf (in note), Fritzsche, recentiores. οὐκ αἰρήσεις R. H. editions before Fritzsche.

1102, 1103. These two lines are omitted in R. and H., doubtless because line 1101 and line 1103 end with the same word Γοργόνος. They are inserted by the second corrector of R., recognized by the Scholiast, and found in every printed edition.

1102. σί Thiersch, Blaydes. τί R. H. vulgo. I have followed Thiersch because we have had the very word σί for τί before, but I do not think it necessary to make the Scythian's jargon consistent, and I have therefore retained some words which recent editors have altered to preserve the analogy.—Γόργος Fritzsche, Enger, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Hall and Geldart. Γοργόνος the corrector of R. and vulgo; Brunck and the subsequent editors who retain Γοργόνος, omitting the preceding τῇ and so making the line metrical. Thiersch also omitted the preceding τῇ and wrote Γόργο τῇ. Dindorf proposed Γοργῶ which Weise reads, and Blaydes reads Γόργου. Though accepting Fritzsche's reading, I should myself have been inclined to read Γοργοῦς, as in Eur. Orestes 1520, 1521; Phoen. 456 (Porson's reading). In the edition of Portus the iota in πέρι is, apparently by a defect in the type,

written; and subsequent editors, restoring the iota, also retained the; as a note of interrogation: but Fritzsche who was the first to understand the line rightly, and to see that πέρι stands for φέρεis, struck out the note of interrogation here, and placed it after λέγει as in the text.

1103. κεφαλῇ Bothe, Fritzsche, recentiores. κεφαλῇ or κεφαλῇ the corrector of R. and all other editions before Bothe. The last two words of the line τὴν Γοργόνος are continued to the Scythian by the corrector of R. and all editors before Thiersch; Thiersch transferred them to Euripides, an arrangement universally approved. And it may be observed that R. has a colon, and Junta a full stop after κεφαλῇ. Euripides means that he said Γοργόνος not Γόργος.

1108. οὐκὶ μὶ R. and undervarious forms all editors before Brunck, and Hall and Geldart since. Brunck changed μὶ into μῇ (for which the Scythian meant it), and has been followed by all subsequent editors except as aforesaid. οὐκ ἰμὶ H.—λαλήσι Brunck, and all subsequent editors. λαλῆς R. H. and all editors before Brunck. Junta and all editors before Scaliger's edition wrote οὐκιμὶ λαλῆς as if it were one word. In the editions of Scaliger and Faber it is written οὐκὶ μὶ λαλῆς, whilst Kuster and Bergk write it οὐκιμὶ λαλῆς.

1114. κύστο Scaliger (in notes), Enger, Bergk, recentiores. σκίτο R. vulgo. σήντο H. πόστη Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, and Bothe. κύτο Thiersch, Weise, while Fritzsche suggests σῦτο.—μή τι Brunck, recentiores, except Fritzsche. μῆτι R. H. editions before Brunck, while Junta, Grynæus, Ge-

lenius, Rapheleng, and Fritzsche have *σκυτομήτι* in one word.—*μικτόν* R. H. vulgo. Bentley suggested, and Bothe reads, *μικκόν*. Bergler made the same suggestion, referring to Ach. 909, where, as he observes, the form is used by the Boeotian. “Sed Scytha,” he adds, “in ceteris non loquitur Boeotice.” Enger suggested, and Meineke reads, *μικρό*. Blaydes gives *μικτό*.

1115. *δεῦρό* Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. The MSS. and earlier editions have *δεῦρο δεῦρό*.

1118. *ζηλώσῃ σε* R. H. Fritzsche, Enger, Bergk, Meineke, Velsen, Hall and Geldart. *ζηλώ σῃ σε* Brunck and the other subsequent editions. *ζηλώ τί σε* editions before Brunck.

1119. *τὸ πρωκτὸ* Brunck, recentiores. *τῷ πρωκτῷ* R. H. editions before Brunck. For *περιεστραμμένον* (R. H. vulgo) Blaydes and Velsen read *περιεστραμμέν' ἦν*.

1120. *ἐπτόνησά σ'* Bentley, Brunck, recentiores, except Blaydes and Velsen. *ἐπτόνησας* R. editions before Brunck. *ἐπώνησας* H. *ἐπτόνησ' ἂν σ'* Blaydes, Velsen.

1122. *ἐς εὐνήν* Portus recentiores. *ἐς τ' εὐνήν* H. and (as corrected) R. editions before Portus. *ἐστ' εὐνήν* R. originally.

1124. *ἐξόπιστο* Brunck, recentiores. *ἐξόπισθο* R. H. editions before Brunck.

1125. *δεσμά* Grynæus, Scaliger, Faber, Brunck, recentiores. And so both Kuster and Bergler in their notes. *δέμας* R. H. the other editions before Brunck.

1126. *τὸ κεφαλὴ σ'* Brunck, recentiores. *τὸ κεφαλῆς* H. and (as corrected) R. editions before Brunck. *καὶ παλῆς* R. originally.

1127. *ἀποκεκόψο* H. Fritzsche, Enger, Bergk, Meineke, and Holden. *ἀποκεκό-*

ψοι R. (as corrected) editions before Brunck. *ἀποκέκοψ'* R. originally. *ἀποκέκοψι* Brunck and (save as aforesaid) recentiores.

1128. *αἶ αἶ*. See Appendix on Eccl. 911.

1129. *οὐκ ἂν ἐνδέξαιτο* Kuster (in notes), Bergler (in notes), Brunck, recentiores, except as hereinafter mentioned. *οὐκ ἂν δέξαιτο* R. H. editions before Brunck, except that Zanetti, Farreus, and Grynæus have *δείξαιτο* for *δέξαιτο*. Bentley suggested *ἐσδέξαιτο*. Thiersch adopts Reiske's suggestion *ἀναδέξαιτο*. Lenting proposed *οὐ γὰρ ἂν δέξαιτο* which is adopted by Holden, Blaydes, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart.

1131. *ἀναλίσκοις ἂν* R. H. vulgo. Between the two words Grynæus inserts *αὐτ'.*

1132. *τούτω* all printed editions except Junta. *τοῦτο* R. H. Junta.

1133. *ἐπιτήκιζέ* Bergler (in notes), Brunck, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart, who, following a suggestion of Blaydes, read *ἐπιτήκιζι*. *ἐπιτήκίζει* R. H. editions before Brunck.

1135. *ἔτι γὰρ* R. H. vulgo. Velsen follows Hamaker's very improbable suggestion *πληγὰς*.

1139. *παρθένον* R. H. vulgo. *παρθένων* (connected with *χορόν*) Zanetti, Farreus, Grynæus. — *κούρη* Hermann, Bothe, Thiersch, recentiores. *κόρη* R. H. editions before Bothe.

1143. Between the words *καλεῖται* and *φάνηθ'* R. had *στυγνὰς ὥσσε* (struck out by the second corrector), and H. *στυγνὰς ὥς ἐ*. Apparently, as Fritzsche and Enger observe, the copyist had commenced to write line 1144 (*στυγοῦσ' ὥσπερ εἰκός*) before line 1143, but when

he had reached the second syllable of *ῶσπερ*, he found out his mistake, and reverted to line 1143 (*φάνθη' ὁ τυράννευς*). Unfortunately he omitted to cancel the mis-written words which, making no sense, became still further corrupted. They are not recognized in any printed edition, excepting in that of Thiersch, who writes the lines as follows, *Στυγός θ' (she is called not only κληδούχος but Στυγός) ὡς ἐκ|φανέντας τοὺς τυράννους | στυγοῦσ' ὥσπερ εἰκός*.

1148. *ἦκετέ τ'* Enger, following Fritzsche's *εἰσηκετέ τ'*. *ἦκετ'* R. H. vulgo. *ἦκετε δ'* Hermann, Meineke, Holden, and Velsen.

1150. *οὐ δὴ* R. H. vulgo. *οὐ δῆτ'* Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, Bothe, and Weise. But the *δὴ* must be taken as forming one syllable with the *ἀν*- which follows.

1151. *θέμυς* Hermann, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. *θεμιτὸν* R. H. vulgo. *θεμίτ'* Fritzsche, Enger. And so Bothe, who however places it after *εἰσορᾶν*, and changes *οὐ* into *οὐχί*.

1152. *σεμνὰ θεαῖν ἵνα* R. H. vulgo. *σέμν' ἵνα* Hermann. *σεμνὰ θεοῖν ἵνα* the editors who write *θεοῖν* for *θεαῖν* in 285 supra.

1155. *ἀντόμεθ'* R. H. vulgo. Gelenius, by mistake, wrote *αἰτόμεθ'*, which continued till Kuster, who (with Bergler) wrote *αἰτούμεθ'*. This and the following line are transposed by Hermann, Fritzsche, Meineke, and Holden.

1157. *εἰ καὶ* R. H. vulgo. Here again Gelenius erroneously wrote *εἰ γὰρ*, which kept its place until Invernizzi, from R., restored the true reading. Meineke and Holden omit *εἰ*.

1158. *ἦλθετον ... χῆμιν*. These words

are written according to the arrangement first adopted by Fritzsche, from the emendations of Hermann and Reisig, and followed by Enger and Hall and Geldart. *ἦλθετον ἔλθετε νῦν ἀφίκεσθ'* Reisig, Fritzsche, Enger, Hall and Geldart. *ἦλθετον νῦν ἀφίκεσθον* R. H. vulgo. *ἦλθετε νῦν ἀφίκεσθον* Hermann. *ἦλθετε νῦν ἀφίκεσθ'* Thiersch, Holden, Blaydes, and Velsen. Before *ἰκετεύομεν* Thiersch inserts *ἰκετεῖς*, Meineke *ἰῶ*, and Holden a second *ἀφίκεσθ'*.

1159. *ἐνθάδε χῆμιν* Hermann, Fritzsche, Enger, Meineke, Holden, and Hall and Geldart. *ἐνθάδ' ἡμῖν* R. H. vulgo. *ἐνθάδ' ἐν ἡμῖν* Reisig. *ἐνθάδε γ' ἡμῖν* Thiersch.

1166. *οὐδὲν μοῦ* Bentley. *οὐδὲν μὴ* R. H. vulgo. The *μοῦ* seems necessary, since Euripides intends, not to guarantee their immunity from all attacks, but merely to promise them immunity from his own.

1167. *ἀκούσεται* (with *μοῦ*) Bentley, (with *μὴ*) Brunck. *ἀκούσεται* R. H. editions before Brunck, and Invernizzi afterwards. *ἀκούσῃτ'* Elmsley (at Ach. 295 and Oed. Col. 177), Bekker, and all subsequent editors except Meineke and Velsen, who adopt Hirschig's conjecture *ἀκούσεσθ'*.—*πίθησθε* Hirschig, Meineke, recentiores. *πέιθησθε* R. H. editions before Meineke.

1170. *παρ' ἡμῶν* R. H. vulgo. *παρ' ἡμῖν* Hirschig, Meineke, Blaydes.

1171. *πέιθε* Bisetus, Scaliger (in notes), Kuster, recentiores, except Invernizzi. *πεῖσαι* R. H. editions before Kuster, and Invernizzi afterwards.

1172. *ἐμὸν* R. Grynæus, Portus, recentiores. *ἐμόν γ'* H. all editions, except Grynæus, before Portus.

1174. *κἀνακόλπασον* R. H. vulgo. *κἀνα-*

κόλπισον Bisetus, Fritzsche, Enger, Holden. *κἀνακάλπασον* (said to be a conjecture of Hermann), Bergk, Meineke, Velsen. We should perhaps read *κᾶτ' ἀνακόλπασον*.

1181. *κατάθου μὲν*. See the Commentary. *ἄνωθεν* R. H. vulgo. For *ἄνωθεν*, *ῶ* Velsen conjectures *θὲς ἐκποδῶν*. Dr. Blaydes has seven suggestions: (1) *φέρει νυν κατάθου θοιμάτιον*: (2) *φέρει νυν, ἀπόδουθι θοιμάτιον, τέκνον, τοδί*: (3) *ἀπόδουθι, φέρε, θοιμάτιον*: (4) (for *ἄνωθεν*) *ἄνω θὲς*: (5) *χαμαὶ θὲς*: (6) *κάτω θὲς*: (7) *ἄπωθεν*.

1182. *τοῖσι* Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *τοῖς* R. H. editions before Brunck.

1183. *ὑπολύσω* R. H. vulgo. *ὑποδίσσω* Scaliger, Faber.

1184. *ναὶ τυγάτριον* R. H. vulgo. *ναὶκὶ τυγάτριον* Bothe, Fritzsche, Hall and Geldart. *ναὶ ῶ τυγάτριον* Enger, Meineke, Holden. *ναὶκ' ῶ τυγάτριον* Blaydes. *ναὶ σὺ τυγάτριον* Velsen. But the Scythian may well have lengthened the second syllable of *θυγάτριον*.

1185. *στέριπο τὸ* R. H. Brunck, recentiores. *τέριπο τὸ* editions before Gelenius. *τέρι τὸ* Gelenius until Kuster. *τέριπα τὰ* Kuster, Bergler.—*γογγύλη* H. Gelenius, recentiores, except Velsen. *γογγύλη* R. editions before Gelenius. *γογγυλί* Velsen, after a suggestion of Enger. It is perhaps unnecessary to record all alterations in the Scythian's barbarisms.

1186. *ῥτι*. Tyrwhitt suggested *Η ΤΙ*. I do not know how he meant to accent the *η*.

1187. *κλαῦσί γ'* R. Bentley, Thiersch, Fritzsche, Enger, Meineke, recentiores. *κλαύσει γ'* H. all editions before Brunck. *κλαύσετ'* (with *μένη*) Brunck, Invernizzi,

Bekker, Bothe, Dindorf. The next line was thought by Bentley to be a *παρεπιγραφή*, and is inserted, as a *παρεπιγραφή*, between the words *πυγή* and *κλαῦσί* by Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, and Fritzsche, and is omitted altogether by Bothe, Dindorf, Enger, Bergk, Meineke, Blaydes, and Velsen. It is therefore not numbered, even by those who retain it. I am much inclined to agree with Bentley's suggestion and Brunck's arrangement. For *ἀνακύπτει* R. H. have *ἀνακύπτῃ*, and all the editions before Thiersch have *ἀνακύπτει*. On the other hand R. H. read *παρακύπτει*, but here again all the editions before Thiersch have *παρακύπτει*.

1190. *οὐκὶ πιλῆσι* Porson, Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Enger, Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Hall and Geldart. *τί οὐκ ἐπιλήσει* R. H. and all editions except Gelenius before Portus; and so, with a note of interrogation after *τί*, Fritzsche. *τί οὐκὶ πιλῆσει* Gelenius, Portus, and subsequent editions before Brunck. *οὐκὶ πιλῆσει* Brunck and, except as herein mentioned, recentiores. *οὐ πιλῆσι* Blaydes.

1191. *ὦ, ὦ, ὦ* R. H. Brunck, recentiores. The triple exclamation was omitted before Brunck.

1194. *ναὶ ναὶ* Brunck, recentiores, except Thiersch. *ναὶκὶ* Bentley, Thiersch. *ναὶ* (once only) R. H. editions before Brunck. — *γράδιον* Bothe, Meineke, Blaydes, Velsen, Hall and Geldart. *γράδιον* R. H. vulgo.

1195. *κάρισο σὺ* Brunck, recentiores. *κάρισος οὐ* R. *κάρισο σοῦ* H. *κάρισος* (alone) editions before Brunck; but Scaliger in his notes suggested *κάρισο*.

1196. *δῶσι* R. H. Bekker, Fritzsche,

Enger, Meineke, recentiores. δῶσοι or (in two words) δῶ σοι vulgo. δύο σοι Thiersch.

1197. ἐκῶδέν (variously accented) R. H. vulgo. ἐκ' οὐδέν Enger, Blaydes, Velsen. — ἀλλὰ R. vulgo. ἀλλὸ H. — συμβήνῃν (which both MSS. read infra 1215) Grynaeus and the subsequent editions before Brunck (except Rapheleng), and Hall and Geldart. συμβήνῃν R. H. Junta, Zanetti, Farreus, and Rapheleng. συμβίῃν (to assist the pun in 1215) Brunck, recentiores, except as herein mentioned. συμβίῃν Enger, Meineke, Holden. συμβίῃ Blaydes.

1198. κομίζεις αὐτίς. See the Commentary. κομίζεις αὐτοῖς R. H. editions before Scaliger, except as mentioned below. κομείς αὐτοῖς Scaliger, Faber. κομίζεις αὐτῇν Zanetti, Farreus, Bergler. κομίζεις αὐθις Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, and Velsen. Bentley suggested either κομείς αὐτόσ' or κομείς αὐτός (for αὐτό). κομείς αὐθις Bothe, Weise, Velsen. κομίζεις αὐτόσ' Fritzsche. κομίζεις αὐτός (for αὐτό) Thiersch. κόμισι σ' αὐτός Enger, Meineke, Holden. κόμισι σ' αὐτό Blaydes. Dobree says "Qu. κόμιζι σ' αὐτίς i.e. κομιῶ σοι αὐθις. *Posthac argentum tibi solvam. Vel κομίζις. Et posthac mihi reddes pharetram, quum argentum persolvero.*"—ἀκολουτί H. editions before Brunck, and Thiersch, Fritzsche, and Hall and Geldart afterwards. ἀκολουτί R. ἀκολουτε Brunck, recentiores, except as herein mentioned. ἀκολουτ' ᾧ Blaydes. But there seems no reason why the last syllable in ἀκολουτί should not be long.

1201. μεμνήσι (given to the Scythian) R. H. vulgo. μέμνησο (continued to Euripides) Reiske, Dindorf, Enger,

Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Velsen.—'Ἀρτομουξία (as the MSS. write it everywhere else) Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores, except Blaydes. 'Ἀρτομουξία R. H. vulgo. Dr. Blaydes not merely reads 'Ἀρτομουξία here, but alters the MS. reading in the four other places in which the name occurs, to make it conform with this.

1208. λέλυσσο (*be loosed*) R. H. vulgo. λέλυσσαι (*thou art loosed*) Bentley, Reiske, Elmsley, Velsen.—πρὶν R. vulgo. πρὸς H.

1211. δύσκολ' Grynaeus, Portus, recentiores. δύσκολλ' R. H. and the other editions before Portus.

1212. ἀπόλωλο R. H. Bekker, Fritzsche, Enger, Bergk, recentiores. ἀπόλωλον ceteri.

1213. οὐκ ἐπαίνῳ R. H. vulgo. οὐκ ἐπαίν' ᾧ Velsen, after a conjecture of Meineke.

1214. διέβαλλέ μ' ὁ γραῦς R. H. vulgo. But for ὁ Zanetti, Farreus, and Rapheleng have ᾧ, and I have written ὁ. Suidas (s.v. διέβαλεν, which he explains by ἐξηπάτησεν) reads διέβαλέ μ' ἡ γραῦς. Brunck reads διέβαλέ μ' ᾧ γραῦς, and this reading is adopted by Invernizzi, Bekker, Bothe, Dindorf, and subsequent editors down to and including Holden, most of them however having ὦ or ᾧ for ᾧ. Suidas seems to have turned the Scythian's dialect into Attic Greek; διέβαλλε may well stand for the aorist in Scythianese. διέβαλό μ', ᾧ γραῖ' Blaydes, Velsen. διέβαλλέ μ' ἡ γραῖς Hall and Geldart. The MSS. and editions before Brunck had τάχιστα, for which Brunck first wrote τάκιστα.

1215. ὀρῶς δέ R. H. vulgo. But several critics, considering the first syllable of συμβήνῃ to be short, insert another short syllable after δέ. ὀρῶας

δὲ τὸ Porson. ὁρῶς δέ τι Hermann, Enger, Meineke, Velsen. ὁρῶς δὲ σὺ Bothe, Fritzsche, Blaydes. But *συβήνη* is a form of the Scythian's own coinage, and it is impossible to tell whether he meant the first syllable to be long or short. In 1197 both MSS. spell it *συμβήνη*, which may possibly be the right reading in both places.—*συβήνη* 'στί· καταβηνῆσι R. H. vulgo. *συβίνη* 'στί· καταβινῆσι Brunck, and most recent editors. *σιβύνη* 'στί· καταβινῆσι Enger, Meineke. *συβίνη* 'σσί· καταβινῆσι Bothe. *συβίνη*· καταβεβινῆσι Blaydes. See at 1197 supra.

1216. *δρᾶσι* Blaydes (in the Preface to his first edition of the Birds, published in 1842), Enger, recentiores, except Bergk. And Bergk, although in his text he retained *δράσει* (the reading of R. H. and of all editions before Enger), yet suggested the arrangement of this line, with *δρᾶσι*, which is adopted by Meineke, Holden, and Hall and Geldart, and in this edition. For in the MSS. (and vulgo) the lines run *οἴμοι, τί δράσει; ποῖ τὸ γράδιον; | Ἀρταμονξία*. But it is clear that *οἴμοι* should stand by itself and *Ἀρταμονξία* be brought up into the preceding line, so making a perfect senarius. In the MS. arrangement the senarius is a foot short, and various suggestions were made for supplying the missing foot. *ποῖ δέ, ποῖ τὸ γράδιον; Hermann. ποῖ τὸ γράδιον; γράδιον Bothe. ποῖ τὸ γράδι' οἴκεται; Blaydes (in 1842). ποῖ τὸ γρᾶο; γράδιον Fritzsche, Enger.*

1218. *ναὶ ναίκε* (or *ναίκε*) R. H. vulgo. *ναὶ ναί, σίγ'* Velsen.

1219. *γέρων* H. vulgo. *γέρον* R. Junta and Grynæus.

1222. *γρᾶο* Brunck, recentiores. *γραῦ* R. H. editions before Brunck.

1224. *διώξεις* R. H. vulgo. R. H. and Junta indeed write *τῇ δ' ἰδ' ὤξεις*, but it is obvious that all three meant *τῇδ' διώξεις*, and so Zanetti and all subsequent editors have taken it. Elmsley (at Ach. 278) proposed *διώξει*, which is adopted by Thiersch, Dindorf, Meineke, and subsequent editors, but rejected by Fritzsche, Enger, and Bergk. And as, both here and in Knights 969 and Clouds 1296, the MSS. have the active form, and the active and middle forms are admittedly employed by Attic writers, there seems no sufficient reason for departing from the authority of the MSS. here. Cobet annexes the *ς* taken from *διώξεις* to the succeeding sentence, *διώξει; ὃς τοῦμπαλιν*, and this too is followed by Meineke, Holden, and Hall and Geldart.

1225. *ἀλλὰ τρέξι* R. H. vulgo. *ἄλλα (alià vià) τρέξι* Portus and subsequent editions before Brunck; and Fritzsche, Enger, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, and Blaydes afterwards.

1226. *τρέχε νυν*. The second *τρέχε νυν* was added by Brunck, the MSS. having the line a foot short. Enger commences the line with *ἀλλὰ*. Kuster suggested the insertion of *ταχέως*, which Blaydes inserts. Meineke added *τρέχε* at the end of the line. Brunck's conjecture seems incomparably superior, and is adopted by Invernizzi, Bekker, Bothe, Thiersch, Dindorf, Fritzsche, and Bergk. Meineke's is adopted by Holden, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart.

1227. *πέπαισται* Grynæus, Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *πέπυσται* R. H. and the other editions before Brunck.

1228. *ῥα δῆ' ἐστὶ* Bothe, Thiersch, Dindorf, Fritzsche, Weise. See the Commentary. *ῥα δῆ' ἔστι* R. H. vulgo. But in the MSS. and all the editions before Brunck, and in Meineke afterwards, this was a metrical necessity, since they united lines 1227 and 1228 into one anapaestic tetrameter.

1231. *ἀνταποδοίτην* Bentley, Bothe, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, and Hall

and Geldart. *ἀνταδοῖτον* R. H. Junta, Gelenius, Rapheleng. Doubtless this represented *ἀνταποδοῖτον*, which is read by Grynæus, Thiersch, Dindorf, Fritzsche, Enger, and Bergk. *ἀντιδοῖτον* Zanetti, Farreus. *ἀντιδοίτην* Portus to Brunck. *ἀντιδοίτην* Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, and Weise. Scaliger suggested *ἀντιδοίτην*.

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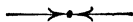
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Opinions of the Press

On Volume V.



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of the Athenian in all its moods. Mr. Rogers may almost be said to be doing for Aristophanes what Jowett did for Plato. No scholar could have a higher aim or finer reward. Like Jowett, he has lived himself into his subject and seems to speak with the mouth of his master."—*Daily Chronicle*.

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"Remarkably successful. Read the English page without regard to the opposite Greek and you undoubtedly receive an excellent impression of the verve, sparkle, and tone of the original drama. The close adherence to the text inevitably hampers him in comparison with Frere; but taking together the virtues of accuracy and spirit, and looking at the sustained effort of two whole plays, we cannot hesitate to award Mr. Rogers the first place among translators of Aristophanes. The running commentary under the text is able and luminous and rich in suggestion."—*Educational Times*.